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THE CONNEXION OF THE ROMAN, SAXON, AND ENGLISH COINS, DEDUCED FROM OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAXON WEIGHTS AND MONEY.

By WILLIAM CLARKE, M. A.
Rector of BUXTED, and Residentiary of CHICHESTER.

"referunt monumenta vetusti
"Moris, et antiquas testificantur opes." OVID, Fast.

LONDON,
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OBSERVATIONS

DEDUCED FROM

COINS

OF

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AND

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TO THE MOST NOBLE

THOMAS HOLLES,

DUKE of *NEWCASTLE*,

Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the GARTER, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE honour You do me in permitting me to addreſs theſe papers to You, I look upon as a real addition to the obligations I have received. It gives me a public oppor-

 tunity

tunity of ſaying, that I am truly thankful for them; and that they were not the effects of importunity, but owing to that Diſpoſition of doing good to others, that ſpirit of Beneficence, by which Your Grace is ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed.

It was ſaid of an illuſtrious ROMAN *, as a ſingular evidence of his great merit, that, during the period of a long life, *poſteritati ſuae ipſe interfuit:* That he had anticipated all that tribute of praiſe due to his memory, and taken it in his own perſon. We have, my Lord, the pleaſure of obſerving, that, as Your Grace advances in years, You are enjoying the ſame felicity. The whole public voice ſpeaks of You with honour. Your generous and affable Deportment in private life, — Your temperate Uſe of power, in the many high ſtations You have ſo deſervedly filled, — Your Eaſineſs of acceſs in them, — Your unwearied Application and Integrity in the diſcharge of theſe offices, —

* VERGINIUS RUFUS. Plin. Ep. l. ii. ep. 1.

Your

Your Candour and Benevolence towards Your Enemies, — Your Zeal for the ſervice of Your Friends, — and above all, for the Religion and Liberties of Your Country, are ſuch examples as muſt be received with univerſal Approbation. It might well be expected, that, in the calm Retreats of Life, the grateful and impartial Public ſhould diſtinguiſh the aſſemblage of ſo many Virtues by ſuch a natural and juſt return.

But Your Grace's Character has another very peculiar reſemblance to this noble Roman's; ariſing from a more unuſual merit — from the offers he rejected. It was the union of both theſe characters, what he had done, and what he had not accepted, that formed the great example. And how remarkably has Your Grace followed it! After a Life ſpent in the Service of the Public, in the higheſt Favour with Your Prince, with a conſiderable Diminution to Your Private Fortune, with what Dignity have You declined very important Offers! What a Nobleneſs of ſentiment in refuſing

fuſing to do the leaſt prejudice to Your Country, when You could no longer ſerve it! This, my Lord, was adding a new luſtre to Your former Honours; and placing You upon that unenvied Eminence, where, if You have any Equals, You have certainly no Superior.

THAT You may long enjoy the preſent Felicity, the Satisfaction of Your own breaſt, and the Eſteem and Honour of Your Country, is the ſincere wiſh of him, who is, with the greateſt duty and gratitude,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's moſt obliged

and moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

WILLIAM CLARKE.

PREFACE.

THE appearance of the following ſheets from the preſs is intirely owing to the diſcovery, made by the late Martin Folkes Eſquire, of the old Saxon pound. Without this previous knowledge, any work of this kind had been but a vain amuſement, or very little more than arbitrary and precarious conjectures. For had there been no ſtandard to have recourſe to, no ſure ground for forming the neceſſary calculations, how was it poſſible to take a ſingle ſtep, that could have given any tolerable ſatisfaction: but upon this opening, I thought it would not be very difficult to throw a little more light upon this obſcure ſubject, the *Saxon money*; and vindicate an authority, which had been for ſome ages almoſt entirely given up, or at leaſt underſtood in ſuch a manner as was very far from its original intention; I mean, archbiſhop Aelfric's account of the Saxon coins; who diſtributes them into three claſſes, the MANCUS, the SHILLING, and the PENNY. In this view I propoſed to conſider each of theſe articles apart; to obſerve what our ancient laws and hiſtorians had ſaid of them; to

ſhew

ſhew that it would not be amiſs to enlarge our preſent creed a little, and get above the low prejudices of the old woman in the comedy, who declared, that, as to money, ſhe could believe nothing more than ſhe ſaw,

"Semper oculatae noſtrae ſunt manus, credunt quod vident."

EMBARKING upon this narrow bottom, I little thought of being carried ſo wide off the point, from whence I firſt ſet out: but, in paſſing on, I ſoon found that this was unavoidable. As the Saxon money had ſome connexion with the Roman, there was a neceſſity of comparing its weight and value in thoſe inſtances with the Roman coins, and ſtating the uſual Saxon methods of payment upon that plan. This however was far from being a diſagreeable office: it was enquiring into the cuſtoms of politer ages, and diſcovering, what perhaps was not much expected, the incredible poverty of the greateſt empire in the world, even when it was in full power, long before its diviſion, and much more its final diſſolution in the Weſt. Cloſing the account at this period would have ſaved me a good deal of trouble, if the proſpect that lay before me would have ſuffered me to ſtop here: but there was another diſquiſition to be made, and that, by traverſing much darker regions. There was no diſcovering the weight and origin of the Saxon gold coins without paſſing through that moſt intricate

and

and confuſed labyrinth, the accounts given of the *Aurei* in the middle ages, from the Roman to the Norman times. Here I was prepared to expect and meet with very conſiderable difficulties. For perhaps all the materials, that are now left, are ſcarce capable of forming ſuch concluſions, as will carry with them a full and abſolute conviction. But I have endeavoured to bring ſuch as occurred to me into ſome order, made them at leaſt intelligible, and by this means applicable to ſome uſeful purpoſes. For the ſubject of this enquiry is not quite ſo inconſiderable, as it may appear to be at firſt view: it has a near relation to thoſe parts of hiſtory that are more intereſting. The revenues of princes, the fines and penalties of their laws, the tributes impoſed by conquerors, the ſubſidies ſtipulated by allies, and even the expences of private life, with which the manners and characters of an age muſt be unavoidably connected, will be but imperfectly underſtood, without being competently well acquainted with the value of their money.

HAVING gone through the neceſſary parts of this enquiry, the dry detail and eſtimates of the Aurei in thoſe barbarous ages, I was willing to indulge myſelf in making a few more agreeable excurſions; perſuaded that the preſent age, which has made ſuch a progreſs in illuſtrating our own antiquities, would not be diſpleaſed with

any rational researches upon that subject, and especially any modest attempts towards setting the origin of our own *nation*, our *Parliaments*, and other *national customs*, in a juster light. Besides these, such incidental points, as have fallen within the compass of these disquisitions, may, to the friends of polite learning, furnish a more agreeable amusement. In opening the connexion of the Roman customs with our own, I have, as occasion offered, corrected and explained several passages in their ancient writers, or restored them again, from the hands of critics, to their true reading.

The analogy between our old Saxon weights, and those of a more remote antiquity, led me into a very particular enquiry upon that subject; and convinced me, that a more concise and satisfactory account of the ancient nummulary and commercial pounds might be easily drawn up. For who is not lost in that variety of ancient pounds, which the very learned Dr. Edward Bernard has given us with such an elaborate precision? Or, who is satisfied with the *Librae*, *Minae*, *antiquae*, *mediae*, *imminutae*, of other celebrated authors, without knowing when they altered, or what was the difference? The great and obvious agreement in the divisions, uses, and proportions of these ancient weights, is a strong presumption that they were originally formed upon the same

plan in imitation of one another; and that we ſhould not fall into any very conſiderable miſtakes, if we ſuppoſed that the ancient accounts of money, whether of *Jews*, *Greeks*, or *Romans*, might be taken at a common eſtimate. In this view, I have ventured to give a new valuation of all the Jewiſh money in the Old Teſtament from the moſt ancient and reſpectable authorities; which has the appearance of removing all thoſe difficulties and objections, with which this ſubject has been attended.

HENCE it appeared alſo, that Mr. Sheringham, in his Origines Anglicanae, by bringing our anceſtors only from Sweden and the ſides of the Baltic, had ſtopt ſhort of their true original: by going a little more Eaſtward, he would have found them in a better ſituation, much nearer to their firſt ſettlements; and this account ſupported by more authentic evidence, with all the marks of probability and truth.

I HAVE advanced nothing of any moment without proper vouchers, and often given my authorities in full length at the bottom of the page, that ſuch readers, as have curioſity enough to examine them, might do it with as little trouble as poſſible. I never much approved of that faſhionable way of quoting books, by giving the readers a ſhort reference to ſuch authors as perhaps they had never ſeen, or could have no opportunity of conſulting.

fulting. In all obſcure and doubtful points it is right to produce your credentials. An honeſt man, who would ſcorn to miſlead his reader, might be deceived himſelf, might miſtake the ſenſe of the authorities he appeals to, though he is not capable of perverting them. Beſides, in matters of antiquity, theſe larger quotations are ſomething more in taſte; they appear, like Buttreſſes upon the outſide of our Gothic buildings, not beautiful, but uſeful; though they look heavy, and throw a ſhade within, the whole could not be ſo well ſupported without them. From the ruins of theſe ancient ſtructures, mixed here and there with a few Roman remains, I am ſenſible there is no making a very agreeable edifice: if theſe fragments are properly ſeparated, placed in their natural order, ſo as to ſhew whence they were taken, and what was their uſe, it is all that can be reaſonably expected.

When we are ſearching into antient facts, and deducing the conſequences that ariſe from them, ſome conjectures will undoubtedly be made, which, upon a more judicious or attentive examination, there may be reaſon to reject. Theſe obſervations, like the coins they treat of, may ſometimes have a deficiency in weight: ſome mixture of alloy muſt be admitted, which the beſt judges, like aſſay-maſters, will eaſily diſcover; and, when no fraud was intended, as eaſily forgive. For the miſtakes of antiquaries are, of all other writers, the moſt excuſable;

they

they are often working under ground, where very little light is to be had; or searching into ruins, and ſifting all the aſhes that lie round about them, where it is not always eaſy to ſee through the duſt of their own raiſing.

I HAVE thought myſelf obliged to differ from Gronovius in ſeveral inſtances, and have corrected ſome miſtakes in his accounts and explanations of the Roman money; but, I hope, I have done it with all that juſt regard which is due to his character as a ſcholar, and offered ſuch reaſons as will excuſe the liberties I have taken.

MANY errata, which eſcaped me in examining the ſheets from the preſs, Mr. Bowyer has done me the favour to correct; and if others have paſſed him unobſerved, he may well be excuſed, from the nature of this work, and the multiplicity of other buſineſs. I am obliged to him for more material obſervations. As for myſelf, I ſhall not think it neceſſary to apologize for the leſſer typographical errors, eſpecially at ſuch a diſtance from the preſs, and at a time of life when a cloſe attention to very minute particulars is much impaired.

Chicheſter, March 25, 1767.

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CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

The Saxon Mancus? Danish Mark and Ora? page 1

CHAP. II.

The Saxon Pound. The several ancient Pounds. The Anglo-Norman Shilling. The Proportion between Gold and Silver money. The Roman Pound? The Saxon? The Norman Shilling from the Conquest to the 43d of Elizabeth.

CHAP. III.

Of the Saxon Money. Random Observations on the Saxon Coins. The Saxon Shilling. The Weights of Saxon Money. Of the Tonic and Celtic Nations.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Saxon Money. Random Observations on the Saxon Coins. The Saxon Shilling. The Weights of Saxon Money. Of the Tonic and Celtic Nations.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

The DIFFERENT ACCOUNTS *of the* SAXON MONEY. *Reaſons for reviewing it.* Page 1

CHAP. II.

The SAXON POUND. *The ſeveral* ANCIENT POUNDS. *Their Uſe and Application. The different Origin of the* TEUTONIC *and* CELTIC *Nations.* 23

CHAP. III.

The SAXON SHILLING *and* THRIMSA. *Their Methods of* PAYING MONEY. *The* ROMAN MILLIARENSIS, *what. Innovations in their* NUMMULARY LANGUAGE. 120

CHAP. IV.

The SAXON MANCUS; DANISH MARC *and* ORA; *and* ANGLO-NORMAN SHILLING. *The Proportion between* GOLD *and* SILVER *among the* ROMANS, FRANKS, *and* SAXONS. *The* NORMAN SHILLING *from the* CONQUEST *to the* 43*d of* ELIZABETH. 245

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The SAXON PENNY, SCEATTA, *and* STYCA. CONOB, *what.* SAXON CONVENTS *and* COLLEGES. *The* ORIGIN *of the* FEUDAL SERVICES. *The* NATURE *of the* SAXON WITE-NAGEMOT, &c. 390

CHAP. VI.

The ROMAN POUND. TABLES *for computing the* ROMAN MONEY; *and a ſhort Account of their* NUMMULARY LANGUAGE *in reckoning by* SESTERCES. 481

CHAP.

CHAPTER I.

The DIFFERENT ACCOUNTS *of the* SAXON MONEY.

IT is not much above two centuries, ſince ancient coins were conſidered as any part of the antiquities of a country; but when the arts improved, and coins began to be collected, they ſoon grew into eſteem. It was obſerved, that they were capable of furniſhing materials for moſt branches of hiſtory; that their evidence was original and authentic; and therefore whatſoever light might be drawn from them, even in the moſt barbarous countries, it was an acquiſition not to be deſpiſed. For this reaſon there has been, ever ſince the revival of polite learning, a great variety of writers upon the ſubject of ancient coins: many large collections have been publiſhed: moſt of the European nations have had the pleaſure of ſeeing one very

entertaining part of their antiquities exhibited in theſe remains. Sir Andrew Fountaine [*a*] has given us a ſeries of much the greateſt part of the Saxon coins, that were then diſcovered; to which Mr. Thoreſby, in the laſt edition of Camden's Britannia, by biſhop Gibſon, has made ſeveral additions. And there are great numbers, not yet publiſhed, in the cabinets of gentlemen, who have very laudably encouraged theſe reſearches. We have very particular accounts of all the alterations and improvements made in the Engliſh money from the Conqueſt to our own times. The preſent Garter-King-at-Arms [*b*] has favoured us with a very uſeful treatiſe upon that ſubject. Mr. Folkes's [*c*] Tables are extremely accurate; he had acceſs to all the public offices; has omitted nothing that the records and evidences of the Mint could ſupply him with: but as he had no intention to examine the more ancient part of this hiſtory, he takes no further notice of it, than to tell us, what was "the weight [*d*] of the Saxon pound; "and that the coins of the two firſt kings after the Con- "queſt agree, as near as can be judged, in weight and "goodneſs with the pennies of the Saxon kings their im- "mediate predeceſſors." The weight of the old Saxon pound was a new and conſiderable diſcovery, and gave ſuch an opening, as hath induced me to carry theſe enquiries ſomething higher; to obſerve how the Saxon

[*a*] Numiſmata Anglo-Saxonica, &c. in Dr. Hickes's Theſaurus.
[*b*] Nummi Britannici Hiſtoria.
[*c*] Tables of Engliſh ſilver coins.
[*d*] Ibid. p. 1.

coins

coins were firſt introduced; from what models they were taken; and whence that cuſtom of computing by pounds, ſhillings, and pence, which has diſtinguiſhed our money-accounts for ſo many ages, was moſt probably derived. It may be poſſible, by tracing theſe cuſtoms from one age and country to another, to find out their true ſources.

THE beginning of the Saxon government is indeed a dark period; we have there no coins, no hiſtories, to direct us; there is little more left to aſſiſt us in thoſe enquiries, than mere conjectures; and as the gentlemen are much divided in their opinions, who have offered theſe conjectures, they are become one part of the difficulty, and have made it more perplexing. Nor ſhould I have thought of ſearching into the rude remains of thoſe darker ages, in hopes of finding leſs embaraſſment, if one advantage, which very naturally offered itſelf, and might be of conſiderable uſe in this queſtion, was not intirely overlooked. The Saxon money lies in a ſort of intermediate ſtate, between two extremes, that are tolerably well known: it muſt therefore have ſome relation to both thoſe extremes, with which it is connected. In the concluſion of this government, this connexion is very plain: the Saxon and Norman money is almoſt the ſame thing: it has the ſame weight and fineneſs of the metal, the ſame rudeneſs and want of ſkill in the execution. Theſe coins differ only, as coins of the ſame age and country, in the different heads and legends of the princes and perſons by whom they were ſtruck. No doubt there was almoſt the ſame agreement between the Roman and Saxon coins at the

beginning of this period; though for want of better evidence it is not ſo eaſily diſcovered. Who would think, that the current money of his preſent Majeſty had any ſort of relation to that of Edward the Confeſſor, if all the intermediate evidence was deſtroyed? But as it is not, we find that the mintmaſters and moneyers, though they introduced many occaſional, gradual, and neceſſary alterations, as the public exigencies or opulence required, went upon the ſame plan. There is ſtill the ſame number of pence in the Engliſh pound, that there was in the Confeſſor's time: our diviſions of the pound are not in the leaſt different from his, though the pound itſelf, from being a real, is become a nominal valuation; almoſt two thirds of it are vaniſhed. The number of ſhillings is reduced from ſixty to twenty; and yet the preſent ſhilling is within a few grains of the ſame weight and value, as the ſhilling of the later Saxon kings.

Some of theſe facts would be looked upon as great improbabilities, and occaſion ſuch difficulties, as no conjectures would remove: nothing perhaps would perſuade us, that they were really facts; but ſuch clear and full evidence, as ſhews that there is no difficulty in this connexion, and which, by the lights, that were lately given, we are able to explain.

The caſe of the Roman and Saxon coins cannot be very different from this: they paſſed currently together, or the one ſucceeded the other almoſt immediately in the ſame country; and as far as there was any occaſion to exchange the ſeveral ſorts of coin, the weight and fineneſs of them

them muſt eſtabliſh a regular proportion, as the foundation of this traffic. Beſides, the Germans were no ſtrangers to the Roman cuſtoms. We learn from an obſervation of Tacitus [e], that they were as good judges of the value of the Roman money, as the Romans themſelves: they preferred the Conſular before the Imperial coins, as having more weight, and leſs alloy. Rome had for ſome ages been obliged to furniſh annual ſubſidies to the German princes. They were retained, as a ſort of allies, to keep the frontiers of the empire in peace and tranquillity. Domitian, who had the vanity to triumph over the Germans, whom he had never ſeen; and over the Dacians, who had reduced him to the neceſſity of purchaſing a peace, was the firſt Roman [f] emperor, who was weak enough to begin this practice; and theſe northern princes were wiſe enough not to ſuffer it to be diſcontinued. They looked upon theſe ſubſidies, as the beſt part of their revenues; a property which enriched themſelves, without burthening their ſubjects. All the ſucceeding emperors were forced to ſubmit to them; even thoſe, who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their military accompliſhments. Trajan [g] himſelf complied at firſt; but it ſoon raiſed his

[e] "Pecuniam probant veterem, et diu notam, ſerratos bigatosque." De mor. Germ. c. 5.

[f] Caſaub. not. in Spartian. vit. Hadriani, c. 6. et vid. Dion. Caſſ. l. lxvii. c. 4, et 7. Eutrop. l. vii. c. 23.

[g] Ἐστράτευσεν [ὁ Τραϊανὸς] ἐπὶ Δάκας· ταῖς χρήμασιν, ἃ καθ' ἕτος ἐλάμβανον, βαρυνόμενος. Dio. l. lxviii. c. 6. vol. ii. p. 1123. Ed. Reimar. "Hadrianus "cum Rege Roxalanorum, qui de imminutis ſtipendiis querebatur, cognito "negotio, pacem compoſuit." Spartian. vit. Hadriani, c. 6. This put the indig-

indignation: he deſpiſed the thoughts of perpetually purchaſing peace. It was making it the moſt expenſive, as well as moſt contemptible, acquiſition. He therefore purſued a different track, and reſolved to reduce ſome of theſe Gothic chiefs within narrower bounds. Inſtead of leſſening his own revenue by a large ſubſidy, he enlarged the frontiers of his empire by the addition of a conſiderable province. Caracalla, who had rather more fears and vices than Domitian, purſued the ſame impolitic meaſures almoſt to infatuation. Theſe princes upon the frontiers were capable of raiſing their demands, whenever they pleaſed: the emperor conſented to pay large ſubſidies, rather than break with them, and paid them in pure gold, whilſt he ſtruck the baſeſt [*b*] money imaginable to pay his own

empire to great expences. See Salvian's reflexions upon this ſubject; many of them very juſt. De Gubernat. Dei, l. vi.

[*b*] Ἀληθῆς γὰρ τὰς χρυσᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐδωρεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ρωμαίοις κίβδηλον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον παρεῖχεν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ μολίβδου καλαργυρώμενον, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ χαλκοῦ καλαχρυσώμενον ἐσκευάζετο. Dio. Caſſ. l. lxxvii. c. 14. p. 1300. The learned editor has attempted to alter the latter part of this paragraph both in his verſion and his notes. He tranſlates it thus: "Siquidem *plumbum auratum* "et *aes argentatum* paraverat." He takes it for granted, that Caracalla ſilvered over the braſs, and gilded the lead, becauſe this would diſguiſe the weight of the metals ſomething better. But was this method more likely to prevent ſuſpicion? I believe not: the Romans were not ſo exact in the weight of their coins. No ſuſpicion would eaſily ariſe upon that account. The fraud would be as well concealed in the way, that Dion mentions; and we are ſure, from what the ſatyriſt has ſaid, that this was the uſual practice:

"veri ſpeciem dignoſcere calles
"Ne qua SUBAERATO mendoſum tinniat AURO." Perſ. Sat. v. 105.

The *mendoſum tinnire* would be more diſcernible in lead, than braſs. Beſides, as the Mſſ. agree in this reading, *ſcripſiſſe debuit* was going too far; the verſion ſhould be, as the original text requires, *Quippe iis vere aureos nummos donabat; cum Romanis non niſi adulteratum argentum et aurum prae-*

troops,

troops, and obliged them to take it. But long before this, before the dignity of the empire had ſuffered by ſuch deſpicable tyrants, the power of theſe Gothic princes was very conſiderable: Auguſtus eſteemed their friendſhip and alliance, as a thing worth having upon honourable terms; and was pleaſed with the compliment of ſeeing his head ſtamped on their coins. It was making their court to him in a public manner, and acknowledging his ſuperior authority. This is one of them [*i*]:

Auguſtus [*k*] had ſome thoughts of marrying his daughter to a king of Thrace. Nor had this been any great diminution of his dignity. Lyſimachus, one of Alexander's ſucceſſors, had done the ſame thing before [*l*]. Princes of this rank, who had ſuch a continual intercourſe with Rome, muſt be extremely well acquainted with the Roman money, which had paſſed in commerce, or been taken in

beret; ſiquidem illud ex plumbo argenteis laminis obducto, hoc ex aere aurato fabricaverat.

[*i*] Havercamp's Nummophylacium Chriſtinae Reg. p. 297. Havercamp is perſuaded that Auguſtus's head is repreſented on each ſide of this coin: that the medalliſts muſt determine. If ſo, it differs from the practice of the Gothic princes under the lower empire, who ſometimes ſtruck the emperor's head on one ſide, and their own on the other.

[*k*] Suet. in Auguſt. c. 62.

[*l*] Pauſan. l. i. c. 6.

pay

pay or plunder, for many ages. It was undoubtedly the moſt current money upon the frontiers of their own country; and when they ſtruck any coins of their own, they muſt paſs according to that value and currency, which the Roman coins had eſtabliſhed. For gold and ſilver had, by the common conſent of all nations, acquired a known and ſettled valuation. It was made the balance of trade, which would not entirely ſubmit to the mere will and pleaſure of the moſt arbitrary princes. The Saxons indeed, when they arrived in Britain, came into a province, which by the rapine, or ambition of its governors, had been much plundered and oppreſſed; but not quite exhauſted either of men or money. And though they made no great figure at their firſt ſettlement, yet, when all their petty governments were united in one kingdom, they were a riſing people; they began to encourage trade; to form connexions with thoſe parts of Europe, which had been Roman provinces; and even with the remains of that empire, from whence many of their cuſtoms were imported. Hence therefore we may well imagine, that the Roman money, which had been for ſo many ages the current caſh of all Europe, was the ſtandard by which the value of their gold and ſilver was adjuſted; and the model, which they would be moſt inclined to follow in making their own. From this ſource it was moſt probably derived; and though our coins have taken very different forms, as they came down to us through a long ſucceſſion of Northern princes, yet, if we examine

their

their original, they will appear to be, like the king's [*m*] own family, of ROMAN EXTRACTION.

BUT let us ſee what the Saxon coins were. Dr. Hickes, who took almoſt incredible pains in the Saxon learning, has given us the beſt account of their money. There was a great variety in their denominations of money, if not in their coins. Dr. Hickes's [*n*] account ſtands thus:

The Saxon pound contained 15 ounces, 60 ſhillings, and 240 pence.
The mancus, or mark, was 6 ſhillings, or 30 pence.
The ora 20 pence.
The ſhilling 5 pence.
The thrimſa 4 pence.
The ſceata 3 half-pence.
The penny 5 made a ſhilling, and 240 a pound.
The haflinge half a penny.
The feorthling the quarter of a penny.
The ſtica half a farthing.

SUCH were the ſeveral coins or denominations of money among the Saxons. This, as Dr. Hickes ſeems to repreſent it, was the uniform ſtate of their money; for he ſuggeſts neither the riſe, diſuſe, nor alteration of any of theſe coins. This alone is, upon the firſt view, no inconſiderable objection to the account. The Saxon government, in ſome form or other, laſted almoſt ſix hundred years;

[*m*] Dr. Crawford's Hiſtory of the houſe of Eſté, p. 107.
[*n*] Differtat. Epiſtolar. p. 109. et Praefat. ad Gram. Saxon. p. 2.

and is it to be imagined, that the very ſame ſtandard of money, the ſame coins, ſhould be continued during that whole period? There never was, I believe, ſuch an uniformity, for ſo long a time, in any government whatſoever; and eſpecially in thoſe times, when the frequent ravages and devaſtations of invaders made a great difference in the ſtate of their caſh. To ſuppoſe that theſe were moſt of them denominations of money, is leaving the ſame, if not a greater, difficulty; for whence ſhould theſe denominations of money ariſe? From what coins could they be taken, but ſuch as had been received and known among them? Dr. Hickes no where expreſly ſays what was the weight of their pound; but, from his method of computing the value of their money, it is plain that he thought the Saxon was juſt three ounces heavier than the Troy pound, and that the ounces themſelves were the very ſame as the Troy ounces, and by conſequence that the Saxon pound weighed 7200 Troy grains.

Bishop Fleetwood's [o] account differs from this in ſeveral particulars; but it differs without deciding the points in queſtion, and leaves them rather more undetermined. He ſays, as Mr. Lambard, Camden, and Sir Henry Spelman had ſaid before him, that the Saxon pound contained 48 ſhillings; and whoever looks into the

[o] Chronic. pretioſ. p. 28, 30, 58. ed. 1707.
Mr. Camden's account, as far as it goes, is the ſame as Biſhop Fleetwood's, "five pence made a ſhilling, and forty eight ſhillings a pound." Camden's Remains, p. 200. and ſo Bp. Nicolſon, Hiſtoric. library, p. 44. who ſays, that the ſilver Mancuſa or mark was about one of our ſhillings, and the gold mark 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

ſums

ſums ſpecified in many of the Saxon laws muſt be of that opinion: but notwithſtanding this, he admits that the authorities, which Dr. Hickes has produced, are indiſputable; and concludes from thence, that the Saxon pound contained ſometimes 48, and ſometimes 60 ſhillings. And afterwards, as if this was making too great a conceſſion, he retracts it again; and inſiſts, that the Saxon pound was always 48 ſhillings, becauſe nothing could be done with the Thrimſa, unleſs this was granted. But whatever was the number of ſhillings in the Saxon pound, he was perſuaded, as well as Mr. Camden, Dr. Hickes, and all our antiquaries, that the Saxons had never any coin of that ſize, and value; and that the largeſt peice of money, which they ſtruck, was their Penny.

As to that part of the diſpute, whether the pound conſiſted of 12 or 15 ounces, he ſeems to think, that it contained only 12, and therefore rejects Mr. Somner's opinion, that the Saxons had two ſorts of ounces, the greater and the leſs: for, if Ora was a denomination of money, as well as weight (as it muſt be by what is quoted from Verelius), there was no neceſſity for ſuppoſing, that the Saxon pound was ever divided into 15 ounces.

Bishop Hooper's [p] enquiry, concerning the ſeveral ſorts and value of the Saxon money, came after theſe two, which is very different from both; and though it appears in ſome reſpects more particular and deciſive, is really more intricate and perplexing. He ſays, that the Angli

[p] Enquiry into the ſtate of ancient meaſures, p. 410, 417.

had in their pound, as we have in ours, 20 Solidi, and 240 pence; and that the Solidus was, as it is now, 12 pence: That the Weſt Saxons had 120 ſhillings to their pound, and 600 pence, and 5 pence to the ſhilling: That the Mercii had 12 pence to their Solidus, and 50 Solidi to their pound, which likewiſe conſiſted of 600 pence. Here are great difficulties, which, even upon his own plan, it is ſcarce poſſible to reconcile. For what could occaſion ſuch an amazing diverſity in their coins? Such a variety may ſometimes ariſe from affluence, but never from the ſcarcity of money in any country. Though a pound of ſilver muſt be of equal value in theſe ſeveral diſtricts, yet, he imagines, that their coins were ſtruck ſo widely different, that a ſhilling in one of our counties was not above two pence in another; and that there was as great a difference between the ſhillings of different provinces, as there is now between a ſhilling and a crown; though all theſe people ſpoke the ſame language, and called theſe coins or denominations of money by the ſame common name. But though Biſhop Hooper was perſuaded, that there was ſuch a prodigious inequality in the value of their coins, he ſaw no reaſon to believe, that their money pound conſiſted of 15 ounces, as Dr. Hickes had aſſerted. None of the people, whoſe weights and meaſures he had examined, divided their nummulary pound in that manner. The Greeks and Ægyptians uſed a pound of 12 ounces in their mints; and ſo did the Romans. They were ſo remarkable in this reſpect, that the diviſion

ſion [q] of their long and ſquare meaſures, and the diſtribution [r] of their real and perſonal eſtates, were all formed upon the ſame plan, upon the As, with all thoſe terms and proportions, that belonged to it as a pound. The mints, which they eſtabliſhed in the ſeveral parts of Europe, ſpread this diviſion of the pound into all the provinces of the empire. It was univerſally received among the Gauls [s]; they very courteouſly copied almoſt all the Roman cuſtoms, either from a national and natural complaiſance, or a political view of making their court to rapacious governors; and went ſo far as to carry it to a ridiculous affectation [t]. They, as the Romans

[q] Frontinus inter Rei agrariae ſcriptores, p. 29, 30. Varro, De re ruſtica, l. i. c. 10. et Columella, l. v. c. 1.

[r] "Hereditas plerumque dividitur in duodecim uncias." Digeſt. l. xxviii. t. 5. § 50.

[s] "Juxta Gallos duodecim unciae libram, viginti ſolidos continentem, "efficiunt." Rei agrar. ſcript. p. 322.

[t] "Libra dicitur, quicquid per duodenarii numeri perfectionem adim-"pletur." Ibid. p. 323. This was the language of the lower ages. Fred. Gronovius blames Scaliger for the impropriety of uſing Libra in this ſenſe, and obſerves that, to ſpeak correctly, he ſhould have ſaid the As; which in this caſe was not conſidered as a weight, but as the *diviſor omnium ſectilium*. De ſeſter. p. 350. I ſee nothing wrong in Scaliger's expreſſion, "hereditatem "integram pondo unius Librae fuiſſe comprehenſam." The metaphorical uſe of the As, when applied to eſtates, &c. began when the As was the common word for a pound; and all the ſeveral parts and diviſions, as Sextans, Triens, Bes, Dodrans, &c. were ſo applied as well as the integer itſelf. The lawyers kept to the old form; though Libra was afterwards uſed in the ſame manner, for the integer. This appears from Voluſius Maecianus, "prima di-"viſio ſolidi, id eſt, librae, quod As vocatur." De pec. vet. 395. and from the verſes aſcribed to Fannius:

"Nunc dicam ſolidae quae ſit diviſio Librae,
"Sive Aſſis: nam ſic legum dixere periti,

had

had done before them, weighed their very time in ſcales; and, becauſe the year [*u*] had 12 months, and the day 12 hours, they ſpoke of them, as ſo many pounds of time. A ſurpriſing metaphor to be adopted by ſuch a mercurial people. But perhaps, as it was taken up at firſt, ſo it was dropped again, without any reaſon. It would not have been much amiſs in the preſent age, when our time ſeems to lye heavy upon our hands, and ſo many pounds of it are ſpent with ſuch an endleſs diſſipation, as if it was a real weight.

If the treatiſes, aſcribed to Bede, *De computo*, *De ratione calculi*, *unciarum*, *etc.* are really his, it is then certain, that the Saxons divided their money pound in the ſame manner, into 12 ounces [*w*]. But to know the diviſion of their pound would be a matter of very little conſequence, unleſs the weight of it was known. We ſhould otherwiſe have no certain ſtandard by which we could examine their coins, or judge of the proportion they bore to thoſe of other nations. We are much indebted to the late Mr. Folkes for this diſcovery; he has given us

"Ex quo quid ſoli capimus: perhibemur habere,
"Dicimur aut partis domini pro partibus hujus;
"Uncia nam Librae ſi deeſt, dixere Deuncem." Ver. 41.

Here the words As and Libra ſeem to be ſynonymous. An expreſſion not elegant, may be correct enough, i. e. juſtified by analogy and uſe. Libra was thus uſed in the lower ages. When 72 Solidi were ſtruck out of the Roman pound, it was conſidered as a new integer; thus λίτρα ἐτῶν in the Anthology for 72 years: Libra teſtium in the Acts of Marcellinus for 72 witneſſes.

[*u*] "Libra — annus, qui conſtat ex xii menſibus: Libra — dies, qui conſtat "xii horis." Rei agrariae ſcript. ut ſupra. Vid. Plin. H. N. l. ii. c. 14.

[*w*] "Libra, ſive As, eſt duodecim unciarum." Bedae opp.

two

two eſtimates of the Saxon pound, both of which I ſhall produce in his own words [*x*].

"IT is reaſonable to think, that William the Conqueror "introduced no new weight into his mints; but that the "ſame weight uſed there for ſome ages, and called the "pound of the Tower, was the old pound of the Saxon "moneyers before the Conqueſt. This pound was lighter "than the Troy pound by three quarters of an ounce "Troy."

MR. Folkes gives us this eſtimate of the Saxon pound from very good authority, from a verdict relating to the coinage, dated the 30th of October, 18 Hen. VIII, 1527, now remaining in the Exchequer, in which are the following words: "And whereas heretofore the merchaunte "paid for coynage of every pounde Towre of fyne gold, "weighing xi oz. quarter Troye, ii*s.* vi*d.* Nowe it is "determined by the kings highneſs, and his ſaid coun- "celle, that the forefaid pounde Towre, ſhall be no "more uſed, and occupied; but al maner of golde "and ſylver ſhall be wayed by the pounde Troye, "which maketh xii oz. Troye, which excedith the "pounde Towre in weight iii quarters of the oz." He refers us likewiſe to another authority much older, taken from the Regiſter of the Chamber of accounts at Paris. The difference of the ſeveral pounds then made uſe of in that kingdom is there computed, and the proportion between the Troy and Engliſh pounds is thus eſtimated. "Ou royaume ſouloit avoir iv marcs: c'eſt aſſavoir le

[*x*] Table of Engliſh Silver Coins, p. 1, 2.

"marc

" marc de Troyes, qui poiſe xiv ſols, ii den. Eſterlins de " poix . . . . . le marc de la Rochelle, dit d'Angleterre, " qui poiſe xiii s. iv den. Eſterlins de poix."

THIS account was moſt probably taken about the beginning of Edward the Third's reign, not long after A. D. 1329; and as the proportion is here given by Mr. Folkes, the weight of the Rochelle or Engliſh pound will be found 451,76 Troy grains, ſomething heavier than the former.

THE difference between theſe two eſtimates is ſo inconſiderable, that either of them will anſwer our purpoſe, and ſhew, if not exactly, yet very nearly, the weight of the old Saxon pound. But of the two I ſhould prefer the laſt, becauſe it was ſo much nearer the Saxon times; and eſtimating the weight of the ſeveral pounds, was not an incidental point, as in the former caſe, but the very buſineſs of the writer; and becauſe (which Mr. Folkes did not ſeem to ſuſpect) the Troy pound had been eſtabliſhed in our mints; and the old Tower pound quite diſuſed, ſome years before that eſtimate of Henry the Eighth was taken. But both theſe computations are ſo near each other, that they were certainly taken from the ſame pound, and have in proportion a much greater agreement, than the coins which were ſtruck out of it.

IT is no wonder indeed, that the Saxons were very far from being exact in the weight of their coins, when the Romans themſelves, in much more elegant and polite ages, were almoſt as careleſs in this particular. " The

" denarius

" denarius Caeſareus (ſays Mr. Greaves [y]), if we reſpect " ſome definitive quantity and weight, was various and " uncertain; being under the firſt emperors ſometimes " more, ſometimes leſs, as the reaſons and exigencies of " the ſtate did require, or as the profuſeneſs and prodi- " gality of thoſe times." And under the later emperors, with whoſe cuſtoms the German nations were better acquainted, the variation was ſtill greater. The denarii of the ſame princes, and the ſame impreſſion, differed ſo much in weight, that Villalpandus [z], after many experiments, concluded they would be of very little uſe in determining the weight of the Roman pound.

If this was the practice at Rome, we may well imagine, that among the Saxons [a] ſuch an exactneſs in the

[y] De denario, p. 96. ed. 1647.

[z] " Cum plures denarios appenderemus ejuſdem formae, inſcriptionis, et " pene magnitudinis, atque ita ſimiles, ut non ſolum eodem tempore, ſed " eodem prorſus die percuſſos fuiſſe conjiceres, tamen eos deprendimus, quinis, " novenis, aut denis granis pondere a ſe invicem diſtare." Villalpand. De apparatu urbis et templi, vol. iii. p. 357.

[a] " Quod attinet ad diverſitatem tam ponderis, quam magnitudinis, quae " in denariis Anglo-Saxonicis facile conſpicitur, eam, opinor, ortam eſſe par- " tim a diverſo argenti valore juxta majorem minoremve ejus copiam; partim " a diverſo ſtatu, quo res principum ſe habuerint: Eandem diverſitatem in " nummis aliarum gentium conſpicere licet: Nec te fugit, domine, rei num- " mariae ſcientiſſime, cum pondere, tum magnitudine ſaepius immutatum eſſe " denarium Romanum." Fountaine's differtat. epiſtolar. ad Thomam comitem Pembrochiae, p. 164. The reaſons here alledged, muſt contribute ſomething towards this effect. But the principal cauſe, why the Roman as well as Saxon moneyers were ſo careleſs about this matter, was the nature of their payments: the Romans under the republic and firſt emperors paid by a pound in tale, much heavier than the real pound. The Saxons paid all

weight of their coins was neither obſerved nor attempted. Their moneyers might never think of executing this part of their work with ſo much preciſion. The difference of a few grains more or leſs in the weight of a coin might be looked upon as a thing of no moment. For all their conſiderable payments were made either *ad penſum* [*b*] in full weight, or in a way more agreeable to the antient Greek and Roman methods of payment *ad numerum*, by increaſing the tale to a certain number in every pound, as the known and ſettled allowance for the loſs of weight. By this means the buſineſs of making their coins exactly equal was really a matter of no great conſequence. The Public, the Exchequer, could ſuffer no injury by any little diminution in the coins; they weighed all; or took the ſtated allowance for the loſs of weight. All the conſiderable payments were made in the ſame manner.

their great ſums of money by weight; by this means the difference of 8 or 10 grains in their pennies was of much leſs moment.

[*b*] This appears in many inſtances. Thus, Gen. xxiii. 16. Our tranſlation ſays as the Heb. and LXX do, "Abraham weighed to Ephron the ſilver, "which he had named, in the audience of the ſons of Heth, four hundred "ſhekels of ſilver current money with the merchant." But the Saxon verſion renders this laſt clauſe in a manner more ſuitable to their own practice, ꝼeoꝑꝑ hunꝺ ꝼcillinga ꝼeolꝼneꝼ be ꝼullon gepihte, *four hundred ſhekels of ſilver in full weight.* Thus in Ethelſtan's will, he leaves two hundred and fifty mancuſes of gold by weight. ꝺꝑiꝺꝺe healꝼ hunꝺ mancoꝛen golꝺeꝼ by gepihte. App. ad Somner's Gavelkind, p. 197. ed. 4^to^. The Romans, when their denarius was brought from ſeven to eight in the ounce, began to exchange the old cuſtom of paying by tale, for payments by weight. The officers of the revenue ſeem to have had in this reſpect a diſcretionary power. Caſſiodorus alludes to this practice: "Pondus quinetiam denariis conſtitutum "praecipimus debere ſervari, qui olim tam *penſo*, quam *numero* vendebantur:

Thorne,

Thorne [*c*], who was a monk of St. Auſtin's in Canterbury, tells a ſtory of one of his brethren, a very noted financer, Solomon Ripple; which ſhews that this practice continued long after the Saxon times. He furniſhed his money-ſcales, or *penny-piſe* (as Thorne calls them), with weights of his own contrivance, and concealed the fraud under the ſpecious appearance of weighing the money he received by the current coin of the kingdom. He put ſome of the faireſt and heavieſt of the old pennies into the ſcale as weights; and took all the payments, that were made him in that proportion. By this means, as the hiſtorian obſerves, he often got 5 ſhillings, or at leaſt 3 ſhillings and 4 pence, in the pound more than his real due. This proved at laſt a very dangerous, as it certainly was a very fraudulent, practice: the extraordinary gain, which was made by it, evidently ſhews, that there

"unde verborum vocabula competenter ab origine trahens, *compendium* et "*diſpendium* pulchre vocitavit antiqnitas." Caſſiodori Variar. lib. vii. for. 32.

[*c*] "Qui vero Salomon hujus ſaeculi prudens fabricavit ſibi ſtateram ab- "bati et conventui poſtea doloſam et abhominabilem, quae dicitur *penny-* "*piſe*: et cum illâ triavit xx *s.* in denariis antiquis ponderis maximi, cum "quibus aequâ lance recipiebat denarios quorumcunque. Et qui ſperabat ſe "per xx *s.* acquietare, invitus ex ſuperhabundanti artabatur infundere v *s.* "vel iii *s.* iv *d.* ad minus." Decem ſcriptor. vol. ii. p. 2068. Nothing can account for the prodigious advantage made by this ſcandalous contrivance, from 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 25 per cent. but the great inequality of their pennies. When this fraud was diſcovered, it raiſed a very juſt and general clamour againſt the abbat and convent. The king himſelf took cogniſance of the affair, appointed a ſpecial commiſſion to examine it, with the earl of Oxford at their head, who ſummoned the delinquents to Rocheſter, fined the abbat and convent in a conſiderable ſum for the knavery and extortion of their officer, obliged them to make full reſtitution, and pay all coſts.

was a very wide difference in the weight of their coins; ſome muſt be, as much below, as others were above, the true weight. But in the ſmaller ſums all theſe unequal coins might paſs currently without any ſort of inconvenience, juſt as they do among us, notwithſtanding the great difference in their weight.

EVEN in later times, when the ſkill and taſte of the Engliſh moneyers was much improved, they did not think it neceſſary, to ſtrike their coins in an exact proportion to one another. In Edward the Third's time, it appears by the indentures [*d*] then made for coinage; that when the penny was to weigh 20 grains Troy, the groat was to weigh 72 ſuch grains. In the coins of Edward the Firſt [*e*] the difference is ſtill greater, and in the other extreme: his penny weighed ſomething leſs than 22 Troy grains, and a quarter; and yet ſome of his groats (or pieces that were to paſs for groats) weighed, as appears by a few of them now remaining, from 80, to 85, 92, and 116 Troy grains: when the juſt weight of the groat, in due proportion to the penny, ſhould have been ſomething leſs than 89 Troy grains.

THIS ſhews how precarious thoſe concluſions [*f*] muſt be, which determine the weight of the pound from the weight of any particular coin. How many different

[*d*] Mr. Folkes's tables, p. 11.

[*e*] Ibid. p. 8.

[*f*] Monſieur Eiſenſchmid's calculation of the weight of the Greek pound is taken from a ſingle coin: a moſt uncertain and fallacious eſtimate, by no means ſufficient to outweigh the authority of ſo many ancient writers, who were perfectly well acquainted with the weights of Greece and Rome.

Saxon

Saxon pounds would be produced from ſuch calculations? how ridiculous would it be to expect an exact agreement in the weight of their money, when their Anglo-Norman ſucceſſors, and even the Romans themſelves, were ſo careleſs in this particular?

The buſineſs of making exact calculations was a point very little practiſed or underſtood in thoſe ages. We ſee this in our moſt public acts; where the wiſdom and juſtice of the nation were concerned, they did not give themſelves the trouble of carrying the rules of proportion to any critical exactneſs. In the famous ſtatute [g] of 51 Hen. III. made to regulate the aſſize of bread, and where though an exact proportion between the price of wheat and the weight of bread was moſt probably intended, yet it is very ſeldom obſerved. The ſtatute ſays, "That when "a quarter of wheat is ſold for a iii ſhillings and vi pence, "then a waſtel bread of a farthing ſhall weigh two

[g] The obſervations here made upon this ſtatute are taken from Dr. Record's arithmetic, and reſt upon his authority. The table, in 51 Hen. III. carries the rate for the aſſize of bread, from 1 ſhilling per quarter to 12 ſhillings. Dr. Record publiſhed another table of the aſſize, from 12 ſhillings to 20 per quarter, taken (as he ſays) from a copy that was then 200 years old, which muſt then be, as old as Edward the Third's reign. I mention this only to obſerve how very inconſiderable a progreſs was even then made in this part of knowledge, and how little they knew of arithmetical calculations; for this table, by Dr. Record's account, has as many miſtakes in it as the former. This ſtatute of 51 Hen. III. is the firſt public act now remaining, that was made after the cities and buroughs were repreſented in parliament. Theſe new members ſhewed a proper regard to the intereſt of their conſtituents by this new law. For it was highly requiſite, that in ſuch large and populous diſtricts, as many of them repreſented, the weight of bread ſhould be adjuſted by law.

"pounds

"pounds two ſhillings." But, according to the proportion, which the ſtatute ſets out with, the weight of this bread ought to have been one pound, eighteen ſhillings, and ten pence. We meet with ſeveral miſtakes of this ſort in that ſtatute.

In a diſſertation about Pounds, Shillings, and Pence, the reader will, from the very nature of it, be prepared to expect and excuſe ſome minute particulars. Writers upon the ſubject of ancient coins are like other money ſcriveners: they often lend, what they borrow of others; and there is no ſtating and balancing ſuch accounts to any purpoſe, without taking in the ſmaller articles. For what is not of importance may be of uſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The SAXON POUND. *The ſeveral* ANCIENT POUNDS. *Their uſe and application. The different origin of the* TEUTONIC *and* CELTIC *nations.*

JO. Fred. Gronovius [*b*] and Biſhop Hooper were of opinion, that the Saxons, at their firſt ſettlements in this iſland, made uſe of ſuch weights and meaſures, as they found here; which were undoubtely Roman. This opinion, as to the evidence then in being, before the old Tower pound was diſcovered, was a very probable conjecture: but it is now certain they did not: the Saxons brought their own weights and meaſures along with them from Germany. Their pound was conſiderably heavier than the higheſt [*i*] eſtimate, which has been made of the Roman; and differs, as Mr. Folkes [*k*] has obſerved, very little from the Colonia weight, which is ſtill uſed by the Germans in all the money-affairs of that country. Mr. Eiſenſchmid [*l*] has given us very accurate obſervations upon the two moſt ancient German pounds, the Cologn, and the Straſburg; which compared with the Saxon ſtand thus:

[*b*] De pecun. vet. 347. ed. 1691. Inquiry into ancient weights and meaſures, 400, 404.

[*i*] Except that metrical eſtimate made by Monſieur La Barre, which ſhall be conſidered in another place.

[*k*] Tables of Engliſh coins, p. 4.

[*l*] Jo. Caſp. Eiſenſchmid, De ponder. et menſ. vet. 8, 9. ed. 1737.

The

	Troy grains.	Dec.
The old Tower or Saxon ounce, as taken from the accounts in our Exchequer, A. D. 1527	450	
The preſent Colonia ounce	451	38
The Straſburg ounce, as taken from ſtandards made A. D. 1238	451	38
The old Saxon or Tower ounce, as taken from the chamber of accounts at Paris about Edward the Third's time, after A. D. 1327	451	76
The preſent Straſburg ounce	454	75

Such are the accounts of theſe German weights; and conſidering that theſe eſtimates were taken in different ages and countries, they have a moſt remarkable agreement. They do not differ ſo much from one another, as the very ſtandards of the Straſburg [*m*] pound, which have in all appearance been carefully preſerved in their public offices, differ from themſelves. There is therefore great reaſon to believe, they were all originally the very ſame pound. One of our moſt conſiderable old hiſtorians obſerved, that the German and Engliſh money was very nearly of the ſame value.

"DEDERUNT captivi Bononienſibus, ut mitius tene-
"rentur—octodecim [*n*] millia librarum de moneta *Im-*
"*perialium*, quae tantum *fere* valet, quantum *Eſterlingo-*
"*rum*."

[*m*] Eiſenſchmid. ut ſupra.
[*n*] Matt. Paris, Hiſtor. 665. ad A. D. 1249.

As

As all great ſums were then paid by weight, this ſhews that there was very little difference in the weight of the two pounds, but that the Engliſh was then ſomething heavier than the German; and conſequently confirms the eſtimate taken from the chamber of accounts at Paris, that was juſt mentioned. The immemorial uſage of this pound in Germany, and in this iſland from the firſt arrival of the Saxons till Henry the Seventh's time, proves its great antiquity: that it was common to the whole Teutonic nation: that it ſpread through all its branches, and was carried abroad with them in all their different ſettlements, and emigrations.

WHERE it is neceſſary to carry on a conſtant traffic, an agreement in this point, is a matter of no ſmall moment. It was formerly thought ſo conſiderable, that, in the famous Achean league, the aſſociated cities were obliged to uſe the ſame weights and meaſures by one of their articles [a]. But as the moſt ancient Germans were never formed into any ſettled communities; as they conſiſted of many roving bodies, which were perpetually invading and diſlodging one another, their agreement in weights and meaſures was rather owing to immemorial uſage, than any definitive and public treaties. There was neither ſo much harmony, nor ſo much trade among them, as to give this matter ſuch a ſolemn deciſion. This nummulary pound therefore was moſt probably as ancient, as their firſt ſettlements, and took its riſe from the very be-

[a] Νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καὶ ϛαθμοῖς, καὶ μέτροις. Polyb. 125. ed. Caſaub.

ginning of commerce among that people, which was at firſt begun, and carried on for ſeveral ages with the Greeks. This appears from hiſtory, from the oldeſt, and beſt authorities; and their pound agrees with that original: it is the very ſame as the ancient Greek pound. Dr. Arburthnot [p] makes the Greek ounce 455,33 Troy grains, not a grain heavier than the Straſburg.

BUT leſt this agreement ſhould appear merely accidental, and conſequently not worth our notice; or this opinion be thought nothing more than a random conjecture, which deſerves no credit, I think it neceſſary to enlarge a little upon this point, and ſhew what reaſons we have for concluding, that our old Saxon pound, the ſame which was univerſally uſed by the ancient Germans, was of Greek original.

THE beſt way of computing the weight of the ancient Greek pound, which can now be taken, is from its analogy with the Roman: for, in adjuſting the weight of the Roman pound, we proceed upon more and clearer premiſes. Though the concluſions drawn from them do not exactly agree, yet they are not very different, and are ſufficient to prove, if not preciſely, yet very nearly, the weight of the Roman and Greek pounds. Let us take that eſtimate of the Roman pound, which is moſt approved. The Roman ounce, as our very accurate and learned countryman Mr. Greaves [q] has given it, is equal to 438 Troy grains. If this is tolerably exact, the weight

[p] Tables of ancient coins. [q] Denarius, p. 120, ed. 1647.

of

of the Greek ounce is certainly and evidently deduced from it. For the Roman pound was to the Athenian, as 24 to 25. Galen [r], Cleopatra, Hero, Fannius, all the principal and profeſſed writers upon the ſubject, agree in this. Their evidence has the greater weight, becauſe it was a matter of fact under their own obſervation; not an account tranſcribed from one another: for though they all give the ſame proportion between theſe two pounds, yet it is very differently expreſſed. I ſhall give ſome of the paſſages at the bottom of the page. As 24 therefore is to 25; ſo 438, the Roman ounce, was to the Greek; which, by this proportion, muſt be 456 ½ Troy grains: it is almoſt as near as poſſible to Dr Arbuthnot's calculation, not a grain more.

I KNOW that Mr. Greaves's eſtimate of the Roman pound has been objected to, as ſetting it rather too high. If I was diſpoſed to favour any opinion further than the faireſt appearance of truth would favour it, ſeveral of theſe lower eſtimates would anſwer my purpoſe ſomething bet-

[r] Ἡ Ἀτ∫ικὴ μνᾶ ἔχει ἀγκίας ιϛ', s. i. e. ſemis, aut dimidium. Cleopat. in Hen. Steph. Lexicon Graec. in Append. p. 218. Ἀτ∫ικὴ μνᾶ σα∫ήρων ἐσὶ κή, ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ λίτρα σα∫ήρων κδ'. Hero apud Scalig. De re nummaria in Gron. Antiqq. Graec. vol. ix.

"Accipe praeterea patrio quam nomine Graii
"Μνᾶν vocitant, noſtrique Minam dixere priores.
"Centum hae ſunt drachmae, quod ſi decerpſeris illis
"Quatuor, efficient hanc noſtram denique Libram."

Fannius, vel potius Priſcian. in Graevii Antiqq. Rom. xi. 1693.

Theſe are all exactly in the ſame proportion, and ſhew the true difference between the two pounds. The Greek pound was to the Roman, as twelve ounces, and a half, 25 ſtaters, and 100 drachmae are to twelve ounces, 24 ſtaters, and 96 drachmae.

ter, and bring the agreement between the Greek and Saxon pounds ſtill nearer. Let us obſerve how it would ſtand upon theſe calculations.

	Troy grains.
Dr. Langwith's [*s*] Roman ounce from coins would make the Greek	452 11/12
Monſieur Peireſk's [*t*], from ancient weights	451 1/12
Monſieur Aurout's [*u*], from the congius	450

Theſe two laſt are almoſt exactly the ſame, as the two different eſtimates of the Saxon ounce.

BUT I am perſuaded there is no reaſon for leſſening Mr. Greaves's computation; and I am ſure there is none for attempting to prove an exact coincidence between the Greek and Saxon pounds. The weights of the ſame country, that have in all appearance been carefully preſerved, have ſometimes as great a difference. A ſmall increaſe or diminution is a common caſe: it might ariſe from not attending to the neceſſary wear of the pound; or the public ordinances, which were ſometimes made to fix the allowance for over-weight or turn of the ſcale, might occaſion ſome of theſe little variations. It is certain, that they might eaſily happen in thoſe remoter ages, when (as Mr. Folkes [*w*] ſays) the ſtandards of weights and meaſures were neither made, nor preſerved, with the

[*s*] Dr. Langwith's obſervations on Dr. Arbuthnot's diſſertations, p. 11, 12.

[*t*] Vita Peireſkii per Gaſſend. l. ii. p. 168. edit. Hagae 1651. et Eiſenſchmid, De ponder. ed. 2da. p. 23.

[*u*] Hooper's Inquiry, 171. Eiſenſchmid, ut ſupra, 27.

[*w*] Tables, p. 4.

ſame

ſame care, they have ſince been. But whatever eſtimate we take, the fact itſelf, the near agreement between the Greek, and German or Saxon pounds, is very evident: there is no difficulty in ſhewing this connexion. The principal point is to prove, that the Saxon pound was taken from the Greek.

HERE direct teſtimonies are not to be expected. There are no ancient authors that expreſly aſſert this. National cuſtoms have commonly very obſcure beginnings; and length of time increaſes this obſcurity. It is but of late, that the moſt polite people have given much attention to ſuch enquiries. The Saxons knew nothing of them. In thoſe early ages, they had no concern about tranſmitting an account of things preſent; much leſs of enquiring after what was paſt. We muſt therefore be content with ſuch proofs, as the nature of the thing, at this diſtance of time, admits; with arguments taken from SIMILAR CUSTOMS, MUTUAL COMMERCE, and ORIGINAL DESCENT. Theſe muſt be allowed as proper evidence; and I ſhall put the obſervations, which I have made upon each of theſe heads, in the following order.

FIRST then, the Saxon meaſures of Length are the ſame, or very nearly the ſame as the Greek; which had exactly the ſame proportion to the Roman. The ancient ſtadium was 600 foot long according to the Grecian [x]

[x] Αἱ δὲ ἑκατὸν ὀργυαὶ δίκαιόν εἰσι σάδιον ἑξάπλεθρον, "Centum autem juſti paſſus "ſunt ſtadium unum ſex plethrorum." Herod. ii. c. 149. The πλέθρον was a hundred foot, and conſequently the ſtadium 600. Suidas, voc. Πλέθρον.

meaſure,

meaſure, and 625 according to the Roman [*y*]. The conſequence therefore is plain, that the Greek meaſures of length bore the ſame proportion to the Roman, as their weights did; i. e. were one twenty-fourth part longer. Our preſent Engliſh [*z*] foot differs but very little from the Greek meaſure adjuſted by this proportion. But, if what Dr. Bernard [*a*] inſiſts upon is right, it is needleſs to appeal to any other authority. He had examined all the ancient weights and meaſures with great application and abilities, and determined that the Greek and Engliſh foot were exactly equal; that the temples of Minerva, Theſeus, and of the eight winds now remaining in Attica, are ſtanding monuments of this agreement. Biſhop Hooper [*b*] confirmed this account by the authority of his friend Mr. Vernon.

To refer all this analogy between the Greek and Saxon weights and meaſures [*c*] to mere accident only is ſaying

[*y*] "Stadium centum et viginti quinque *noſtros* efficit paſſus, hoc eſt, "pedes ſexcentos viginti quinque." Plin. N. H. c. 21. p. 86. "Stadium, "deinde, habet paſſus CXXV. i. e. pedes DCXXV." Ibid. l. v. c. 1.

[*z*] The Roman foot, as it ſtands upon the monument of Coſſutius now at Rome, bears very nearly the ſame proportion to ours. Mr. Greaves's eſtimate of the Roman foot was taken from this monument: ſuppoſing this to have been the exact Roman meaſure, the difference between our Engliſh foot and the Greek is only $\frac{1}{143}$ part; an inconſiderable variation.

[*a*] "Aequantur inter ſe pes Anglicus, et Atticus ſive Graecus." Bernard. De ponder. 197.

[*b*] Inquiry, &c. p. 39. Dr. Spon's account agrees tolerably well with Mr. Vernon's.

[*c*] Their meaſures of capacity have nearly the ſame agreement. There were among the Greeks for different purpoſes different buſhels in uſe, the larger and leſſer medimnus. This diverſity ſtill ſubſiſts in our own country.

nothing;

nothing; or what is next to nothing, that no reaſon at all can be given for a fact, which cannot be accounted for without one: for mere accident is nothing. It was ten thouſand to one, that there ſhould be exactly the ſame proportion between their weights and meaſures, if they were taken up only by chance: it is refuſing to admit a very ſatisfactory reaſon, ſupported by good authorities, that this agreement was owing to ſuch cauſes, as were moſt likely to produce it, ORIGINAL COMMERCE and DESCENT.

THE forming the greater weights and eſtimates upon the ſame combinations of the pound is another evidence of their coming from the ſame original. The Romans, in their money affairs, made no uſe of the talent, except in their treaties and tranſactions with the Greeks and ſome Eaſtern nations. A Roman talent is a thing unheard of among their writers. The Greeks uſe it perpetually, and their nummulary talent was 60 pounds. The word Talent does not, I believe, occur in the preſent remains of the Saxon language; but the weight, the eſtimate does exactly. Their laws have rated their greater fines in this proportion. For the murder of a King the law [*d*] ſays,

Hoſtus has obſerved, that the buſhel in ſome parts of Germany was the very ſame as the Greek medimnus, 186. The uſual allowance for meaſure in moſt parts of England is about a gallon more than the ſtatute buſhel, which brings it to the medimnus of the Greeks.

[*d*] The words are, Ðonne biꝺ Cynger anfealꝺ pergylꝺ ir rix þegna pergylꝺ be Mypcna lagan . . . ⁊ ƿ biꝺ eallef cxx punda . . . Anꝺ for þam cynebome gebynaꝺ oþer rpile to bote on cynegylꝺe. Legg. Sax. p. 64, 72. Dr. Wilkins, in the tranſlation of this laſt clauſe, has loſt the meaning in-

that

that the Weregylde is 120 pounds, and his Cynegylde 120*l.* more; i. e. a fine of twice 60 pounds, or two talents, was due to the public, and as much more to his family, in all, four talents, or 240 pounds. The taking up ſuch an uncommon way of computation, as was uſed by no other European nation, but the Greeks, can hardly be thought the work of chance. If the Saxons had not been accuſtomed to uſe that eſtimate, they would moſt probably have ſettled this fine in round numbers by the hundred, as the Danes afterwards did their tributes,

tirely. "Et pro regno *decet aliud quid* in compenſatione regia." There is neither the ſpirit, nor the preciſion of a law in this language. The Saxons were not ſuch ridiculous legiſlators, as to leave the fine for the murder of a king undetermined; or to make one part of it a matter of decency, and the other a ſum payable at the diſcretion of the traitor. How much better is Brompton's old verſion? "Sed pro dignitate regiâ debet addi *tantundem* in Cynegylde." Oþer ꝥilc is properly *tantundem*, as much more, making the whole equal to the fine for the murder of twelve Thanes. Dr. Wilkins's edition of the Saxon laws had been much more complete, if he had inſerted all Brompton's verſions, who has preſerved ſeveral Saxon laws, the originals of which are loſt. Though there may be many barbariſms and miſtakes in that verſion, yet they often ſerve to explain or determine the true reading. The ſpirit of the old Saxon criminal laws was the reverſe of ours; and perhaps both extremes are equally impolitic. With us, the leaſt crimes are made capital: with them, the higheſt degree of high treaſon itſelf was only a pecuniary puniſhment. Perſons of rank and fortune might aſſaſſinate their prince, and pay the penalty by a fine; your little villains only, who were not able to raiſe ſuch a ſum, muſt dye for it. Our criminal juriſprudence is remarkably ſevere, when our preſent moſt diſtinguiſhed character is humanity. But there is no judging of the manners of an age by the mere letter of their laws. The fine of 240 pound, in all appearance ſo contemptible, was in its real value very near 700*l.* ſterling, and in its relative one, i. e. in proportion to the different value of money in that age and this, was not leſs than 14,000*l.* For the difference might be reaſonably eſtimated as 20 to one, beſides the weight.

at

at 200 or 300 pounds: that theſe Saxon laws were formed upon the particular proportion of the Greek talent can be no queſtion; ſince Mr. Folkes [*e*] has informed us, that the talent weight continues in our mint to this very day: they have there from time immemorial weighed off all their ſilver by the talent weight: every journey (as they call it) or quantity of ſilver weighed off at one time, being always 60 pounds. The moneyers did this for ſo many ages, *only* becauſe it was cuſtomary; but no reaſon can be aſſigned for ſuch a cuſtom, except this, that thoſe anceſtors of ours, who began this uſage of the Greek talent in their mints, had it from the Greeks.

THE common way of reckoning money among the Saxons has an appearance of coming from the ſame country. They did not compute ſums of money, as the

[*e*] Tables of Engliſh coins, p. 59. Our mints make a difference between the journey or quantity of ſilver weighed off at one time, and the journey or quantity of gold. The ſilver is always 60 pound, the old Greek talent; the gold is only 15 pound, a quarter of the other. How far this difference took place among the ancients is a queſtion. Gronovius ſays, "Idem ponderis "nomen in auri minore ſumma, in argenti majore placuit." De ſeſter. p. 167. This is a point of moment, and deſerves a more particular enquiry; but where ſhall we find premiſes? The Jewiſh Talents both of gold and ſilver were certainly the ſame. Dr. Arbuthnot obſerves, that the nummary Maneh conſiſted *only* of 60 ſhekels; and the ponderal Maneh conſiſted *only* of 50 ſhekels: but the Talent was the ſame in both; ſee Tables, and p. 39, 40. This ſeems to be a little obſcure. The Talent was certainly 3000 ſhekels, and the Maneh 50, i. e. 50 ſhekels were ſtruck out of a Maneh, or Mina; and 60 Maneh, or 60 times 50 ſhekels, made a Talent. But this difference is moſt probably to be underſtood, not of 50 ſhekels and 60 making the ſame weight; but according to the Greek and Roman practice, i. e. if you paid in tale, 60 ſhekels were reckoned to the Maneh, to allow for the loſs of weight, though 50 only were ſtruck out of it at the mint.

Romans uſually did, and moſt of the European nations do at this day, by placing the whole ſum under ſome leſſer denominations, and ſo many ſeſterces, livres, milrees, crowns, florens, dollars, &c. but by placing it under different articles, by Pounds, Shillings, and Pence; juſt as the Minae, Drachmae, Oboli of the Greeks. For in their computations, the parts of the obolus [*f*] were conſidered, as the parts of the penny are in ours.

THE Saxon [*g*] way of reckoning fractions, or parts of quantities, has that remarkable peculiarity, which has been frequently obſerved as one of the Greek idioms. Pollux [*h*] ſays (and it appears indeed from more conſiderable authorities), that, when the Greeks would expreſs four talents, and a half, or ſix talents and a half, &c. they called them τέμπλον ἡμιτάλαντον, ἕβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον, &c. This mode of expreſſion was very familiar among the Saxons: þriddе healf pennig is juſt as good Saxon, as τρίτον ἡμιωβόλιον is Greek. Thus in Prince Ethelſtan's [*i*] will, þriddе halfe hund mancuſen ſoldеf, *two hundred and fifty mancuſes of gold.* And, in the Saxon chronicle [*k*], feoрde healf hund ſcipe, *three hundred and fifty ſhips.*

ALL the different Teutonic branches preſerved the ſame idiom. It occurs frequently in the old Ripuarian laws, "tertio dimidio ſolido, quinto dimidio ſolido," for

[*f*] Taylor's Marm. Sandvic. p. 25.

[*g*] Ibid. p. 31, 32. Hickes's Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 33. Diſſertat. Epiſtolar. 150. Suidas in voc. Τάλαντον.

[*h*] L. ix. c. 6.

[*i*] Somner on Gavelkind, p. 197. ed. 1726.

[*k*] Chron. Saxon. 74. "Nullus dubito, quin hanc numerandi rationem "Anglo-Saxones a Gothis, et Gothi vel Getae a Graecis acceperint." Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſtol. 150.

two

two ſolidi and a half, four ſolidi and a half. Theſe expreſſions ſeem to evince, that theſe laws were written originally in German: if they had been drawn up at firſt in Latin, the legiſlators would not have expreſſed themſelves in a manner almoſt unknown in that language, and which renders the tranſlation ſo obſcure and barbarous, that it is ſcarce to be underſtood.[m]

BUT this is not a ſingular inſtance of the agreement between the Greek and Saxon languages. They have in ſeveral reſpects a very particular reſemblance. Many of the primitive Saxon words are undoubtedly of Greek original: for if any words are truly primitive, thoſe that expreſs the *elements*, the *common relations*, and *domeſtic concerns* of life muſt have the faireſt claim to that title; becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary from the beginning to have words to expreſs thoſe ideas. There could be no ſociety, no converſing at all without them.

I SHALL give a ſhort ſpecimen of this affinity taken chiefly from Mr. Camden's [n], Dr. Meric Caſaubon's, and Dr. Wallis's collections.

[l] Lindenbrogii Cod. Legg. Antiquar. p. 433. and Wilkins's Gloſſary to the Saxon laws, voc. Meanc.

[m] The Romans, in the original caſt of their language, preſerved a few inſtances of this form. "Seſtertius, quod ſemis tertius: Dupondius enim et "ſemis antiquis ſeſtertius eſt; et veteris conſuetudinis eſt, ut retro aera dice-"rentur, ita ut Semis tertius, Semis quartus pronuntiarent." Varr. De ling. Lat. p. 28, 41. "Trientem tertium pondo coronam auream dediſſe ſe Jovi "donum ſcripſit T. Quinctius dictator, duas libras pondo et trientem." Feſtus in v. TRIENTEM. Vid. Caſaub. notas in Theophraſt. Char. c. vi. ed. Cant. 1712. p. 67.

[n] Camden's remains, p. 32. Caſaubon's Diſſertatio de lingua Anglicana vet. p. 236. Wallis's Gram. Anglicana, p. 163. ed. 1764.

Ἀηρ, *air*; ἔρρ-α [o], *earth*; πῦρ, *fire*; ὕδωρ, *water*; αἴθηρ, *weather*; μήνη, *moon*; ἀ-στὴρ, *ſtar*; σκι-ὰ, *ſky*; χιὼ-ν, *ſnow*; θάλασ-σα, *ſea*; ἀ-χλὺς, *cloud*; ῥαν-ὶς, *rain*; χάλ-αζα, *hail*.

Πατὴρ, *father*; μήτηρ, *mother*; φράτηρ, *brother*; ὑστέρ-α, *ſiſter*; θυ-γάτηρ, *daughter*; μάν-ης [p], *man*; παῖς [q], *boy*; κυρίε, lapeop Sax. and by contraction *lord*; ἔθνη, *heathen*; λαὸς, leod Sax. *people*; μῦθ-ος, *mouth*; θρό-ος, *ſermo*, hence *throat*; ὀφρὺς, *brow*; χόνδ-υλος, *hand*; πυξ, *fiſt*; πόδ-α, *foot*; γνὺξ, *knee*; καρδ-ία, *heart*; χολ-ὴ, *call*; γέν-ειον, *chin*; τίτ-θη, *teat*; ἔντερ-α, *entrails*; βοῦς, *cow*; ὄϊς, *ſheep*; ἀμν-ὸς, *lamb*; ἴελ-ος, *wool*; θήρ-α, *deer*;

[o] The ancient Germans pronounced *earth*, as we do *hearth* at preſent, with an aſper in the beginning. Theſe two words were originally the ſame: Tacitus obſerves, that the earth was one of the German Deities; in com-
"mune Herthum, i. e. Terram matrem colunt." De mor. German. c. xl.

[p] Monſieur Menage, in his notes upon Laertius, p. 215, 216, ſays, that, the word *Manes*, though probably of eaſtern original, was uſed by the Greeks to ſignify a ſervant, juſt as we uſe the word Man. And it is very probable that *Manes* was originally uſed by the Greeks, as diſtinctive of the ſpecies. For what is the Latin *homines*, but ὁ μάνης, with the article prefixed? and are not *Manes*, *Dii Manes*, Δαίμονες, the ſame word differently applied? This ſolemn uſe of the word *Manes* might poſſibly be the reaſon, why the firſt and common ſignification of it, as a Man, was quite dropped. It certainly was in uſe among the old Germans from the beginning. They had ſome obſcure notions of the origin of mankind, and made *Mannus* the firſt of their anceſtors: "Tuiſtonem Deum terrâ editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis, "conditoresque." De mor. Germ. c. ii.

[q] One would ſcarce imagine at firſt ſight, that our Engliſh word *boy*, and the Latin *puer*, came from the ſame original; and yet that is evidently the caſe. From παῖς, changing one labial letter for another, came *boy*: and from πόϊρ Dorice pro παῖς came (as Salmaſius obſerves) the Latin, *puer*. "Quae-
"cunque cum litera Sigma apud Dores reliquos in fine efferrentur.....
"barbari, qui Peloponneſum incolebant, omnia in literam ῥῶ definentia ſolerent
"proferre." De ling. Hellen. p. 428, 429.

ἀλώ-πηξ,

ἀλώ-πηξ, *fox*; βά-τραχ-ος, *frog*; ἆθαρ, *udder*; γέρανος, *crane*.

Σιδ-ήριον, *iron*; μό-λιβδ-ον, *lead*; ἄργυρ-ος, *silver*; ἀυλ-ὴ, *hall*; δό-μω-ις, *house*; θύρ-α, *door*; ὄ-ροφ-ος, *roof*; μύλ-η, *mill*; σκάφ-η, *ship*; πύργ-ος, *burg*; στράτη, *street*; πάτος, *path*; βῆνοι, *downs*; νάπαι, *knaps*, colliculi; ἀξ-ίνη, *ax*; ξίφ-ος, *knife*; πέλ-λη, *pail*; κύπ-ελλον, *cup*; πο-ήριον, *pot*; κο-τύλ-η, *bowl*; βιὸς, *bow*; κί-βωτ-ος, *boat*; στρόφ-ος, *rope*; ῥάκ-ος, *rag*; δρῦς, Sax. τριγ, *tree*; ῥάβ-δος, *rod*; νοσσ-ὸς, *neſt*; εἰα, *hay*; ῥάμ-νος, *bramble*; δίαιτ-α, *diet*; βρωτ-ὸς, *broth*; τρώγλ-η, *hole*; ἄχθ-ος, *weight*; ὀλκ-ὴ, *bulk*; γέῤῥ-α, *war*; γόος, *woe*; ἀ-φρὸς, *froth*; καρπ-ὸς, *crop*; τέλ-ος, *tole*; ἄχ-ος, *ache*; κότ-ος, *hate*; ὕφ-ος, *woof*: and ſo the adjectives, πλατ-ὺς, *flat*; μέγ-ας, *big*; λίτ-ος, *little*; ξηρὸς, *ſear*; θερμὸς, *warm*, &c. &c.

I WOULD not trouble the reader with a larger collection [*r*]; for I have no thoughts of wandering far into

[*r*] M. Caſaubon was perſuaded, that the whole ground-work of the old Saxon language was Greek. "Ut libere dicam, quod ſentio, pauca, puto, vera et "genuina Anglica ſive Saxonica vetera reperiri, quae (iis exceptis quae Latinae "ſunt originis) ſi rite et diligenter expenduntur, non poſſint ad Graecos fontes "revocari." De quatuor Ling. p. 378. I ſhall mention but a word or two more. *Calata*, ſays Macrobius, was an old word for *vocata*, from the Greek καλῶ, *to call*. Saturn. i. c. 15. We have it from the ſame original, and pronounce the vowel in the old manner, remarkably open, as from αὐλὴ, *hall*. The way of pronouncing the elements of a language often continues much longer than the language itſelf. Thus we have the traces of a Roman pronuntiation in ſeveral words derived from the Latin; as *fa-mous* from *fama*; *fam-ine* from *fames*; the one manifeſtly pronounced long, and the other ſhort. When the vowel was long, the conſonant following made the firſt part of the next ſyllable; when it was ſhort, the conſonant was joined to that vowel. We learn this from a joke of Nero's upon the death of Claudius: "*Morari* eum inter "homines deſiiſſe, producta prima ſyllaba jocabatur." Suet. in Nero, c. xxxiii.

etymology:

etymology: it has been often treated, as an obſcure and uncertain thing: at beſt, a wild, where flowers and weeds are thrown up together in ſuch profuſion, that they require more ſkill to diſtinguiſh, than collect. The caſe indeed cannot well be otherwiſe: the origin of words is ſeldom enquired after, till their natural flexion is much altered by going through ſeveral climates and deſcents: when perhaps not only the primitives themſelves, but almoſt all the collateral branches are loſt. The Saxons did not take their language immediately from the Greeks; but from their intermediate anceſtors, the Thracians and Goths. This makes the rules and tracings of etymology obſcure and various; but does not intirely deſtroy their uſe.

MONSIEUR Menage [s] and Mr. Edward Lhwyd have made great advances in this part of learning. The deſcent of words, like that of families, may ſometimes be certainly diſcovered by their bearings. Modern pretenſions in both caſes are ſeldom without ſuſpicion, and

There is no other way of pronouncing the firſt ſyllable of *morari* long or ſhort, but by ſaying *mo-rari*, or *mor-ari*; the one from μωρὸς, the other from *moror*, which is ſhort. Σπλὴν, ſays an ancient critic, is one of the longeſt ſounds in the Greek language. Dion. Hal. περὶ συνθ. § 15. It is ſo in ours. Our improper diphthongs have upon this account no inconſiderable uſe: to reject them, and introduce a new orthography in this particular, which ſome perſons of taſte and learning have lately given into, ſeems to be ſuch an expedient, as will not conduce much to the improvement of our language. Theſe diphthongs ſhew at leaſt, how our anceſtors pronounced; and ſometimes inform us, that the words themſelves were introduced hither from ſome intermediate language, and not from the Latin or Greek originals.

[s] Dictionaire Etymologique, &c. Lhwyd's Archaeologia Britannica.

often

often juſtly rejected: but, if ancient, generally authentic.

I SHOULD not however have thought of producing the evidence that ariſes from etymology, if it was not ſupported by many other analogies between the two languages, that are not ſo eaſily introduced as words: there is a particular caſt, a manner of formation in all languages, which is difficult to transfuſe into others, not of the ſame claſs: a ſort of ſtamina, that cannot well be concealed or aſſumed, but by ſiſter tongues, which are allowed to ariſe from a common ſtock. A few inſtances will make this more evident.

ALMOST every one knows, that in the Greek verbs the infinitive of the preſent tenſe active always ends in ν, with a diphthong, or vowel preceding, as λέγειν, τιμᾶν: this was as univerſal among the Saxons [t]; they never departed from this rule, unleſs it was to lengthen the ſound by a final *e*, by which they uſed to expreſs a long ſyllable, and this perhaps but of later uſage. The Latin is widely different, and holds no reſemblance with it: in words manifeſtly borrowed from the Latin, the Saxons reduced them to the form of their own regular Greek infinitive: thus, from the Latin *elongare* lanȝian; *penſare* apinȝian; *fiſtulare*, apiȝtlian; *erigere* aræran. The ſucceſſive ſettlements of the Danes and Normans in England made great alterations [u] in the Saxon language; moſt of their old infinitives were by degrees much altered and con-

[t] Caſaubon, ut ſupra, p. 197.
[u] Hickeſii Gram. Anglo-Saxon. p. 101, 103.

tracted;

tracted; as luꝟian, into *love*; ꝛæcan, into *teach*; abæꝟan, into *bear*; cꝟacian, into *quake*; yet many of them are ſtill preſerved, as aꝺoꝟcian, *to darken*; acucian, to *quicken*; mænan, *to mean*, &c. The modern Greek has, in this reſpect, received a much greater and more unaccountable alteration. Though they ſtill uſe the ſame letters, and many of the ſame words; yet their verbs have no infinitives [*w*] at all: the uſe and form of them is intirely loſt.

THE Saxon language reſembles the Greek in the uſe of the article [*x*] before nouns proper and common; as ꝺe ꝟæꝺeꝟ, ὁ πατὴρ, *the father*; ꝺe ſunu, ὁ υἱὸς, *the ſon*: ꝺe Johannes, ὁ Ἰωάννης, *this John*: thus in the Saxon goſpels [*y*], as in ours: ꝺeo ꝟapel yꝟ ma þonne mete: ⁊ ꝺe lichama ma þonne ꝥ ꝟeaꝟ. *The life is more than meat, and the body than raiment.* The Saxon uſed the articles in all reſpects as the Greeks did: ſometimes to give a particular emphaſis to the word following; and ſometimes as quite ſuperfluous [*z*], and merely cuſtomary. Thus we ſay, *out at ſea, over ſea, upon the ſea, a-croſs the ſea*; meaning the ſame thing with, or without the article.

THE common Grammar rule about the Greek negatives is equally true in Saxon. They often throw two or

[*w*] Spon's Dictionaire du Grec vulgaire; at the end of his travels.

[*x*] Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 6.

[*y*] Luke xii. 23.

[*z*] "Multis autem locis adhibetur articulus (i. e. Graecus) ubi nullum ex "praecedentibus uſum habet, ſed vacat, vel potius ad ornatum ponitur." Steph. Lex. Graec. in v. Et traicte de la conformité, etc. 6. For the ancient uſe of the article, ſee Mr. Markland's note on the Supplices of Euripides, ver. 702. ed. Lond. 1763.

three

three together to make a ſtronger negation. It is thus expreſſed with great force and elegance in John i. 18. Ne ȝeȝeah næȝȝe nan man Goð. "*No* Man hath *never* ſeen "God at *no* Time." This way of uſing the negatives is common in Chaucer. We have an aſſemblage of them in the Knight's character, as a man of true honour. After deſcribing the hero, he adds,

"And of his port [*a*] as meke, as is a maid;
"He *never* yet *no* villany *ne* ſaid."

THE Saxons had no family names at all; no names conſiſting of two or three ſingle words, like the Romans; but uſually one compound proper name like the Greeks. Thus, *Albert*, all illuſtrious; *Ecgbert*, eminent for equity; *Herebert*, for war; *Cuthred*, celebrated for council; *Sigehelm*, a victorious defender; *Wilehelm*, a defender of the many, or of the people; *Godwin*, beloved of God; *Sigebald*, a bold conqueror, &c. juſt as Pericles, Themiſtocles, Stratocles, Polemarchus, Sophocles, Ariſtobulus, Nicocles, Demoſthenes, Polycrates, Theophilus, Thraſymachus, &c. among the Greeks, which have the very ſame import, as the Saxon names.

THEIR manner of comparing [*b*] adjectives has all the appearance of the Greek terminations, ſtriking off only the laſt letter, or ſyllable; as ȝoð, bereꝑa, bereȝta; ἀ-γαθ-ὸς, βέλ]ερος, βέλ]ιϛος: ſo ꝓiȝhtꝑiȝe, ꝓiȝhtꝑiȝeꝑa, ꝓiȝhtꝑiȝegta, *righteous*.

IN compounding words, they have all that eaſe, elegance, and variety, which is ſo remarkably expreſſive in

[*a*] Prologue to the Knight's Tale.
[*b*] Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 18. Caſaub. de quatuor linguis, p. 194, 195.

Greek. Dr. Hickes [c] looks upon this, as one of the greateſt beauties of the Saxon language; and obſerves, that Cædmon uſes no leſs than eight different compound words to expreſs Noah's ark. There is great force and beauty in theſe compoſitions. As, ſundenhalgan, *the ſeparate-holy*, i. e. the Phariſees, pitenagemot, *an aſſembly of the nobles*, a parliament; blodpæcan, *to ſpit blood*; bannleas, *childleſs*, &c. This often gives a ſtrength to our language, which the more diffuſe and uncompounded idiom of the French can ſcarce ever reach.

THE very manner of forming and expreſſing the ſounds of words does often very ſenſibly diſtinguiſh the country from whence they came. This ſort of connexion gives another great appearance of probability to the preſent claim. The Saxons uſed the digamma in the beginning and middle of words, juſt as the Æolian [d] Greeks uſed it,

[c] "Linguarum nulla, ne ipſa quidem Graeca, in componendis nominibus "frequentior eſt, ita nec quidem felicior." Gram. Anglo-Sax. et Caſaub. ut ſupra, p. 217.

[d] In pronouncing both Greek and Latin, the ſound of the digamma was familiar and well known. The Æolians expreſſed this ſound by a particular character, and ſo poſſibly might the other Greeks; but this does not ſeem ſufficiently evinced: for the ancients ſpeak of the digamma as peculiar to the Æolians. Thus Terentianus,

"Nominum multa inchoata literis vocalibus
"*Æolicus* uſus reformat, et digammon praeficit."

The different powers of it were theſe: It was inſerted between two vowels in the middle of words, or before a vowel at the beginning with the ſound of a V conſonant. Or, its more peculiar property was expreſſing the ſound of the Greek ου, or our W. The Romans had from the beginning the letter V, which fully anſwered the firſt of theſe purpoſes; and therefore when the Emperor Claudius introduced the inverted digamma to ſupply what was wanting in their alphabet, it could only be intended to expreſs this laſt ſound.

who

who ſpread as far as the ſides of the Helleſpont, and lived neareſt to the Saxon anceſtors, the Thracians. Thus we have the initial digamma [*e*] in *weather*, *work*, *weight*, *wool*, *whole*, from ὅλος; *worth worthy*, from ἄρθος; *wiſe*, from the ſame root as ἴσημι; *wreck*, *break*, from ῥήσσω: and thus in the middle of words, to prevent the coalition of vowels, as ꝛcea-þian, *to ſee*; ha-þian, *to look on*; hy-þunȝ, *deceit*; ꝛcea-þeþe, *a ſcoffer*.

THE expletives [*f*] are likewiſe of this claſs. The Saxon ȝe is commonly prefixed to all ſorts of words, made a part of them; and is again omitted in the ſame words, as quite arbitrary and ſuperfluous. Thus ȝe-þæden, *weeds*, cloaths; ȝe-nemmeð, *named*; ȝe-þiꝛneꝛꝛ, *witneſs*; ȝe ꝛeah, *ſaw*. Homer has left us very evident remains of the ſame uſage among the Greeks: as, γε-δόνλες, γε-φυγεῖν, γε-πάνλα, γε-θυμῷ, &c. Before the an-

So Quintilian explains it: "In his *ſervus* et *vulgus* Æolicum digamma deſidera-" tur;" i. e. to ſhew they were pronounced *ſerwus*, and *wulgus*. But be this as it will: the Saxons certainly borrowed the *form*, as well as the *power* of their þ from the Æolians; the two tranſverſe ſtrokes, which were divided in the Æolian digamma ꝼ, being joined together in theirs. By this means they poſſeſſed a letter which the Romans wanted, and which all the languages more immediately derived from the Latin, as the French, Spaniſh, and Italian, have not. This letter therefore, which has been ſometimes objected to, as a mark of barbariſm in the Teutonic language, is really a proof of its primitive and high original.

[*e*] Upton's Remarks on Shakeſpeare, p. 207. Inſtead of the digamma, they ſometimes uſed the aſper, as ὅλβι-ος, *happy*. "Graecorum digamma, Ger-" mani, Saxones, Belgici, et Britanni, partim ſimplicem U, partim duplicem fa-" ciunt; idemque hi durius, illi ſuavius, alii lenius ut liquidum U, pronun-" tiant." Ariae Mont. praefat. in Bibl. Heb. p. 1.

[*f*] This expletive ȝe was at laſt turned into *y*; and thence, in the old Engliſh, *ycleped*, *ybroken*. But the uſe of it ſtill continues among the other Teutonic branches. Somn. in voc.

cient orthography of Homer was reformed to the taſte and manner of politer ages, can there be any doubt, but that γε was uſed by the Greeks, as by the Saxons, and either made a part of any word, or omitted at pleaſure?

THESE inſtances [g] are ſufficient to ſhew the original and real character of the Saxon language. Occaſional and trading ſettlements even in the longeſt intercourſe, are not capable of producing ſuch effects. We know this by experience, by a moſt remarkable inſtance in our own country. It is now above a thouſand years ſince the Britains and Saxons have lived together in this iſland: during a great part of that period, as one people, under the ſame government and the ſame laws, with all the free and friendly intercourſe imaginable. By this long and intimate connexion, the natives of Wales have enriched

[g] More examples of this affinity might be produced. The initial augment has the very ſame force, which it had among the Greeks; ſometimes an intenſive particle, and ſometimes a negative: thus, ȝyldȣ, *payment*, aȝyldȣe, *without payment, toll-free*; moȣ, *mind*, amoȣe, *out of his mind*. In the other uſage, bædan, *to pray*, abædan, *to obtain by prayer*; ꝑandian, *to try*, aꝑundian, *to find*. Gram. A. S. p. 45. The Saxons have the remains of the dual number in their language. Ibid. p. 20, 21. They have only one conjugation, as the Greeks had originally: they prefixed the aſpers to the beginning of words, as the Greeks did; writing hꝑa, *who*; hꝑilc, *which*; not making the aſpers follow the initial letters, as we have done for ſome ages. The ſignification of theſe relatives is as much altered, as their orthography. *Who* is made more extenſive in our preſent uſage, and *which* more confined. Hꝑa among the Saxons was only an interrogative, or indefinite; and hꝑilc a relative, applied as *qui* in Latin, both to perſons and things. But *who* is now uſed as a relative for perſons, and *which* for things. This diſtinction is but of late, and not in uſe, when the Bible was tranſlated. The idiom of the two languages has in many expreſſions a remarkable affinity. See Gibſon's Camden, ad edit. p. xxxv.

their

their own language by adopting a great many Engliſh words; but they are adopted in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve the form and idiom of their own tongue. They might indeed, had they been ſo diſpoſed, have changed their own language, as the Franks did in Gaul, and the Normans in England: but, without this, the peculiar caſt and genius of it will ſcarce ever be intirely effaced. This is in ſome degree the caſe of our own language. The traces of the original and mother tongue are ſtill preſerved, after a great length of years, after a prodigious variety of new ſettlements, and very early and diſtant migrations.

NOR are theſe fanciful and precarious obſervations, depending upon analogy and conjecture only, without any authority to ſupport them.

MANY of Ovid's plaintive Epiſtles, written during his exile, being preſerved, we have ſuch an evidence in this caſe, as is beyond all exception. He lived ſome years in Pontus, where the Greek and Gothic languages were both the living languages of the country. He obſerved the great affinity [*b*] between them; and ſays, though the Getic tongue was much altered and diſguiſed by a barbarous pronuntiation, yet there were evident marks left of its Greek original. Take his account in his own words:

[*b*] Thus it was in Ovid's time; and it is ſurpriſing, that their many new ſettlements, revolutions, exterminations, and, in conſequence of them, words and idioms adopted from other languages, have not intirely effaced it. Salmaſius very juſtly ſaid, "Non dubito, quin longe major harum linguarum convenientia apparere poſſit, ſi lingua antiqua Graeca, qualis erat Deucalionis aut "Hellenis aetate, aut antiqua Germanica, ad nos perlata eſſet." De Hellen. p. 380.

"Turba

" Turba Tomitanae [*i*] quae ſit regionis, et inter,
" Quos habitem, mores diſcere cura tibi eſt?
" Miſta ſit haec quamvis inter Graiosque Getasque,
" A male pacatis plus trahit ora Getis.

" In paucis remanent Graiae veſtigia linguae:
" Haec quoque jam Getico barbara facta ſono.

" Exercent [*k*] illi ſociae commercia linguae,
" Graiaque quod Getico victa loquela ſono eſt."

No perſon was ever better qualified to determine this queſtion, than Ovid was: he underſtood Greek well, and could ſpeak all the languages, then ſpoken upon the weſtern banks of the Euxine, and has done us the honour to place himſelf at the head of the Gothic writers.

" Nam didici Getice [*l*], Sarmaticeque loqui.
" Nec te mirari, ſi ſint vitioſa, decebit,
" Carmina; quae faciam pene poeta Getes.

" Ah! pudet et Getico [*m*] ſcripſi ſermone libellum;
" Structaque ſunt noſtris barbara verba modis.
" Et placui (gratare mihi) coepique poëtae
" Inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas.

[*i*] Triſt. l. V. el. vii. ver. 8, 51.
[*k*] Ibid. l. V. el. x. ver. 35. et eleg. ii. ver. 68.
[*l*] De ponto, III. ep. ii. ver. 40. l. IV. ep. xiii. ver. 17.
[*m*] Ibid. l. IV. ep. xiii. ver. 19. When Ovid was at Tomi, about A. D. xi, there were only two languages (except Greek) then ſpoken upon the weſtern ſide of the Euxine, which he calls the Getic and Sarmatic: they have had for ſome ages the appellation of the Gothic and Sclavonian, becauſe the Sclavi, about the fourth century, came into Europe from the ſame quarter, and made great ſettlements, as the Sarmatae or Sauromatae had done before. Biſhop Nicholſon has obſerved, that from this original all the languages now ſpoken in the northern parts of Europe are manifeſtly deſcended. From the Getic or Gothic came the Teutonic in all itsbranches, viz. the high and low Dutch, the Engliſh, Daniſh, Swediſh, Norwegian, and Iſlandic tongues: from

This

This work met with great approbation: he gives this account of it.

"Haec ubi non patria [*n*] perlegi ſcripta Camoena,
"Et venit ad digitos ultima charta meos;
"Et caput, et plenas omnes movere pharetras,
"Et longum Getico murmur in ore fuit.

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the Sclavonian, the Poliſh, Pruſſian, Muſcovitiſh, Bohemian, and Tranſilvanian languages. Nicholſon's Diſſertat. Philolog. in Chamberlainii Orat. Domin. p. 15. 17. The hiſtory of theſe people ſupports theſe ſentiments. "Sclavi.... "et qui trans Oderum ſunt Poloni, qui nec habitu nec lingua differunt." Adami Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. p. 23. The conſequence is plain, that theſe people, ſo long diſtinguiſhed by languages of a different caſt, came into Europe from different parts of Aſia. The firſt, over the Helleſpont, whoſe language was derived from the ſame common ſtock with the Greek and Thracian. The others travelled over the Tanaïs round the Euxine. The ancient hiſtorians and geographers confirm this. The firſt account of the Sarmatae is from Herodotus, who places them between mount Caucaſus and the Tanais, l. iv. c. 117. The Straits through this mountain were called the *Pylae Sarmaticae*. Σαρμάται, Σαυρομάται, Μαιῶται, were the ſame people. The *Sar* (as Bochart ſays) being only the eaſtern mark of deſcent, שאר־מדי Sarmadai, Sarmatae, i. e. *Medorum progenies*. Diodorus Siculus, who knew nothing of the etymology, aſſerts the fact: ſpeaking of the ſeveral clans of the Scythians, he ſays, that one came out of Media, ſettled upon the banks of the Tanaïs, and were called Sauromatae. Τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας παρὰ τὸν Τάναϊν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸς λαὸς Σαυρομάτας ὀνομασθῆναι, l. ii. p. 155, ed. Wetſten. So Pliny, "Incolunt "Sarmatae, Medorum, ut ferunt, progenies; et ipſi in multa genera diviſi." L. vi. c. 7. And Mela, "Sarmata, gens habitu armiſque Parthicae proxima." L. iii. c. 4. The Parthians were themſelves a branch of the Medes. "Sermo "his inter Scythicum Medumque medius." Juſt. xli. c. 2. The firſt account of the Moſchi is the ſame country. "Moſchorum tractus ad Iberum amnem "in Cyrum defluentem." Plin. H. N. l. vi. p. 102. The ancient accounts of the ſituation of theſe people and the modern obſervations upon their language both unite in eſtabliſhing the ſame truth, and ſhewing us, whence they were deſcended. The names of the different Aſiatic clans are not generally ſo well known, as thoſe of the Goths. They were chiefly theſe: Abari, Alani, Antae, Boruſſi, Bulgari, Croatii, Heniochi, Hungari, Hunni, Moſchi, Poloni, Sarmatae, Sclaveni, Sclavi, Servii, Veneti, &c.

[*n*] Pont. l. IV. ep. xiii. ver. 33. This account from Ovid proves, that there

A Gothic

A Gothic poem was in his circumſtances, and at his time of life, a moſt ſurpriſing undertaking: it ſhewed his ruling paſſion, and great abilities: it was written in praiſe of Auguſtus, which was doing himſelf much honour. What a reverence muſt the Goths have for the memory of a prince, whoſe virtues were ſo much celebrated by the very man he had baniſhed! There are few ſuch princes, or ſuch exiles, in our days. Panegyrics made by baniſhed men upon dead princes, and addreſſed to perſons, who could never report them to the living, are the higheſt encomiums. Ovid took a very polite way of ſerving his country, and pleaſing the Goths. They were great lovers of poetry. How much muſt they be delighted to hear their own numbers ſet off with all the luxuriant ſallies of his imagination! His ſucceſs was extraordinary; he had no reaſon to conceal it: he raiſed the ſpirits of the whole aſſembly:

was a Gothic alphabet long before Ulphilas, though the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians expreſly aſcribe it to him. Socrat. H. E. l. iv. c. 33. Sozom. l. vi. c. 37. The account therefore given us by thoſe hiſtorians muſt be this; that the preſent Gothic alphabet, ſuch as we meet with in the Codex Argenteus, which is a mixture from the Greek and Latin alphabets, muſt be the work of Ulphilas. Our Anglo-Saxons took a different method, and ſhewed a better taſte. They either brought with them, or ſoon afterwards adopted, the Roman alphabet of the lower empire. See Wanley's preface ad Catal. Libb. Septentrion. The Franks had done the ſame thing before in Gaul. Ingulphus indeed, for the honour of his country, tells us, that the Saxons, after Alfred's time, took their way of writing from the Franks. Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 912. But whatever ſmall alteration there might be in the Saxon hand towards the concluſion of their government, both the Frank and Saxon alphabets were originally Roman. See Caſley's catalogue of Mſſ. in the king's library, and the plates annexed. And this is evident from their coins.

*Εκλαγξαν

Ἐκλαγξαν γὰρ ὀϊσοὶ ἐπ' ἄμων αἰνησάντων.

THE applauſe was much the leaſt part of the honours he received. He was diſtinguiſhed by very particular immunities in their public decrees, and had a lawrel crown given him by the Getae on this occaſion.

" Nec mihi credideris [o]: extant decreta, quibus nos
" Laudat, et immunes publica cera facit.
" Conveniens miſeris haec quanquam gloria non eſt,
" Proxima dant nobis oppida munus idem.

" Solus [p] adhuc ego ſum veſtris immunis in oris;
" Exceptis, ſi qui munera legis habent.
" Tempora ſacratâ mea ſunt velata coronâ,
" Publicus invito quam favor impoſuit."

The honours and exemptions granted to their new poet were a very ſtrong and pleaſing evidence of their taſte; which might poſſibly be not very different from his own. His Metamorphoſis is wild and beautiful, and certainly one of the moſt Gothic ſtructures that ever was erected.

I HAVE been more particular in collecting theſe grammatical obſervations, becauſe I apprehend they are of ſome moment in the preſent queſtion. They prove, at leaſt, that there was a long intercourſe between the two nations; and are no bad reaſon for aſcribing the Saxon weights and meaſures to the Greeks.

THIS evidence ariſing from the analogy between the two languages has opened upon us by degrees, and received the ſuffrage of very able judges. Every enquiry has thrown in ſome new light, and from very different

[o] Pont. l. IV. ep. ix. ver. 101. [p] Ibid. l. IV. ep. xiv. ver. 53.

quarters. Henry Stephens [q], to whom the Greek learning is ſo much indebted, was the firſt perſon who made the obſervation: though the Franks had taken up almoſt an entire new language in Gaul, yet they preſerved many of their old idioms. He was ſo ſtruck with this reſemblance, that he publiſhed a diſcourſe upon it. After him, Joſeph Scaliger [r] fell into the ſame track, and took notice that there was a great number of words manifeſtly the ſame in the Greek and Teutonic languages: Mr. Camden [s] gave ſeveral inſtances of it in our own. They went no further, that I know of, than the fact itſelf, without drawing any concluſions from it. But Salmaſius, Francis Junius, and Meric Caſaubon carried their obſervations much further; and concluded from hence, that the Greek and Gothic languages, ſo ſimilar in many reſpects, came undoubtedly from a common parent. Salmaſius was the firſt who traced this deſcent to the fountain head: he obſerved, that the language of the Greeks and Thracians and Goths had the ſame original: he ſhewed their connexion, and from thence drew this rational and modeſt concluſion.

"NON [t] dico eamdem omnino fuiſſe linguam Graecorum, Getarum ſive Thracum, et Teutonum ſive Germanorum; ſed multa has tres gentes habuiſſe communia vocabula, et ab eadem origine venientia."

[q] Traicté de la Conformité du Language Françoiſe avec le Grec.
[r] Com. in Manil. l. iv.
[s] Remains, p. 32.
[t] De lingua Helleniſt. p. 378, 398.

AND

AND again; "De affinitate quidem linguae Graecae "et Germanicae, a Getis et Thracibus utrique nationi "finitimis eam proceſſiſſe ſupra docuimus .... Vetuſ- "tiſſima haec omnium verborum inflexio Germanicis con- "ſimilis."

FRANCIS JUNIUS, the great reſtorer of the northern learning, went ſtill further in comparing theſe ſiſter languages: he was ſo much pleaſed with his reſearches upon this ſubject, that he looked upon the certainty of this diſcovery, as one of the greateſt felicities of his life, and ſays,

"BEATULORUM [*u*] omnium vicos et prata pro hac mea "opera pro nihilo ducerem, veluti clariſſimis argumentis "ſigniſque jam perductus ad ipſum caput fontemque lin- "guarum ſeptentrionalium: Francicam enim et Anglo- "Saxonicam ex vetere Gothica promanaſſe; ipſam vero "Gothicam (ut quae ſola dialecto differat a Graeca ve- "tere) ab eadem origine cum Graeca profluxiſſe judica- "bam."

MERIC CASAUBON's [*w*] diſcourſe was firſt publiſhed: he confined himſelf there chiefly to etymology, becauſe his papers, where he had conſidered the idiom of the two languages, had been loſt, during the plunder and oppreſſion of thoſe times.

[*u*] Dedicat. Evangel. Gothic.

[*w*] "Ita plane rem habere comperiemus, eam [i. e. linguam Saxonicam] "vel Graecae, ſed ab ultima origine, propaginem fuiſſe; vel certe eadem, qua "et Graeca, origine, ut a Graeca ſola differat dialecto, profluxiſſe." Caſaub. de quatuor linguis, p. 139. ed. 1650.

His disciple Mr. Somner [x], and, before him, Mr. Sheringham, were in the same sentiments; only the latter accounted for this affinity of language according to his own plan: he was a friend to paradoxes, and believed the inverted proposition, that in matters of language and erudition the Greeks had borrowed very considerably from the Goths.

DR. WALLIS, in his Grammar, and Dr. Hickes, in his great Treasure of northern learning, have confirmed the opinion which Salmasius and others have advanced by several instances not observed before. If I have not been so exact as to ascribe each of these observations to the person, who first made them; it was without the least intention of lessening their claim. There is a meanness in concealing one's obligations, which nothing can excuse; and there is something trifling in being too minute: it looks as if we were afraid of being robbed of our own mite. I have in this question therefore looked upon these observations as a common stock, and made use of them accordingly: though, for my own part, I have made very small contributions.

THE presumptive evidence, which arises from the nature of the Gothic language, is much strengthened and confirmed by the ORIGIN OF THEIR TRADE. For weights and measures are the necessary effects of commerce, and usually taken from those people, who introduce it into a country. The Goths were, from the very early

[x] Somner's Saxon. Dict. et Sheringham de origine gentis Anglorum, p. 358.

ages,

ages, ſeated on the weſtern ſide of the Euxine; whatever gave occaſion to the firſt openings of trade among them, the perſons who firſt engaged in it, and greatly cultivated this branch of commerce, were certainly the Greeks.

ONE of the moſt conſiderable voyages into that ſea, and the moſt celebrated of all, was that of Jaſon [*y*], and his Argonauts. This was perhaps nothing more than a piratical expedition: but the pirates of thoſe ages were princes, and it was then a part of no mean character to engage in ſuch exploits. Self-intereſt, and a regard to the common ſafety, ſoon diſcouraged ſuch wild expeditions. The firſt regulations in trade might ariſe from piracy, juſt as laws and civil government from oppreſſion; or the reſtraints of liberty from the abuſe of it. It became the mutual advantage of both parties to have it carried on by equitable methods, and eſtabliſhed rules.

[*y*] "Longa nave Jaſonem primum navigaſſe, Philoſtephanus auctor eſt." Plin. H. N. l. vii. c. 57. Ovid makes Jaſon the firſt diſcoverer of the Euxine:

"Aequor Iaſonio pulſatum remige primum." De Ponto, l. III. ep. i.

This obſervation of Philoſtephanus may be very true, that Jaſon's was the firſt great ſhip, that ſailed into the Euxine; but it could not be the firſt voyage. Such great armaments and preparations are never made, till the place, they are deſtined to, is diſcovered. There muſt be ſome truth in the fabulous ſtory of Phryxus, and his ram. He ſet out from the ſame country, that the Argonauts did; and was probably the Columbus of his age. One of the principal promontories in the Euxine was called the ram's head; and the Greeks have preſerved the memory of Phryxus's expedition, by placing the Ram, as well as the ſhip Argo, among their conſtellations. This account ſtill gives the Theſſalians the honour of diſcovering the Euxine, and the countries round it.

THE

THE Milesians [z], a colony of the Athenians, were the first, that made any considerable progress in the Euxine trade. They built a great number of cities all round the coast, and peopled them with their own colonies. Other states of Greece, and especially the Athenians, soon followed their example. This gave it, as Strabo says, the name of the Euxine [a], or hospitable sea; because the Grecian colonies were settled with so much ease and security on its coasts.

THIS trade was of the utmost consequence to the Greeks. The Euxine was the magazine of Athens: it

[z] Πλεῖσαι γὰρ ἀποικίας ἐξ Ιωνίας ἔσειλαν [Μιλήσιοι] εἰς τὸν Πόντον. Anonymi Perip. ed. Gronov. p. 162.

"Huc quoque Mileto missi venere coloni,
"Inque Getis Graias constituere domos."
De trist. l. III. el. ix. ver. 3.

These Milesian settlements occasioned a very pleasant mistake in Herodotus, which does more honour to his veracity, than his judgment. He had been enquiring of the Thracians, what sort of people dwelt upon the Euxine, beyond the mouths of the Danube; and they answered very properly, the Milesians; but, by a barbarous pronuntiation, instead of Μιλήσιοι, they might say Μέλισσοι, or Μέλισσαι: he therefore seriously informs us, that the Thracians affirmed, though he owned it was a little incredible, that in the country beyond the Danube, there was no other inhabitants, but bees. The passage is this: Θρῆικες λέγεσι, ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑΙ καλέεσι τὰ πέρην Ἴστρε, καὶ ὑπὲρ τουτέων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ πρόσω τέρω· ἐμοὶ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκέουσι λέγειν ΟΥΚ εἰκότα. l. v. 10. *Verum, ut Thraces aiunt, loca quae sunt trans Istrum,* APES *obtinent, et supra illos ulterius procedi non potest: quae cum dicunt, mihi sane non credibilia dicunt.* The ancients were much indebted to the industry and genius of the Milesians for some of the first improvements in trade and navigation. The first map was made by Anaximander, and the first treatise of geography written by Hecataeus, both of them Milesians.

[a] Ὕστερον δὲ Εὔξινον κεκλῆσθαι τῶν Ἰώνων ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ πόλιν οἰκισάντων. Strabo, vol. i. p. 458. ed. 1717. et Anonym. Perip. p. 162.

not

not only enriched, but ſupported its inhabitants. Their influence, as the principal maritime power of Greece, was chiefly owing to their intercourſe with this country. Here was a great variety of articles [*b*] for trade and exportation: ſkins, leather, honey, wax, ſalt-fiſh, cavear, anchovies, &c. ſlaves in great number, and the beſt and moſt ſerviceable in the world. Hence the names of Davus [*c*] and Geta ſo frequently occur in the dramatic performances of Greece and Rome. But above all, the Athenians found here timber [*d*] and naval ſtores for their marine, and corn [*e*] to ſupply the numerous artificers employed in that city. By this means this branch of trade was a conſtant nurſery for their ſeamen, and occaſioned a great demand for their own manufactures.

[*b*] Ἔχουσι τὴν Πόντον πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον εὐχρήστων .... πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαίας τῆς βίου χρείας, τάτε δέρματα, καὶ τὸ τῶν εἰς τὰς δουλείας ἀγομένων σωμάτων πλῆθος .... πρὸς δὲ περιουσίαν, μέλι, κηρὸν, τάριχος. Polyb. l. iv. ed. Caſaub. p. 306. *Multa Pontus ferat caeteris mortalibus ad vitam expetita .... ad neceſſarios quidem uſus, coriorum ingentem copiam, et ſervilium corporum maximum numerum .... ad lautitiam vero, mel, ceram, ſalſamenta*, &c.

" ſaperdas advehe Ponto,
" Caſtoreum, ſtuppas, hebenum, thus, lubrica Coa." Perſ. v. ver. 134.

[*c*] Ἀφ' ἧς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἐπεπόλασε τὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὀνόματα Γέται καὶ Δαῦοι. Strab. vol. i. p. 467. *Unde etiam apud Atticos in uſu fuerint ſervorum nomina Getae ac Davi.*

[*d*] Ξύλα δὲ, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάνυ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ. Anab. l. vi. p. 475. ed. Hutchinſon. *Sunt et ligna, cum multa quidem alia, tum vero plurima pulcherrimaque juxta ipſum mare, navibus fabricandis idonea.*

[*e*] Φέρει γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ κριθὰς, καὶ πυρὺς, καὶ ὄσπρια πάντα, καὶ μελίνας, καὶ σήσαμον, καὶ σῦκα ἀρκοῦντα, καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς, καὶ ἡδυοίνους, &c. Anab. ibid. *Fert enim terra et hordeum, et triticum, et omnia legumina, et panicum, et ſeſamum, et ficus ſatis multas, multas etiam vites vini ſuavis feraces.*

Their

Their exports were all ſorts of furniture [*f*], both for uſe, elegance, and improvement. Attica was famous for its iron-works; theſe produced many ſtaple commodities for the Euxine; for arms was of the chief employments of theſe northern nations. As the politeneſs of the Athenian taſte was ſpreading in thoſe diſtant ſettlements, books [*g*] were ſoon made one of the conſiderable articles, which they exported.

THE Athenians were very ſenſible of the great advantage of this trade. Thoſe princes, whoſe territories lay upon the Euxine, and more eſpecially thoſe who commanded the entrance of the Boſphorus, received the higheſt marks of their regard. Several kings, and princes of Thrace [*h*], and ſome of their generals and prime miniſters, were made citizens of Athens. This was reckoned in that age one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours [*i*]. Leuco king of Thrace was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he ordered the decree, which made him an Athenian citizen, to be engraved on three marble columns [*k*]; one of them was placed in the Piraeeus, an-

[*f*] Πολλὰς μὲν κλίναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλαὶ δὲ βίβλοι, καὶ τ' ἄλλα πολλὰ, ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγεσι. Anab. l. vii. p. 571. *Multi lecti, arculae multae, multi libri, aliaeque res multae, quas naviculatores in vaſis ligneis ferre ſolent.* The uſual preſents to thoſe princes were, Thucydides obſerves, ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεῖα, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη καλασκευή. Thucyd. l. ii. p. 143. *Opera textilia, et laevia, aliaque ſupellex.*

[*g*] Vid. ſupra.

[*h*] Teres, Sadocus, Cotys, Leuco, and his ſons; Simo, Bianor, Charidemus, Philiſcus, &c. Demoſt. c. Leptin. p. 17. ed. Taylor. et c. Ariſtoc. p. 260, 307, &c.

[*i*] Dem. c. Ariſtoc. p. 329, 330.

[*k*] Id. c. Leptin. p. 19.

other

other on the ſide of the Boſporus, and the third in the temple of Jupiter Urius. This temple owed all its ornaments and veneration, and, moſt probably, its very exiſtence, to the Euxine trade. The deſign of it was to implore of this Jupiter [*l*] a proſperous voyage: that ſea was ſubject to ſudden ſquawls of wind, which deſcended from the neighbouring mountains, and by this means the veſſels ſailing upon it were often caſt away [*m*]. It is ſaid, that the Turks who, ſince the late improvements in navigation, muſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand it ſomething better than the Greeks, loſe one veſſel in fifteen every year upon that ſea. The moſt dangerous

[*l*] The inſcription upon the baſis of this ſtatue of Jupiter Urius has been publiſhed by Mr. Chiſhul, in Antiqq. Aſiat. p. 59. There were at leaſt 150 or 200 different Jupiters. This was remarkable for his youth; not at all like Homer's Jupiter.

[*m*] Ἔνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεόντων νηῶν πολλαὶ ὀκέλλουσι, καὶ ἐμπίπτουσι. Xenoph. Anab. l. vii. p. 571. *Ibi de navibus, quae in Pontum navigant, multae in brevia impactae ſunt, et delabuntur.* It is plain, that the Greeks, by calling the Euxine *Pontus* by way of eminence, were acquainted with it, before they knew the extent of the Mediterranean. Monſieur Tournefort and ſome modern travellers have given a different account of the Euxine from what the ancients have left us: that this ſea, far from being dangerous, is rather ſafe and ſmooth. But curſory remarks of this kind made by travellers en paſſant are of no great moment. It was a point in which the ancients, eſpecially ſuch of them as lived upon that coaſt, could not poſſibly be miſtaken.

"Dictus ab antiquis Axenos ille fuit.
"Nam neque jactantur moderatis aequora ventis,
"Nec placidos portus hoſpita navis adit."

Ovid. Triſt. IV. iv. 56. Vid. Strab. vol. i. p. 458. Mela, l. i. c. 19.

The Turks, who muſt be very good judges in this caſe, have in ſome meaſure reſtored the old Name, and called it the *black* or *ſtormy* ſea.

place [n], dreaded by the ableſt mariners, was a little before we leave the Boſporus to enter the Euxine, near the very ſpot where this temple ſtood.

THE kings of Thrace had for ſome time the command of the whole weſtern coaſt of the Euxine, quite from the Helleſpont to the Taurica Cherſoneſus. For in the immunities granted by Leuco to the Athenians, Theudoſia [o], the moſt noted port in the Crim, was particularly included.

THE corn exported yearly from that country, to Athens only, was about 400,000 [p] medimni of wheat, beſides barley, &c. Xerxes, whoſe meaſures were directed chiefly by his vanity, refuſed to take the Grecian corn-ſhips [q] returning from the Euxine; and ſaid, that, as they were ſailing into Greece, it would ſave his admirals the trouble of taking them; he ſhould find their cargoes upon the ſpot ready to furniſh his magazines. But Heſtiaeus, his father's admiral, by birth a Mileſian, underſtood the importance of ſuch captures, and the proper place to inter-

[n] "navita Boſporum
"*Poenus* perhorreſcit, neque ultra
"Caeca timet aliunde fata." Hor. Od. l. ii. ver. 15.

[o] Προσκαλασκευάσας ἐμπόριον Θευδυσίαν, ὃ φασὶν οἱ πλέοντες ἀ χεῖρον εἶναι τᾶ Βοσπόρᾳ, ἀδοκίτων, κἀνταῦθα δέδωκε τὴν ἀτέλειαν ὑμῖν. Dem. c. Leptin. p. 18. *Novo Theudoſiae emporio inſtituto, quod negotiatores Boſporo nullâ re cedere affirmant, etiam illic immunitatem nobis conceſſerit.*

[p] Ἴσε γὰρ ὅτι πλείστῳ τῶν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ χρώμεθα· πρὸς τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνέμενον, ὁ ἐκ τᾶ Πόντᾳ σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν. Id. c. Leptin. p. 17, 18. *Scitis enim nos omnium mortalium maxime uti importato frumento: quod ſi omne illud, quod ex aliis emporiis advehitur, in unum conferatur, non tamen aequabit eas copias, quae ex uno Ponto advehuntur.*

[q] Πλοῖα σιταγωγά. Herodot. l. vii. p. 147. l. v. c. 58.

cept

cept them much better. He ſtationed his fleet at the mouth of the Boſporus, waiting for the return of thoſe ſhips, and took them all. Pollis [r], the Spartan admiral, had the ſame ſentiments. He knew that there was no ſurer or ſhorter way of diſtreſſing the Athenians, than by taking their corn-fleet, and attempted it, though without ſucceſs, at the hazard of a battle.

LEUCO [s] granted the Athenians the privilege of loading firſt in all his ports, and exporting wheat without paying any duty. They had made him a citizen of Athens, and in return he made almoſt that whole nation citizens of Thrace. Perhaps there was more politeneſs, than policy in this conduct. But the Athenians had ſo much addreſs, that they ſeldom made compliments to ſovereign princes without taking their return in matters of real uſe. This immunity in exporting corn was no mean privilege. The kings of Thrace had a very conſiderable [t] revenue from the cuſtoms. The duty upon goods exported was a thirtieth [u] part of their value, or almoſt three and a half per cent. An indulgence of loading firſt, without paying the cuſtomary duties, was a prodigious advantage to the Athenian merchants: for

[r] Xenoph. Hellen. l. v. c. 4. § 161.

[s] Λεύκωνα .... τοῖς ἄγουσι τὸν σῖτον Ἀθήναζε ἀτέλειαν δεδωκέναι, καὶ κηρύττειν πρώτους γεμίζεσθαι. Dem. c. Leptin. p. 18. *Leuconem .... eos qui frumentum Athenas advehunt, immunitate donaſſe, et edici juſſiſſe ut illi primi naves onerarent.*

[t] Demoſthenes ſays, that the cuſtoms of Thrace produced a revenue of above 2000 talents per ann. or 38,762 *l.* ſterling: this alone muſt have enabled theſe princes to make a conſiderable figure in Europe. Cont. Ariſtoc. p. 296.

[u] Dem. c. Leptin. p. 18.

it was, in effect, putting almoſt the whole traffic of the Euxine into their hands; by which means they could underſell the merchants of all other countries.

THE flouriſhing ſtate that their trade was then in diſpenſed opulence on almoſt every country round the Euxine. The Paphlagonians, upon the ſouth ſide of it, had given ſome offence to the Athenians, very probably in their trade, and they ſent Timotheus [w], the ſon of the famous Conon, to chaſtiſe them; who brought from thence no leſs than 240,000 *l.* into the public treaſury. It was the ſpirit of thoſe ages to let the public reap the benefit of their conqueſts: the generals were content with little more than their appointments and their glory.

THE Athenians were ſo jealous of their trade in theſe ſeas, that, to ſecure it, they kept a garriſon at Seſtus [x] upon the Helleſpont. There, upon a tower that commanded the proſpect acroſs the Streight, centinels were always upon duty, to obſerve the force and number of the ſhips that ſailed into the Euxine. By this means, in war, they knew what danger their merchant-ſhips had to ap-

[w] "Mille et ducenta talenta in publicum detulit." Corn. Nep. in Timoth. His great merit was diſtinguiſhed according to the manners of the age: he had a ſtatue in the Forum: this was their way of rewarding the greateſt ſervices done to their country. And it was in this inſtance a very peculiar honour: it was the firſt time that the public erected a ſtatue to a ſon, when they had already paid the ſame compliment to his father.

[x] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. 1. This had great effects: Dorieus, a Lacedaemonian admiral, conducting an expedition into the Helleſpont, was diſcovered by one of theſe centinels, and defeated.

prehend

prehend from the enemy; and, in time of peace, what progreſs was made by any of their rivals in trade.

AMONG the many accompliſhments of this polite people, their mercantile [y] genius was not the leaſt. To create a ſpirit of mutual confidence upon ſuch occaſions, they made lying [z] penal. They had the ſkill to render even the appearances of religion [a] ſubſervient to the real improvements of trade. Delus being, by a very ancient ſuperſtition among the Greeks, looked upon as a place ſacred and inviolable, the Athenians ſoon made themſelves maſters of it. This iſland lay in the very center of the then trading world, between Europe and Aſia, and almoſt at an equal diſtance from the Euxine and the Nile. The citizens of Athens, ſenſible of this advantageous ſituation, removed all the old inhabitants, to plant there colonies of their own: and, to increaſe the ſuperſtitious regard already paid to it, once in every Olympiad, they had a very ſolemn feſtival celebrated there. The Delian, or Sandwich marble, has preſerved a particular of all the revenues and appointments ſet apart for that purpoſe: the curious reader, that would ſee a further account of it, may have recourſe to Dr. Taylor's excellent commentary upon that

[y] Ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἡδίστη, καὶ κερδαλεωτάτη ἡ πόλις. Xenoph. πόροι, c. 3. *Urbs ad exercendas mercaturas tum optatiſſima, tum maxime quaeſtuoſa.*

[z] Demoſt. c. Leptin. p. 10.

[a] Ἡ δὲ πανήγυρις ἐμπόριόν τι πρᾶγμά ἐστι. Strabo, vol. ii. p. 740. *Solennis vero hic conventus mercatorium quoddam eſt negotium.* Τῆς γὰρ Δήλου τότε ἐμπορίου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασι, καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις διὰ τὸν ΘΕΟΝ δοκούσης παρέχειν. Pauſan. p. 269. edit. Kuhn. *Nam cum Delos olim eſſet totius Graeciae emporium, et mercatoribus, propter loci religionem, ſecuritatem praeſtare videbatur,* &c.

inſcription.

inſcription. By degrees the Athenians went ſo far, as not to ſuffer any one to be born or buried in Delus. Thus the exceeding ſanctity of the place ſecured it from all invaſions, and made it the whole world's Exchange [*b*]. It was never plundered by the Perſians; or by the Greeks during their inteſtine wars. By this means, it was a ſure aſylum for the trade of Athens: their effects were laid up here in time of war, till they could diſpoſe of them with more ſecurity or advantage. For the inhabitants were little more than factors ſettled there to carry on the commerce of Athens, where their riches and acquiſitions uſually centered.

As they had a board [*c*] of trade at Athens, whoſe buſineſs was to hear and determine all mercantile cauſes; ſo they had likewiſe a judge, or ſuperintendant [*d*] at Delus for the ſame purpoſe. It was greatly for the intereſt of traffic to have all imaginable diſpatch given to ſuch appeals. We find that ſome of theſe judges received great marks of honour from the merchants and

[*b*] "Mercatus in Delo concelebrante toto orbe." Plin. H. N. xxxiv. c. 4. p. 640. and Taylor's Marmor Sandvic. Strabo ſays, that the merchants at Delus could diſpoſe of 10,000 ſlaves in a day. Nothing ſhews the importance and inſtability of trade, the effects of its ebbing and flowing, more than the paſt and preſent ſtate of that iſland. There was ſcarce a ſpot of ground in the whole world ſo much beautified and adorned. It was almoſt covered with temples and magnificent ſtructures; and now is only a heap of ruins, quite deſolate and without inhabitants.

[*c*] Τῇ τῶ ἐμπορίᾳ ἀρχῇ. Xenoph. πόροι, c. 3. *To the judge of the court-merchant.* See Suidas in v. Ναυſοδίκαι.

[*d*] Xenophon obſerves, that the diſpatch and juſt deciſion in the courts was a great benefit and encouragement to trade. The Arundle marbles have

maſters

maſters of veſſels, which muſt be chiefly upon that account.

THE trade of the Euxine [e] came, along with the liberties of Greece, into the hands of the Romans. But by this time much the greateſt part of it had taken another current, and was removed to Alexandria [f] and the

preſerved a compliment made to one of theſe magiſtrates, by the merchants and maſters of veſſels at Delus, for his upright behaviour in that office.

Οἱ ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι
Ἀλεξάνδρου Πολυκλείτου Φλύεα
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ δικαιοσύνης
. . . . . .
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΗΝ Δήλου γενόμενον.

Marm. Oxon. XXVII. et CLXXXII.

Mercatores atque naucleri
Alexandro filio *Polycleti Phlyenſi*
ob virtutem et juſtitiam
. . . . . .
PROCURATORI *Deli facto*, &c.

[e] Some conſiderable branches of this trade, particularly that of ſlaves, are continued to this day, and carried on from Erzerum, Trebiſond, and other ports of the Euxine, to Conſtantinople, to the great advantage of that city.

[f] Had the Ptolemies known how to make the moſt of their ſituation, Egypt had been one of the moſt powerful kingdoms in the world. But the Egyptians had no genius for trade; owing perhaps to one, or both of theſe cauſes; either to, what Strabo calls τὸ αὐτάρκες τῆς χώρας, the natural fertility of the climate, which furniſhed every thing for the convenience of life, or to the natural indolence and ſuperſtition of the people. There was not much progreſs made in the Eaſt-India trade from this country till the Roman times. Before that, ſcarce twenty ſhips ever ventured out of the Sinus Arabicus: but the Romans ſent out from thence very conſiderable fleets. This is Strabo's account: Πρότερον μέν γε οὐδ' ἕκαστι πλοῖα ἐθάρρει τὸν Ἀραβικὸν κόλπον διαπερᾶν . . . . νῦν δὲ καὶ σόλοι μεγάλοι σέλλονται μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, καὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ πολυτιμότατος κομίζεται φόρτος εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κἀνθεῦθεν πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐμπορικὰς τόπους. Vol. ii. p. 1149. *Superiore ſane tempore, ne viginti quidem navigia Arabicum Sinum tranſire audebant . . . . nunc maximae claſſes uſque in Indiam, et extrema Aethiopiae tranſmittunt, unde pretioſiſſimae merces in Aegyptum advehuntur, ac rurſum in alia exportantur loca.*

Nile.

Nile. Yet even then the accounts of the commerce carried on upon the Euxine are very extraordinary: Pliny [g] ſays, that in his time there was ſuch a concourſe of traders, that the Roman mercantile affairs in thoſe parts were managed by 150 interpreters.

BUT to purſue either of theſe enquiries is going further than I intended. A few ſhort ſtrictures upon the commerce, which the Greeks carried on in Thrace, are ſufficient for my purpoſe; for I am not ſo much concerned about the extent of their trade, as the effects of it in that country, which were remarkably great. Here Herodotus [h] ſhall be my voucher: his obſervations upon it are full to the point in queſtion: "That all along the weſtern coaſt of "the Euxine, ſome of the inhabitants were a ſort of half "Greeks, others originally of Greek extraction: that "their *Houſes*, their *Temples*, their *Images*, their *Altars* "were made after the taſte and manner of the Greeks."

THE remains of theſe improvements continued in ſome places till the Roman times: Pliny [i] ſays, that in ſome of the cities upon the Euxine, the inhabitants had a good deal of humanity and politeneſs, where the manners of Greece were ſtill preſerved.

THESE are clear points; facts ſupported by indiſputable authority from the firſt to the laſt accounts of theſe peo-

[g] Hiſt. N. vi. c. 3.

[h] Ἔστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν ΘΕΩΝ ἱρὰ ἑλληνικῶς καταστευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι, καὶ νηοῖσι ξυλίνοισι. Herodot. l. iv. c. 108. *Nam viſuntur ibi Deorum Graecorum templa Graecanice inſtructa ſimulacris, aris, et delubris ligneis.*

[i] Hiſt. N. iv. c. 26. p. 218.

ple.

ple. Jornandes [k], who was himſelf a Goth, and one of their moſt conſiderable writers, ſays, that all the principal cities upon the weſtern ſide of the Euxine were of Greek original; which the inhabitants, who were never vanquiſhed, ſuffered the Greeks to build for the ſake of trade.

SUCH was the commercial intercourſe between the Goths and the Greeks: it began early, and continued long. To find out their ORIGINAL CONNEXIONS we muſt look higher, and ſearch into a more remote antiquity. Clear and diſtinct accounts of the origin of nations are not to be expected. The world was peopled many ages before the firſt ſettlements in any country were thought worth recording. The infancy of every ſtate was like that of Rome: their chief buſineſs was to increaſe and multiply: when this was done, colonies threw themſelves off from their mother-country, not regarding whence they came, or whither they were going, any further than it contributed to ſecure their liberty, or enlarge their poſſeſſions. Upon this account it very ſeldom happens, that we can poſſibly trace out the deſcent of nations, becauſe of the inſuperable difficulties occaſioned by defective evi-

[k] "In eo vero loci latere, quo Ponticum littus attingit, oppidis haud "obſcuris involvitur, Boryſthenide, Olbia, Callipode, Cherſone, Theodoſia, &c. "quas indomitae Scytharum nationes Graecos permiſere condere, ſibimet "commercia praeſtituros." De rebus Geticis, c. v. p. 615. Arrian, a much better authority than Jornandes, after giving a long catalogue of the cities upon the Euxine, obſerves that thoſe upon the weſtern ſide were inhabited by Greeks: αὗται πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες εἰσὶν ᾠκισμέναι ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐσπλέοντι εἰς τὸν Πόντον. Perip. ed. Hudſon, p. 24.

dence; or, what is ſtill worſe, the falſe evidence ariſing from traditionary impoſture: for to be miſled is often more dangerous than not to be directed. But in the preſent caſe, we have clear accounts from hiſtorians of unqueſtionable credit, that the Goths were deſcended from the Thracians. The next ſtep is not quite ſo clear: and it is ſcarce poſſible it ſhould. For it is in hiſtory, as in nature: diſtant objects grow darker, as they ſtand more remote. Whatever light may have fallen upon them, moſt of it is loſt, before it reaches us, and conſequently they muſt become more uncertain and obſcure. But, by connecting the ſeveral parts of this hiſtory, there is light enough left to convince us, that the Greeks and Thracians came from a common ſtock, and were only different clans of the ſame people.

THE northern limits of old Thrace extended as far as the Danube; and the ſouthern, as Thucydides informs us, to the very gulf of Corinth [*l*]. We learn from other good authorities, that ſome part of Attica [*m*] was anciently included in this country. In the diſpute between Eumolpus the Thracian, and Erechtheus king of Athens, the former laid claim to Athens [*n*] itſelf, as part

[*l*] Διήκει ἡ Θρᾴκη . . . μέχρι Ἴστρου πόλεως τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ. Scylax, p. 27. edit. Hudſon. Ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Τηρεὺς ᾤκει, τότε ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν οἰκουμένης. Thucyd. l. ii. c. 29. p. 100. *Sed ille quidem Tereus habitabat in urbe Daulia, qui eſt in agro, qui nunc Phocenſis appellatur, quem tunc vero Thraces incolebant.* The Scholiaſt upon Apollonius Rhodius quotes Herodorus for aſſerting the ſame thing; that Daulis was in thoſe earlier ages a part of Thrace. Edit. H. Steph. p. 11. See Strabo, l. vii. p. 494.

[*m*] Τὴν μὲν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μετὰ Εὐμόλπου Θρᾷκες ἔσχον. Strab. ibid.

[*n*] "Eumolpus . . . Athenas venit oppugnaturus, quod patris ſui terram

of

of his father's dominions. The capitals of theſe two princes were not above 15 miles aſunder; and there was as little difference in their manners, as their ſituation. This appears by the iſſue of the war, which was ſo amicably concluded. The terms [o] were, That, for the future, the inhabitants of both cities, Athens and Eleuſis, ſhould be conſidered as one people; that the religion of Eleuſis, the myſteries ſo long known, and ſo much revered under that name, ſhould be received at Athens; that the deſcendants of Eumolpus ſhould be entitled to the prieſthood, and the family of Erechtheus to the crown.

NOR was this agreement and uniformity peculiar to the worſhip of Ceres; that of Bacchus was the ſame. The Orgia [p], even in their higheſt celebration, the

"Atticam fuiſſe diceret." Hygin. c. xlvi. This agrees very well with the chronology of the Athenian kings; the firſt princes in a regular ſucceſſion were Erectheus, and his father Pandion.

[o] Ἰδίᾳ τελεῖν τὴν τελετήν· τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν Θεοῖν Εὔμολπος, καὶ αἱ θυγάτερες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελέε. Pauſan. l. i. p. 92. *Ut ſacrificia myſtica illi* [i. e. Thraces] *ſuo more perficerent: Et ut Cereri et Proſerpinae Eumolpus et Celei filiae ſacra facerent.* Ἀπὸ τοῦ [i. e. Εὐμόλπου] Εὐμολπίδαι καλοῦνται παρ' Αθηναίοις. Diog. Laert. in prooem. p. 4. Thucyd. p. 496. Heſych. & Suidas in v. Εὐμολπίδαι. Theſe myſteries were ſuppoſed to come originally from Orpheus. Τῶν Ελευσινίων τὰς τελετὰς Ὀρφεὺς, ἀνὴρ Ὀδρύσης, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκόμισεν. Theodorit. Therapeut. *Eleuſiniorum ſacra myſtica Orpheus, natione Thrax, in Athenas importavit.* Δήμητρα χθονίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν σέβειν φασὶ, παραδόντος σφίσιν Ορφέως. Pauſan. p. 241. *Cererem vero terreſtrem Lacedaemonii, accepta ab Orpheo religione, colere ſe affirmant.*

[p] Αἱ ὕστερον Ὀρφέα τὸν Οἰάγρου, μαθόντα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . πολλὰ μεταθεῖναι ἐν τοῖς Ὀργίοις. Diod. Sicul. vol. i. p. 239. *Quas poſtea, cum Orpheus Oeagri filius à patre didicit, multa in Orgiis immutavit.* Ὁ δὲ Θρᾴκιος ἱεροφάντης, καὶ ποιητὴς ἅμα, ὁ τοῦ Οἰάγρου Ορφεὺς, μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ὀργίων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων τὴν θεολογίαν. Clem. Alex. Cohortat. p. 63. ed. Potter. *Thracius autem ille ſacrorum interpres,*

Trieterica [q], the moſt diſtinguiſhed of all the Bacchanalian feſtivals, were common to both theſe people, and came likewiſe originally from Thrace. Their very inſtitution was derived from Tharops [r] king of Thrace, the grandfather of Orpheus, by whom they were with ſome improvements communicated to the Greeks. Greece indeed was in after-ages famous for its great variety of religions; almoſt every ſtate had a ſyſtem of its own: but their moſt ancient ſolemnities, the feſtivals of Ceres and Bacchus, their rejoicings for the in-gathering of the harveſt [s] and vintage, obtained univerſally through the

juxta ac poeta, cum ſacra myſteria, totumque ſimulacrorum cultum expoſuiſſet, &c. And ſo Ovid,

"Cui Thracius Orpheus
"Orgia tradiderat cum Cecropio Eumolpo." Metam. l. xi. ver. 92.

[q] Τὰς μὲν Βοιώτας, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Ἕλληνας καὶ Θρᾴκας . . . καλὰδεῖξαι τὰς τριετηρίδας θυσίας τῷ Διονύσῳ. Diod. Sicul. vol. i. p. 248. *Boeoti igitur caeterique Graeci et Thraces . . . trieterica*, i. e. triennia Bacchi ſacra, *inſtituerunt*.

[r] Bacchus himſelf imparted theſe myſteries to Tharops. Τῷ μὲν Θάροπι χάριν ἀποδοῦναι τῆς εὐεργησίας . . . διδάξαι τὰ καλὰ τὰς τελετὰς Ὄργια. Ibid. p. 234. *Tharopi vero, ut gratiam pro beneficio reponeret, initiationum ritus*, i. e. *orgia Liberi patris edocuit.* Euripides and Strabo take it for granted, that theſe myſteries came originally from Phrygia, and ſo over the Helleſpont into Thrace. This is purſuing the ſame track, only carrying their origin a ſtep higher. Bacchus, when he inſiſted upon their reception at Thebes, told Pentheus,

Πᾶς ἀναχορεύει βαρβάρων τάδ' ὄργια.
Omnes Barbari ſaltantes celebrant haec orgia.
Eurip. Bacchae, ver. 482.

In this character the Thracians were certainly included.

[s] What a remarkable affinity has this part of their ritual with the principal feſtivals among the Jews? They were fixed at the beginning and end of harveſt, though the particular remembrance of ſome other mercy was united with the acknowledgment of theſe bleſſings.

whole

whole country, and were obſerved in the ſame manner, both by the Thracians and the Greeks. Theſe were part of the common ritual [*t*], before the inhabitants were formed into ſeparate ſtates, or diſtinguiſhed as a different people. For their language had at that time juſt the ſame agreement as their religion. The firſt Greek poets [*u*], Orpheus, Linus, Thamyris, and Muſaeus were undoubtedly Thracians. All thoſe celebrated groves, mountains, and rivers, whither the Muſes [*w*] were ſup-

[*t*] There was the ſame affinity in ſeveral other of their feſtivals; as thoſe of Diana, Venus, Cybele, &c. Τούτοις δ' ἔοικε καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Θραξὶ τά τε Κοτύτια, καὶ τὰ Βενδίδεια, παρ' οἷς καὶ τὰ Ὀρφικὰ τὴν καλαρχὴν ἔχει. Strabo, vol. ii. p. 721. *Horum ſimilia ſunt etiam apud Thraces quae uſurpantur, ſacra Cotyttia et Bendidia, a quibus etiam Orphica ſunt profecta.* Thus again, ſpeaking of the Athenians, Πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παραδέδεκται . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ τὰ Φρύγια. Ibid. p. 722. Ταῦτα γάρ ἐστι Σαβάζια καὶ Μητρῷα. p. 723. *Multa enim ſacra peregrina receperunt . . . interque haec Thracia et Phrygia.—Haec etiam Sabazii, et Magnae Matris Deorum ſunt.* What Strabo ſays of the manner of obſerving theſe feſtivals, is equally true of the feſtivals themſelves. Κοινὸν δὲ τοῦτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἐστί. Hence Salmaſius concludes with all the appearance of truth: "Omnia denique ſacra, quibus Graeci initiaban-"tur, Μητρῷα, Σαβάζια, et alia, partim Θράκια, partim Φρύγια fuere, et hoc "nomine etiam Thracia." And Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis looks upon this agreement in their religious rites to be one of the moſt evident proofs of a common original in the people. Ἐν αἷς πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα πάντων εἶναι πείθομαι τὰς γινομένας . . . περὶ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων πατρίους ζεβασμούς· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχει Ἑλλάς τε καὶ Βάρβαρος χώρα, &c. Dion. Halicarn. l. vii. p. 456. ed. Hudſon.

[*u*] Θρᾷκες λέγονται Ὀρφεὺς, καὶ Μουσαῖος, καὶ Θάμυρος. Strabo, vol. ii. p. 722. Diod. Sicul. vol. i. p. 236. Laertius makes Muſaeus the ſon of Eumolpus, and ſays he died at Athens. Εὐμόλπου φίλον υἱὸν ἔχει τὸ Φαληρικὸν ἄδας Μουσαῖον. Laert. in prooem. 4. *Eumolpi charum filium habet terra Phalera Muſaeum.*

[*w*] Δῆλον δ' ἔκ τε τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς αἱ Μοῦσαι τελίμνηνται· Πιερία γὰρ καὶ Ὄλυμπος, καὶ Πίμπλα καὶ Λείβηθρον τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν ΘΡΑΙΚΙΑ χωρία καὶ ὄρη. Strabo, ut ſupra, p. 722.

poſed

poſed to reſort, were the beautiful, ſequeſtered rural ſcenes, which had been the delight and retirement of theſe Thracian poets. The very Muſes themſelves were the creatures of their imagination. Orpheus was the father of the European poetry: under that character he makes the firſt, and one of the principal figures in Virgil's Elyſium,

"Threïcius [x] longa cum veſte ſacerdos
"Obloquitur numeris ſeptem diſcrimina vocum,
"Jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulſat eburno."

THOUGH there is nothing left that is certainly Orpheus's, yet by every thing, which the ancients have aſcribed to him, it is plain that he wrote in Greek, the common language of the country. The Greeks, out of honour to his memory, have hung up his harp [y] to ſhine for ever among their conſtellations. Linus, another of theſe Thracian poets, is ranked among thoſe, who had the re-

Atque hoc de locis intelligi poteſt, ubi Muſae cultae fuerunt, Pieria enim, Olympus, Pimpla, Libethrum antiquitus THRACIA *fuere loca et montes.* Πίμπλειαν, ἔνθα Ὀρφεὺς διέτριβεν. Id. vol. i. p. 508. "Hic Muſarum parens domuſque Pieria." Mela, l. ii. c. 3.

[x] Virg. Æn. l. vi. p. 645.

[y] "Sed quos pulſabat Riphaeum ad Strymona, nervi,
"Auditus ſuperis, auditus manibus Orpheus,
"Emerito fulgent clara inter ſydera coelo." Sil. Ital. l. xi. ver. 461.

Silius was a little miſtaken in his Geography: becauſe Orpheus was a Thracian, he makes him an inhabitant of that country, which was then called Thrace. But Orpheus, as Strabo ſays, was a Theſſalian, when Theſſaly was part of Thrace. He is ſaid to be a ſcholar of Eumolpus, but that is improbable; for if Eumolpus made the firſt ſphere, Orpheus was ſomething older; otherwiſe his harp had ſcarce had a place among the firſt conſtellations. See Newton's Chronol. p. 84.

putation

putation of introducing the Greek characters: not that Linus [z] was the inventor of them; but one of the more ſenſible inhabitants, who promoted their reception. Their alphabet had upon this account different appellations. It was called the *Phoenician*, from the country whence thoſe letters were originally derived: the *Pelaſgic*, from the people, who received them; this is Diodorus's [a] opinion, which has all the appearance of truth. There might be at different times ſome difference in the formation [b] of theſe letters: this was natural: almoſt every age and country might produce inſtances of this variation in their own alphabet. But whatever theſe letters were

[z] Τὸν δὲ ἓν Λῖνον φασὶ τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι ζυνταξάμενον, &c. . . . ὁμοίως δὲ τέτοις χρήσασθαι τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι τὸν Ορφέα. Diod. Sicul. p. 236. *Linus ergo literis Pelaſgicis deſcripſit*, &c. . . . *eodem literarum genere Orpheus quoque uſus eſt*. Λέγεται ἓν πρῶτος ἕτος (i. e. Linus) ἀπὸ Φοινικίας γράμματα ἀπαγαγεῖν. Suidas in voce, et vid. Tacit. Ann. l. xi. c. 14.

[a] Ἰδία δὲ τῶν Πελασγῶν πρώτων χρησαμένων τοῖς μεταθεῖσι χαρακτῆρσι Πελασγικὰ προσαγορευθῆναι Diod. Sic. vol. i. p. 236. *Quae autem Pelaſgicae poſtea proprie ſunt dictae, quod primus tranſlatarum literarum uſus Pelaſgis innotuiſſet.* That the Pelaſgians had letters before Cadmus, is an opinion that ſeems to be taken up without any ſufficient proof.

[b] Thus the Φοινίκια γράμματα, Πελασγικὰ γράμματα, Ἀττικὰ γράμματα, though originally the ſame, might have ſome difference in their form. This is evident from what Pliny and Tacitus obſerve: "In Latium literas attulerunt "Pelaſgi. Veteres Graecas fuiſſe eaſdem pene, quae nunc ſunt Latinae." Hiſt. N. l. vii. c. 56, 58. "Phoenicas, quia mari praepollebant, literas in-"tuliſſe Graeciae. Quippe fama eſt, Cadmum claſſe Phoenicum vectum ru-"dibus adhuc Graecorum populis artis ejus auctorem fuiſſe." Ann. l. xi. c. 14. Their opinion is plainly the ſame with that of Dionyſius and Diodorus, that the Latin, Greek, Pelaſgic, and Phoenician letters were originally the ſame. See Mr. Chiſhul's account of the ancient Greek Alphabet, in his admirable commentary upon the Sigean inſcription.

called,

called, the great patrons of them at their firſt appearance were theſe Thracian [*c*] poets.

ALL theſe accounts are much confirmed by the remarks, which Thucydides [*d*] has made upon the ancient ſtate of Greece. He ſays, that the diſtinction between Greeks and Barbarians was not in being till after Homer's time. That in the more remote ages, the inhabitants of that country, by whatſoever names they were called, had a very near reſemblance in their cuſtoms and manners, kept up a mutual intercourſe, underſtood each other, or (as ſome Mſſ. read this paſſage) ſpoke the ſame language. From hence we may very reaſonably conclude, that, from the moſt ſouthern parts of Peloponneſus to the ſides of the Euxine, there was originally but one people. It is agreed, that one of their general, and moſt ancient names was PELASGI [*e*]. At firſt they had no fixed habitations,

[*c*] Diod. Sicul. vol. i. p. 236, and 26. "Gens Thracica ex iis populis, per "quos primum Graecia cultoribus inſtructa fuit . . . Et poteſt veriſimiliter dici, "antiquiſſimam Hellenum dialectum non multum a Thracica fuiſſe diſſo-"nam." Salmaſ. de Hellen. p. 378. 404.

[*d*] Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Βαρβάρους εἴρηκε [Homerus] διὰ τὸ μηδὲ Ἑλληνάν πω (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) ἀνίπαλον εἰς ἓν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι. Οἱ δὲ ξυν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι, ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν. Thucyd. p. 3. *Nec unquam iſtam* Barbari *vocem uſurpavit, quia (ut mihi videtur) ne Hellenes quidem* (a Barbaris) *diſtincti, in unum nomen* Barbaro *oppoſitum adhuc coaluiſſent. Quotquot igitur ſinguli paſſim Hellenes erant, et quotquot per urbes ſparſi, ſe mutuo intelligebant.* Inſtead of ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν, the Arundel and C. C. Oxon. Mſſ. read ἀλλήλων ἀλλήλοις ὁμόφωνοι ἦσαν. Whether this be a various reading, or only an ancient gloſs, it certainly explains the hiſtorian's ſentiments, that they all ſpoke the ſame language. See Strabo, p. 495.

[*e*] Τὸ μὲν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικόν. Dionyſ. Hal. l. i. p. 14. It had perhaps been more exact, if he had ſaid, τὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων γένος Πελασγικόν. Herodotus allows, that the Athenians were originally Pelaſgians, which by conſequence

but

but roved about in clans [*f*], as the Tartars do at preſent; ſome of them, who had juſter notions of ſociety, by de-

includes the other Greeks. This was in general the common ſentiment of the ancients. Hence Salmaſius very juſtly concludes, "Pelaſgi iidem erant "cum iis, qui poſtea, nomine mutato et mutuato ab Hellene, dicti ſunt Ἕλληνες. "Ita intellexit et Thucydides, cum dixit, antequam Ἕλληνες hoc nomen ha-"berent, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος ἐπιπλεῖσον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν "παρέχεσθαι. *Cum aliae gentes, tum etiam Pelaſgica diffuſa erat, nomen a ſeipſis "videntur indidiſſe.* Nimirum ita ſenſit, nihil mutatum ab Hellene in illa gente, "quae ante ipſum ibi habitabat, et cujus ipſe pars fuit, niſi nomen. Graeca "lingua vigebat, et natio; ſed ſub alio nomine." De ling. Hellen. p. 292, 293. The Pelaſgians had long been in poſſeſſion of that country before the name Hellenes was introduced among them. The Latins knew nothing of that appellation. They uſed only Graecus and Pelaſgus, and theſe as ſynonymous terms. So Virgil,

"Ignari ſcelerum tantorum, artiſque Pelaſgae."

Aen. l. ii. ver. 106. See Servius in loc. Hence it follows, that the ſettlements of the Greek colonies in Italy were made before the name of Hellenes was known among the Greeks. Of theſe two ancient names, Graecus continued to the preſent times. Heſychius indeed has ſaid, that the Greeks called themſelves Ῥαῖκοι: Ῥαῖκος, Ἕλλην; that the Romans, prefixing the Γ, made it Γραικός. But this was a miſtake; the Greeks called themſelves Γραικοὶ, as appears by the Arundel marble, Ariſtotle, &c. Whatever variations there were in the name, I ſhould imagine, that Γραικὸς, Ῥαῖκος, Θρᾴκιος, were only different dialects of the ſame word: there is certainly a great affinity in their form.

Γραικὸς, γραῖξ, γραῖκες·
Θρᾴκιος, θρᾷξ, θρᾷκες.

[*f*] Salmaſius makes Herodotus and Strabo differ exceedingly in their accounts of the Pelaſgi: a miſtake owing to the rapidity, with which that writer threw off his compoſitions. What he ſays is this, p. 285: "Hero-"dotus Graecos et Pelaſgos comparans, ut diſſimiles oſtendat, Pelaſgos nun-"quam erraſſe palabundos ſcribit, cum Graeci ſaepius mutatis ſedibus "vagati ſunt. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἔονλα τὸ ἀρχαῖον· Τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν, "τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος· Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὐδαμῆ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα." Herod. l. i. c. 56. *Ita enim de illis ab antiquis temporibus judicabatur, quum altera gens Pelaſgica, altera foret Hellenica. Quarum haec nunquam ſolum mutavit, illa plurimum pervagata eſt.* Salmaſius miſtook the reference of the two articles; the firſt belongs to Ἑλληνικὸν, the laſt to Πε-

grees formed ſettled governments. Then, after colonies from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Phrygia had made conſiderable improvements in ſeveral parts of this country, and introduced *letters*, *laws*, and new *forms of religion* among theſe people, the ſeveral ſtates and diſtricts, which made greater advances in politeneſs, and more uniformly adopted theſe improvements, were at laſt called Hellenes,

λαογικὸν; and then all is right. Herodotus and Strabo are intirely reconciled. Nor is there that difference between them, with regard to the language of theſe people, which Salmaſius imagined. Herodotus indeed ſays, Οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσαν ἱέντες. Ibid. c. 57. But if βαρβαροφώνες, in Homer, ſignifies people that ſpoke Greek ill, as both Strabo and the Scholiaſts obſerve, βάρβαρον γλῶσαν, in Herodotus, muſt be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe, that the Pelaſgi ſpoke very bad Greek. This natural explication brings both theſe authors to a perfect agreement. The inhabitants of that country, from the north of Theſſaly to the ſouthern parts of Peloponneſus, by frequent commerce and colonies from abroad, which their ſituation favoured; and by a free and generous intercourſe and emulation in their public games, to which their genius led them, ſoon became much more improved and civilized than their neighbours, were diſtinguiſhed by a general and popular appellation, and called Hellenes. Whenceſoever this name aroſe, whether from an imaginary perſuaſion, that they were all deſcended from Hellen, or from that great alliance againſt Troy, in which all theſe governments were included, they began to conſider themſelves, as originally one people, and treat the leſs improved nations, though they ſpoke the ſame language, as Barbarians. The word, if we may believe Euripides, carried no reproach with it at firſt, but related only to their language and deſcent. Hector calls Rheſus and himſelf Barbarians, without intending the leaſt reflexion upon that prince's character or his own, which was certainly very polite,

Σὺ δ' ἐγγενὴς ὢν βαρβάρός τε, βαρβάρους
Ἕλλησιν ἡμᾶς πρέπτιες, τὸ σὸν μέρος.

Tu vero cognatus exiſtens et barbarus, barbaros
Nos Græcis prodidiſti, *quantum in te eſt.*

Eurip. Rheſ. ver. 120. ed. Barn.

But this was perhaps a verbal anachroniſm, Homer never uſing that word. Philip, a much more accompliſhed and conſiderable prince than Rheſus, is called a Barbarian by Demoſthenes, Olynth. iii. though Greek was the common

or

or Achaians, and all the reſt was Thrace [g]. The ſouthern limits of what was called Thrace were by this means very different at different times. At firſt, it extended as far as Attica itſelf; afterwards it was bounded by the river Peneus; then by the Strymon; and laſt of all by the Neſſus.

THRACE, in theſe later ages, was, like all other countries, diſtributed into ſmall diſtricts. Pliny [h] ſays, that, in the Roman times, there were no leſs than fifty military prefectures, or provinces, in it. This diviſion might probably have ſome connexion with its ancient ſtate. For the hiſtorian obſerves, that, if the Thracians had agreed to live under the ſame government, and unite in one common intereſt, they would have been the moſt powerful, as they certainly were the moſt populous [i], nation in the world. This was the great EASTERN HIVE, from

[g] Καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς παραλίαν πᾶσαν οἴδε Θρᾳκίαν ἔσαν μέχρι Πηνειοῦ. *Oram omnem quoque maritimam, quae ſubſequitur, Thraciam nimirum ad Peneum uſque memorat.* Strab. p. 12. So far Thrace in Homer's time. Εἶτα τὸ Νέστου ῥεῦμα ἕως διορίζοντος Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Id. p. 511. So far only in Alexander's.

[h] "Thracia inter validiſſimas Europae gentes in quinquaginta ſtrategias "diviſa." Lib. iv. c. 18. p. 203. διὰ τὸ πλῆθος . . . τῶν δυνατῶν. Polyb. l. iv. p. 313.

[i] Θρηϊκῶν δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι μετά γε Ἰνδοὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἄρχοιτο, ἢ φρονέοιτο καλὰ τωὐτὸ, ἄμαχον τ' ἂν εἴη, καὶ πολλῷ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων. *Gens Thracum, ſecundum Indos, omnium hominum maxima eſt: quae aut ſi unius imperio regeretur, aut idem ſentiret, ut mea fert opinio, inexpugnabilis foret, et omnium gentium validiſſima.* Herod. l. v. c. 3. Θρηικῶν δὲ τῶν πάντων κοῖλαι πλείους εἰσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Paſan. l. i. 22.

whence all the numerous Teutonic [k] branches were deſcended. The Getae [l] were originally Thracians; and the Getae, Gothi, Daci, were but different names for the ſame people. The Goths and Germans were undoubtedly ſiſter-nations; branches from a common ſtock. Colonies of the Getae long before Strabo's time, from a very remote antiquity [m], were ſpread over Germany, and extended from the Euxine, as far as the banks of the Rhine. There were not long ago, and moſt probably are now, upon the ſides of the Euxine, ſome remains of theſe very people. Buſbequius [n], who had ſeen the attendants of their ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, aſſures us, that their very looks and language beſpoke their German original:

"Ore denique ipſo et corporis habitu originem Ger-
"manicam referre."

IT had been probably more exact, if he had ſaid, they came from a common origin with the Germans. He

[k] The German Antiquaries have not taken ſo much notice of the original deſcent of their own nation, as might have been expected; and our late Univerſal Hiſtorians have clouded that part of their work with much obſcurity. Pere Pezron, whoſe conjectures are often viſionary, here takes the right track, and makes the Goths and Getae the ſame people. Antiq. of Nations, p. 216.

[l] Γέται . . . Θρηίκων ἔονλες ἀνδρειόταλοι, καὶ δικαιόταλοι. Herodot. l. iv. c. 93.

[m] Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς χώρας μερισμὸς ζυμμένων ἐκ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΥ, τὲς μὲν γὰρ Δάκας ποσαγόρευσι, τὲς δὲ Γέτας . . . Γέτας μὲν τὲς πρὸς τὸν Πόνλον κεκλιμένες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἑω· Δάκας δὲ τὲς εἰς Γερμανίαν, καὶ τὲ Ἴσρε πηγάς. *Eſt et alia regionis diſtributio, quae ab* ANTIQUO *perduravit, ut alii Daci, alii Getae appellentur: Getae, qui verſus Pontum et Orientem inclinant; Daci, qui in diverſum ad Germaniam, et Iſtri fontes vergunt.* Strab. vol. i. p. 466.

[n] Epiſt. iv. 323. ed. Elziv.

has

has given us a pretty long liſt of words, that ſtill continued manifeſtly the ſame in their language, and his own.

BESIDES that great affinity already obſerved between the Greek and Gothic languages, our old Saxon tongue is, in ſome meaſure, an evidence of the progreſſive ſettlements of thoſe people from eaſt to weſt. Westene with them ſignified *a deſart*; and ſuch was the country from the Euxine all along the Danube and the Rhine, when they made their firſt ſettlements: thus ἔρημος, the wilderneſs, is often uſed in the LXX [o] to expreſs the South, and θάλασσα the Weſt; becauſe South of the land of Canaan were great deſarts, and all the Mediterranean ſea lay to the Weſt.

THIS evidence of ſpeaking the ſame language, may be admitted as one of the ſureſt proofs of original deſcent. All theſe facts in general are ſo well atteſted by the united ſuffrage of the moſt ancient hiſtorians, and confirmed by ſo many concurring circumſtances, that I ſhall look upon it as a clear and indiſputable point, that the Saxons and Thracians came from a common origin with the Greeks, and purſue it no further, than by producing ſome of theſe authorities at the bottom of the page [p].

[o] Ἀνέβη δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Λὼτ μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ΕΡΗΜΟΝ. Gen. xiii. 1. Which we tranſlate from the original Hebrew, *into the South.* Καὶ ἰδὲ .... πρὸς βορρᾶν, καὶ λίβα, καὶ ἀνατολὰς, καὶ θάλασσαν. Ibid. ver. 14. So in the Heb. ים, *ad mare*, the hiſtorian and tranſlator both ſpeaking the language of Canaan.

[p] Ἀνίστησιν πρῶτον μὲν τὸς ἐνὸς τοῦ Αἵμου τε ὄρους, καὶ Ῥοδόπης Θρᾴκας . . . ἔπειτα τὸς

The

The Saxons themſelves, though at firſt without letters, preſerved, in all their ſeparate diviſions, a dark traditionary account of this original.

ὑπερβάλλι Αἶμον Γέτας. Thucyd. l. ii. c. 96. And theſe Getae, he calls Θρᾷκας τὰς ὑπὲρ τῦ Αἵμυ. So Menander, as quoted by Strabo, πάνλες μὲν οἱ Θρᾷκες, μάλιςα δὲ οἱ Γέται. Strab. p. 455. Ἕλληνες τὰς Γέτας Θρᾷκας ὑπελάμβανον. Id. p. 458. Δάκοι κέκληνλαι, εἴτε δὴ Γέται τινὲς, εἴτι καὶ Θρᾷκες. Dion. Caſſius, p. 656. Γόνθοι . . . εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ Γετικὰ ἔθνη ταῦτ' ἐκάλεν. Procop. de bello Vandal. vol. i. p. 345. Ἡμεῖς δὲ Γόνθοις Βρεπανίαν ὅλην ζυγχωρῆμεν ἔχειν. Id. de bello Goth. vol. ii. p. 67. Gothis, i. e. Saxonibus. Ἐκ χώρας ὧν Γελικῆς τῆς ὕςερον Δακίας ἐπικληθείσης. Zonar. p. 477. "Una gens Thraces habitant, aliis aliiſque praediti et nominibus et moribus. "Quidam feri et ad mortem paratiſſimi, Getae utique." Mela, l. ii. c. 2. "Getae, Daci Romanis dicti," Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 25. p. 216. "Gotti, Getae "dicerentur." Spartian. in Carac. p. 731. "Daci, ſoboles Getarum." Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 3.

The only writer among the ancients, that I know of, who appears to make any doubt of this matter, is Dion Caſſius. "I call theſe people Daci," (ſays he) "becauſe they call themſelves ſo; though I am ſenſible, that ſome of the "Greeks call them Getae, but without aſſigning any reaſon for this appel-"lation," p. 1105. If Dion had obſerved what Strabo had ſaid, he would ſcarce have made this remark. Strabo gives one of the beſt reaſons imaginable, why the Greeks called the Daci, Getae; and the Getae, Thracians; becauſe all theſe people ſpoke the ſame language. Ὁμόγλωτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Γέται τοῖς Δάκοις, p. 468. Παρὰ τῶν Γελῶν ὁμογλώτλε τοῖς Θρᾳξὶν ἔθνες. Id. p. 465. Procopius, appealing to this kind of evidence, determines that the Goths, Vandals, and Gepidae, were originally the ſame people. "Gothicae nationes "multiplices olim fuere, et nunc ſunt . . . Vandali, Wiſigothi, et Gepidae, &c. "leges eaedem, LINGUA UNA." Procop. Vandal. edit. Venet. p. 345. Salmaſius thought, that, in all queſtions about deſcent, this was a deciſive argument. "Probari poteſt argumento vix vincibili, quod a lingua ſeu dialecto ducitur." De Hellen. p. 364. From this principle Mr. Hume very juſtly concluded, that the ancient inhabitants of Scotland were of two different nations, one of Celtic, and the other of Teutonic original. "The Lowlands were peopled "by a race of men, who, if we may judge by their tongue (a more certain "proof than any imperfect and fabulous annals), muſt neceſſarily have been "of Saxon original." Hume's Stuarts, vol. i. firſt edition. This paragraph is omitted in the ſubſequent editions.

ASSER

ASSER [q] MENEVENSIS, who carries up the pedigree of Alfred, in the true ſpirit of his own country, as high as Adam, mentions Geta with particular marks of diſtinction, as one of his anceſtors: "Quem Getam jam-"dudum pagani pro Deo venerabantur."

So the Saxon [r] Chronicle brings Ida the Northumbrian from the ſame ſtem; the firſt of his anceſtors was Gaeta. Theſe Saxon pedigrees are often carried no higher than Woden; but in thoſe that are, it is plain, by the intermediate anceſtors, that they all came from Gaeta. Thus Huntingdon [s], going upwards in the pedigree of the Kentiſh Saxons, "filii Woden .... filii Getae." And ſtill later, Ordericus Vitalis [t], in the deſcent of Edward the Confeſſor: "Cetuna genuit "Gaetam:" and after five deſcents comes Woden, "a "quo Angli feriam ſextam WODENIS diem nuncupant." The name Jutes is only a corruption of Getae; which was written very different ways, Giotae, Geatae, Getae, Jetae, Jutae. "In his (ſays a very judicious writer [u]) an-"tiqua Getarum et Gothorum nomina adhuc ſuper-

[q] Edit. Wiſe, Oxon. p. 2.

[r] This Chronicle carries the genealogy of the other Saxon princes no higher than Woden, who, from the account given by Aſſer, Huntingdon, this Chronicle, &c. was five generations lower than Gaeta. The genealogiſts differ very little in the degrees of ſucceſſion; but, after all the boaſted antiquity of theſe fabulous deſcents, none of theſe princes (allowing 30 years for a generation) were able to carry up the accounts of their family, ſo high as the beginning of the Chriſtian æra.

[s] Scriptores poſt Baedam, p. 310.

[t] Ducheſne's Script. Norman. p. 659.

[u] Smith's Notes on Bede, p. 52.

"ſunt."

"ſunt." Through this dark medium, ſome rays of light are tranſmitted; we diſcover ſomething of their firſt original, and their true hiſtory.

THIS is a ſhort view of thoſe primitive connexions, which muſt have been between the Greeks and the Goths, both by commerce and deſcent: it had been eaſy to enlarge upon each of theſe articles: but as they now ſtand, I am perſuaded, that they may be admitted as preſumptive proofs of the point in queſtion. The whole appearance is uniform and conſiſtent. Every opening leads to the ſame place, and has the ſame point in view, viz. that the remarkable agreement between the Greek and Saxon weights and meaſures was not owing to any caſual coincidence; but that they were truly of Greek original.

FROM this account of the weight and origin of the Saxon pound, we may draw ſome concluſions.

FIRST of all; This is the true reaſon why the Saxon or Engliſh pound was called the pound *Sterling*. Their anceſtors brought it from the moſt Eaſtern parts of Europe, the ſhores of the Euxine. They called it *Libra Eſterlingorum*, the pound Eſterling or Sterling [*w*], to diſ-

[*w*] Sterling and Eſterling are undoubtedly the ſame word; but not, as has been conjectured, "ex E proſthetica Gallorum vocibus litera S incipientibus "non raro addita, uti in *ſpiritus, eſprit*; *ſcutiger, eſcuyer*." This addition was very common in the Franco-gallic, but not in the Saxon. The Saxons uſually dropt the initial E in words borrowed from other languages; as, *ſlave*, from *eſclave*; *ſcale, eſcailles*; *ſlander, eſclandre*; *biſhop, epiſcopus*. What a variety of conjectures hath been offered, to account for the uſe and meaning of the word STERLING? It has been ſuppoſed to come from Egypt, Arabia, Italy, Scotland, and almoſt every region and country but the right. From the

tinguiſh

tinguiſh it from the Roman pound; which, to preſerve the ſame diſtinction, was called *Libra Occidua*, or the Weſtern pound. In the Acts of pope Marcellinus it is ſaid, that he was depoſed by the *Libra Occidua* [*x*], or Weſtern pound; becauſe, at the time theſe Acts were drawn up, the Roman emperors ſtruck out of a pound of gold 72 [*y*] ſolidi. The meaning of the expreſſion was, that the ſcale turned againſt Marcellinus by the whole weight of the Weſtern pound; i. e. the evidence of 72

merchants; from the workmen in the mint; from the caſtle of that name in Scotland; from the Saracenic Eſtar, or Eſtaron, a ſort of coin; from *a ſtar*, the uſual mark upon Jewiſh indentures, or bonds; from the Saxon ſteope, a rule or ſtandard, and even from the bird *ſtarling*: ſee Spelman, Somner, Hooper, Lowndes &c. Gronovius, after reciting moſt of theſe conjectures, declares in favour of another, not leſs improbable than any of the former. "Et tamen non Solidorum, ſed Sterlingorum haec libra vocitata, quia veriſimile "eſt, tum illum nummum maxime frequentatum fuiſſe." De pec. vet. p. 158.

[*x*] "Hi omnes ſunt viri electi, LIBRA OCCIDUA qui teſtimonium perhibent "... quoniam in LXXII ſolidorum libra occidua in reparationem ſurgit annus." Labbè Concil. tom. i. p. 942. Scaliger was very clear in this point: "Occiduam "quidem libram intelligo Romanam, quae diſtingueretur ab ea, qua uterentur "Conſtantinopolitani, qui dicerentur Orientales." Scal. de re numm. p. 65. But Gronovius with ſome diffidence: "Commodiſſimum videtur Occiduam ſimpli-"citer intelligere Romanam ſive Italicam ... libram." De pec. vet. p. 351.

[*y*] "Siquis ſolidos appendere voluit auri cocti, VI ſolidos quaternorum "ſcriptulorum, noſtris vultibus figuratos, appendat pro ſingulis unciis." Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 7. p. 563. And thus the Juſtinian code: "Quotieſcunque "certa ſolidorum ſumma pro tituli quantitate debetur, et auri maſſa tranſmit-"titur, in LXXII ſolidos, libra feratur." Cod. l. x. tit. 70. p. 5. I agree with the very learned cardinal Noris, that the Acta Marcellini are certainly not genuine. They allude (as he obſerves) to a law of Honorius, in A. D. 395. And this very paſſage proves the ſame thing: the number of ſolidi was not brought to 72 in the pound, till after Marcellinus's death. But to conclude from the number of ſolidi in the pound, that the pound itſelf was altered, was concluding without premiſes. Here the cardinal took up with the current opinion, without giving himſelf the trouble to examine it.

perſons, men of weight and credit, Aurei all. It was a ſort of pun, playing upon the word Pound. But the evidence of this paſſage is for that reaſon more deciſive; for ſuch alluſions are uſually made to things well known, and turn upon familiar expreſſions. Whether the Acts of pope Marcellinus are genuine, or not, is a queſtion, that I am no way concerned in. It is the ſame thing, with regard to this point, whether they were written in the fourth or fifth century. That they are ancient is certain; becauſe the conſequence of this real, or ſuppoſed, determination was ſo conſiderable, that the number 72 was fixed by the old laws of England, as the legal number of witneſſes for depoſing biſhops. The laws [z] of Henry I, ſay, That a biſhop ſhall not be depoſed, but by 72 witneſſes; and popes by no authority whatſoever. Popes were then become abſolute princes, arbiters of Europe, and much above the reach of any Synodical deciſions: the biſhops themſelves were in no great danger of being depoſed, when it was neceſſary to ſupport the charge againſt them by ſuch a cloud of witneſſes.

2. THIS diſtinction of the Eaſtern and Weſtern, or Greek and Roman, pounds continuing for ſo many ages, and in the ſame proportion, is an evidence that the pounds themſelves were always of the ſame weight, without any conſiderable variation. Hence it follows, that biſhop Hooper's, Dr. Arbuthnot's, Monſieur Eiſenſchmid's ac-

[z] "Et non dampnetur praeſul, niſi in 72 teſtibus, neque praeſul ſummus "a quoquam judicetur." Leg. Sax. p. 237.

counts

counts of a *Mina Attica antiqua, media*, &c. are opinions taken up without any proper authority.

THUS again, We muſt for the ſame reaſon reject Agricola's, Hottoman's, Gothofred's, Cardinal Noris's, and Dr. Bernard's ſentiments about the alterations or diminutions in the Roman pound.

3. THIS ſhews the reaſon of biſhop Hooper's miſtake in aſcribing the origin of the Engliſh weights and meaſures to the Saracens. He found an agreement, but miſtook the original. The Ptolemies, who had been ſo long maſters of Egypt, left the Grecian weights and meaſures in that country, where the Saracens found them. Hyginus [*a*] tells us, that the Greek foot was in Egypt called the Ptolemaic foot; that theſe were the ſame meaſures. The conformity, which that very learned and excellent prelate found between the Saracenic weights and meaſures, and our own, was owing to this circumſtance, that they came from the ſame original: but his conjecture about their being brought into England either by Charlemagne [*b*], or the Saracens, has not the leaſt appearance of evidence to ſupport it.

As biſhop Hooper's miſtake was owing to a ſimilitude of weight, &c. without authority; Dr. Hickes's aroſe from authority, without any ſort of agreement in weight. He was extremely well read in all parts of Saxon learn-

[*a*] "Pes eorum, qui Ptolemaïcus appellatur, habet pedem monetalem, et "ſemunciam." Hyg. p. 210. Here the Greek foot, which was half an inch longer than the Roman, was called the Ptolemaic foot, and conſequently made uſe of by thoſe princes.

[*b*] Enquiry, &c.

ing, and took his opinion from one of Ethelred's [c] laws. It is there ſaid, "Let them, who overlook the "ports, ſee that the weights be ſo marked, that 15 Orae "make a pound." As Ora was uſed for an ounce, as an equivalent expreſſion, he concluded, that there muſt be 15 ounces in the Saxon pound; and he was right: but he miſtook the commercial for the nummulary weights; the pound uſed in the Ports, for that in the Exchequer. The Saxons had, as the Greeks and Romans before them, two ſorts of weights; one for trade and heavy goods; the other for working off their coins, and ſome other valuable articles.

BUT to ſet this matter in a clearer light, we muſt trace it ſtill higher, and begin long before the Saxon times: for there is no taking a right ſtep, without obſerving what the ancient writers about weights and meaſures have ſaid upon that ſubject. Some of their general poſitions [d] are, "That the weights and meaſures of the "ſame country differed in ſome reſpects, as cuſtom di-"rected; particular weights and meaſures took place for "particular things: therefore it was difficult to ſpecify "the weight of ſeveral ſorts of heavy goods;" not be-

[c] "Et ipſi qui portus cuſtodiunt, efficiunt ſuper overhirneſſam meam, ut "omne pondus ad MERCATUM ſit pondus, quo pecunia mea recipitur, et "eorum ſingulum ita ſignetur, quod XV ORAE LIBRAM faciant." Brompton, int. Decem Script. p. 899. This was every way agreeable to the Roman practice: they had different pounds for the Exchequer, and the market; yet their ounces were the ſame.

[d] Galen. c. 1. et c. 3. Incert. c. 2. inter Scriptores de pond. et menſuris in Append. ad Hen. Steph. Lex. Graecum.

cauſe

cauſe they differed in their ſpecific gravity (for that was unavoidable, and the obſervation had been trifling); but becauſe there was a difference in the ſcale or buſhel, according to the different quantities allowed as weight or meaſure, in particular things. This occaſioned what they called, ἡ καλὰ τὴν ῥοπὴν διαφορά· ἢ ἡ καλὰ τὰ ἤθη τῶν χρωμένων: the difference between the real pound in the ſcale, and the weight allowed by the cuſtom of the place. Thus in our own country, though we have one ſtatutable buſhel, yet a buſhel of wheat and of oats is, in moſt parts of England, not the ſame meaſure; it is according to the cuſtom of the place.

THUS again; our apothecaries buy their drugs by one pound, and make up their medicines by another. The very ſame rule was obſerved among the Romans: their phyſicians preſcribed by the nummulary pound of 12 ounces. This is evident from their univerſal practice from Cato [e] downwards: and yet one of theſe writers upon weights and meaſures expreſly ſays, that the pound uſed in phyſic was 16 ounces [f]. He calls it indeed Mina, to diſtinguiſh it from the Libra, which was only 12. This was the language of the age. This difference of weight and expreſſion ſhews that their way of ſpeaking was more exact than ours, though their practice was the ſame. Several of the old tracts concerning weights

[e] Cato de re ruſtica, c. cxxvii. Celſus, l. v. 17. Scribon. Larg. p. 23, 24. & Plin. Hiſt. N. l. xx. p. 188. l. xxi. p. 263, 266. l. xxiii. p. 530.

[f] Ἡ μνᾶ καλὰ μὲν τὴν ἰατρικὴν χρῆσιν ἄγει Γο. ιϛ'. Dioſcor. in Append. ad Lex. H. Stephani.

and

and measures were first collected and published by Henry Stephens. Perhaps every one of them may not belong to that particular author, whose name it bears: yet they are truly ancient, and their evidence [g] unquestionable. I shall represent it briefly, as it stands in the following columns, giving the first place to those authors, with whose age and authority we are certainly acquainted.

Galen.	Unc.	Epiphanius.	Unc.	Dioscorides.	Unc.	Cleopatra.	Unc.	Incertus.	Unc.
Libra	12	Libra	12	Libra Romana	12	Libra	12	Libra	12
						Mina Attica	12½	Mina Attica una	12
Mina Attica & Aegyptiaca	16			Mina medica	16	Mina	16	Mina Attica altera	16
				Italica	18	Ptolemaica	18	Ptolemaica	18
Romana Alexandrina	20	Mina Italica	20	Mina Alexandrina	20				

IT appears, by comparing the accounts given us from so many different hands, first, That the Greeks had two different pounds, *mina una, et altera:* one of 12 ounces, and one of 16. These were not, as bishop Hooper and Dr. Arbuthnot conjectured, the *Mina antiqua, media*, &c. but two pounds used at the same time for different purposes, and both of them in use when these accounts of weights and measures were taken.

IT appears, 2dly, That the Mina *Attica altera, Aegyptia*, and *medica* were the same, viz. 16 Roman ounces. This was undoubtedly the ancient commercial pound of the Eastern nations. The Romans, in their treaty [b] with

[g] Scriptor. de ponderibus et mens. ut supra.

[b] "Argenti probi Attici duodecim millia talentum dato intra quatuor-

Antiochus,

Antiochus, fixed his tribute by it: one of the articles was, that the talent he paid, ſhould be 80 Roman pounds. Varro [*i*] ſays, this was the weight of the Egyptian talent, and by this treaty it appears to be uſed among the Syrians alſo. This talent therefore was, like other money-talents [*k*], juſt 60 of theſe pounds: for as 12 is to 16; ſo is 60 to 80: or 60 Syrian pounds of 16 ounces, were the ſame as 80 Roman pounds of 12. The Romans, when they ſubdued the Eaſt, underſtood political arithmetic perfectly well, and took the talent of the country; which being not ſo familiar among them in pecuniary eſtimates, the value of it was ſpecified and determined by their own weights. They fixed upon the commercial pound, as the heavieſt: the Greek talent uſed in all their money-accounts being one fourth leſs.

3dly, Theſe extracts plainly ſhew, that the Romans had likewiſe two [*l*] pounds in conſtant uſe, the *Mina* and the *Libra*, of different weights: one nummulary, or uſed only in a few other valuable articles [*m*]: the other com-

"decim annos, penſionibus aequis; talentum ne minus octoginta Romanis "ponderibus pendat." Liv. xxxviii. 38.

[*i*] "Talentum autem Aegyptium pondo LXXX patere Varro tradit." Plin. H. N. vol ii. l. xxxiii. 614.

[*k*] "Omne talentum (ut ex Herone conſtat) minis conſtabat ſui ge-"neris LX." Petav. in Epiphan. De pond. et menſuris, vol. ii. p. 427.

[*l*] Dioſcor. Cleopat. &c. ut ſupra.

[*m*] Pliny, ſpeaking of the two ſorts of Indian pepper, ſays, "Utrumque "ſylveſtre gentibus ſuis eſt, et tamen pondere emitur, ut aurum vel argen-"tum." H. N. vol. i. l. xii. p. 658. He admires at the dearneſs of a ſpice, that grew wild in the woods, where the only expence that attended it was the gathering. To ſay, that it was bought by weight was ſaying nothing: that was common to all drugs and ſpices whatſoever. We are here told there-

mercial,

mercial, and extending to all their heavy goods. Galen, Epiphanius, Dioſcorides, ſpeak of them diſtinctly by their different names, Libra Romana, and Mina Romana. Each of them was marked with their proper letters. The Mina [*n*] marked thus $\frac{N}{M}$; the Libra thus $\frac{I}{L}$. This was done moſt probably to prevent any miſtakes in uſing them, by putting a wrong weight into the ſcale. Hence Petavius [*o*], in his notes upon Epiphanius, De ponderibus et menſuris, very juſtly concludes, that the Mina Romana was one weight, and the Libra Romana another; and adds the authority of Hero in confirmation of this opinion.

ANOTHER point, that ariſes by comparing the accounts of theſe writers upon weights and meaſures, is this: They expreſly aſſert, that there were Italic and Ptolemaic Minae of 18 ounces; and Roman, Italic, and Alexandrine Minae of 20, meaning in all appearance ounces of the ſame weight. The pound of 18 ounces, or the difference

fore, that it was not ſold by the common mercantile pound, but by the goldſmiths weights, " pondere, ut aurum vel argentum;" i. e. pondere, quo — *ut* pro *quo* vel *quaſi*. In any other view, the obſervation is childiſh, and has no meaning.

[*n*] Τὴν ἓν μνᾶν ζημαίνει τὸ μ̄ ſοιχεῖον ἐπικείμενον ἔχον τὸ ν̄ $\frac{\nu}{\mu}$, τὴν δὲ λίτραν τὸ λ̄ ἔχον ἐπικείμενον τὸ ῑ $\frac{\iota}{\lambda}$. Gal. c. 1. in Appendice ad Hen. Steph. Lex. Graec. We have a weight in Dr. Middleton's collection marked in this manner, Λ. Λ. or Libra una, as differing from the Mina. Germ. Ant. Mon. Tab. xx.

[*o*] Epiphan. Opp. vol. II. p. 430. Though the words Libra and Mina had been uſed indifferently for the Greek and Roman nummulary pound; yet in theſe writers they are diſtinguiſhed: the mercantile pound is Mina, the nummulary Libra. Perhaps, this diſtinction was not made before the lower empire. It is not commonly obſerved; Gronovius takes no notice of it.

between

between two commercial pounds of 16, and 18 ounces is eaſily accounted for: it is the very ſame that now ſubſiſts in our Averdupois weight. The Averdupois pound is only 16 ounces, the ancient commercial pound: but the hundred, by which the cuſtoms are rated and the tradeſmen buy their goods, is 112 of theſe pounds, or, what amounts to the ſame thing, a pound of 18 ounces. For as 16 is to 18, ſo is 100 to 112 very nearly; i. e. between one hundred pounds of eighteen ounces to the pound and a hundred and twelve of 16 ounces, there is only half a pound difference. Hence it follows, That trade was anciently carried on in the Roman empire, juſt as it is now in Great Britain. The retailer diſpoſed of his goods by a pound of 16 ounces, and bought them by one of eighteen, i. e. by our preſent Averdupois weight. We eſtimate the difference of theſe weights only in the groſs, by the hundred, or its parts, halves, and quarters: the Romans did it more minutely, by the pound: this difference, in the way of reckoning, made none at all in practice. It was making the tradeſman an allowance for wear and tear, and the turn of the ſcale, and giving ſome advantage in paying the duties which were impoſed; the conſumer paying a higher rate than the merchant; i. e. beſides the advanced duty, allowing for it by a pound one ninth part leſs than that by which they were imported. This appears to be, in ſome proportion or other, the reaſonable and common practice of all ages.

As the evidence now in being, our preſent practice, entirely removes the firſt part of this difficulty, may we

not conclude, that the difference between the pound of 16 and of 20 ounces muſt be accounted for upon the ſame principles?

WHEN the cuſtoms were firſt eſtabliſhed, the government might treat the merchant with more indulgence. Commerce was then in its infancy, wanted, and deſerved encouragement; and perhaps was not able to bear any ſevere impoſitions. Inſtead therefore of a groſs weight, which coincided with a pound of 18 ounces, the merchant had a larger allowance: the duties upon the freight were levied by a pound one fifth part heavier than that by which they were retailed. A paſſage in Dionyſius [*p*] Halicarnaſſeus ſhews, that the groſs hundred, or what I take the liberty of calling the *firſt* Averdupois weight, was then 125 pounds, or, in the Roman way of reckoning, that there were 20 ounces to the pound. This mercantile hundred is mentioned by Galen [*q*] and Epiphanius, and conſequently brought

[*p*] Δισχιλίων ἀριθμὸς ἀσσαρίων. ἦν δὲ ἀσσάριον χάλκεον νόμισμα, βάρος λίτραῖον. ὥστε σύμπαν ὄφλημα ταλάντων ἐκκαίδεκα εἰς ΟΛΚΗΝ χαλκῆ γενέσθαι. Dion. Hal. vol. I. lib. ix. c. 27. Dr. Hudſon tranſlates the paſſage thus: *Duo aſſium millia: as autem nummus erat aereus libralis; ita ut tota mulcta pondere* ſuo *ſedecim talenta aeris conficeret.* This does not quite expreſs the meaning of the original. *Pondere ſuo* is at beſt ambiguous. It ſhould be, *ita ut tota mulcta ſedecim talenta conficeret,* AD (vel SECUNDUM) *pondus aeris.* The whole fine was 16 talents braſs weight. Divide 2000 pounds by 125, the quotient will be 16, which proves that the groſs braſs weight was 125 pounds to the hundred, or 20 Ounce to the pound.

[*q*] Εὔδηλον ὅτι τὴν Ἀλεξανδρεωϊκὴν λέγει μνᾶν, ἐγκίας κ̄ ἔχουσαν, ὅπως ἑκάστη τῶν ἐγκιῶν ἔχῃ ↄ η̄. Gal. de compoſit. l. ii. c. 17. *Manifeſtum eſt, quod hoc de libra dictum eſt Alexandrina,* 20 *uncias habente, et in unaquaque uncia octo drachmas.* An evident proof that the denarius was then brought down to eight

down

down to the fourth century: may we not hence preſume, that the uſe of this greater hundred began early, and continued from the times of the republic to the lower empire?

CUSTOMS were a very ancient part of the Roman revenue. They were duties impoſed, and continued, as Tacitus obſerves, when the ſpirit of liberty ran higheſt among that people.

in the ounce. Τάλαντόν ἐϛι τὸ ὑπερβάλλον πᾶν ϛαθμώρηον μέτρον. καὶὰ δὲ τὸν λιτριϛμὸν (read, as Petavius well corrects it, ΛΙΤΡΙΣΜΟΝ) ϱχέ λίτρων ὑπερέχει. Epiphan. de ponder. p. 183. *Talentum menſurarum omnium, quibus pondera metimur, maximum eſt: Quod ſi ad libras redigatur* mercatorias, CXXV *complectitur.* So Heſychius, Τάλαντον . . . . ὁλκὴ λίτρῶν ἑκατὸν, ἢ ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιπέντε &c. It appears from theſe authorities, that the latter Greeks uſed τάλαντον, not only for the nummulary talent; but, as the Romans did *centenarium*, for the groſs mercantile hundred, whatever was then in uſe. The meaning of Litriſmus, which biſhop Hooper was ſo much at a loſs to explain, is eaſily accounted for by this paſſage in Epiphanius. The biſhop's opinion was, that, in all money accounts, the Roman way of reckoning was called Litriſmus; and the Grecian, Argyriſmus. Vid. Inquiry, p. 143. But this diſtinction has nothing to do with the difference of the Greek and Roman money, or manner of reckoning it. When they reckoned κατὰ λιτριϛμὸν, it was by the groſs mercantile hundred; when, κατὰ ἀργυριϛμὸν, they meant the nummulary talent of 60 pounds: or, to ſpeak according to our preſent uſage, one ſignified the *Troy*, and the other the *Averdupois* weight. Thus Petavius very well explains the different ſenſes of Phollis. When they reckoned by the braſs Phollis, it was ſaid to be κατὰ δηναριϛμὸν, for the Denarius was then a braſs coin; when by the ſilver Phollis, it was κατὰ ἀργυριϛμόν. But Petavius was much miſtaken in ſaying, that Litriſmus meant the Jewiſh talent of the Sanctuary, containing 120 pounds: it was not applicable to money, but to merchandiſe only. There are great errors in this treatiſe of Epiphanius's; ſome owing to the ignorance of tranſcribers; and ſome perhaps to their diligence in inſerting the accounts of later times. But, whatever they were owing to, Mr. Greaves long ago thought that many of them were incurable; and it is certain, that biſhop Hooper's method of curing them was attended with very little ſucceſs.

" A conſulibus [r] et tribunis plebis conſtitutae, acri " etiam populi Romani tum libertate."

METELLUS Nepos, a man of a turbulent and factious ſpirit, who employed all the corrupt arts of popularity purely for ſelf-intereſt, procured a law to be paſſed, when he was Praetor, by which all the inhabitants of Italy were diſcharged from cuſtoms [s], and all other taxes whatſoever. This was bidding high for the higheſt office in the commonwealth, and intended, no doubt, as a ſtep to, what he not long after obtained, the Conſulſhip. Cicero, and the ſober part of the ſenate, were much offended at this raſh proceeding, courting the favour of the people againſt the real intereſt of the ſtate. But ſuch violent favours are uſually of ſhort continuance. The law was ſoon repealed. Julius Caeſar [t], either through the neceſſity of his affairs, which required larger ſupplies; or out of a laudable policy, to recover an ancient

[r] Annal. l. xiii. c. 50.

[s] Ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ καλαλύσας αὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἀρίσκος ἐγένετο· τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τῷ ἐσενεγκόντι αὐτὸν ἀχθόμενοι οἱ βουλευταὶ (ὁ γὰρ Μέτελλος Νέπως ἦν) ἠθέλησαν, κ. τ. λ. *Lex de iis abolendis lata omnibus perquam accepta fuit. At praetori, qui eam tulerat, infeſti ſenatores voluerunt*, &c. Dion. Caſſ. vol. i. p. 143. Metellus had done Cicero very ill offices; but his oppoſition to this law was owing to a patriot ſpirit. His opinion was, " imperium retineri ſine vectigalibus nullo modo poſſe." Ep. ad Quint. Frat. l. i. 1. § 11.

[t] " Peregrinarum mercium portoria inſtituit." Suet. in J. Caeſ. c. 43. This paſſage has ſometimes been miſunderſtood, as if J. Caeſar was the firſt, who laid a duty on foreign merchandize. But the words do not imply this; *inſtituit* is only *impoſuit, ordinavit*. Thus Livy ſaid long before of their chief magiſtrates, " portoria quoque et vectigalia iidem *multa* inſtituerunt." l. xl. c. 51. Theſe duties were laid on at firſt in the very infancy of their ſtate, under the regal government. Id. l. ii. 9. l. v. 1.

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and conſiderable part of the revenue, revived the cuſtoms upon all foreign goods. At what rates they were impoſed is uncertain. This is a very obſcure part of their hiſtory; we know little of it. Cicero [*u*] informs us, that, in the ports of Sicily, the corn duties were then at five per cent. It is certain, that they were in Italy, as in other countries, different at different times. Under the Imperial government, much depended upon the caprice of the prince, as well as the real exigences of the ſtate. The cuſtoms were never intirely remitted, ſometimes leſſened, but much oftener enlarged. We meet with them, for different articles, as low as two and a half per cent; at five per cent; and, under the Byzantine empire, they were rated much higher, at 12 [*w*] and a half per cent. Hence there is ſome reaſon to conclude, that, when the ſtate wanted ſo much larger ſupplies, the groſs weight of 125 pounds was brought down to 112, or the pound of 20 ounces to that of 18: Juſt one half the allowance for wear and tear &c. was ſtruck off.

[*u*] "Scribit HS. ſexaginta ſocios perdidiſſe ex viceſima portorii Syracuſis." Cic. in II. Ver. c. 75. One of the charges againſt Verres was defrauding the government of the cuſtoms. In what light this was then conſidered appears by the manner in which Cicero treats it. "Satisne magnum hoc crimen videtur? nullum, opinor, majus. Dico, te maximum pondus auri, argenti, eboris, purpurae, plurimam veſtem Melitenſem, plurimam ſtragulam, multam Deliacam ſupellectilem, plurima vaſa Corinthia, magnum numerum frumenti, vim mellis maximam, Syracuſis exportaſſe." Id. c. 72. It is plain, by the charge, that all theſe articles ought to have paid a duty.

[*w*] "Ex praeſtatione vectigalium nullius omnino nomine quicquam minuatur, quin octavas more ſolito conſtitutas, omne genus hominum quod commerciis voluit intereſſe, dependat." Cod. l. IV. tit. lxi. 7.

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For whenever this was done, it was certainly done to improve the revenue: It raiſed the duties upon exports and imports very conſiderably, without appearing to alter the former payments. It is not known when this alteration took place; but, I believe, it may be warrantably ſaid, that it was under the Byzantine empire, becauſe we meet with no certain [x] account of this pound of 18 ounces before that time. Galen often mentions the old Alexandrine pound of 20 ounces, but ſays not a word of this pound of 18. If this had been in uſe in his time, it is ſcarce poſſible that it ſhould eſcape his notice, when this very point, the diverſity of theſe pounds, was the ſubject of his enquiries, and in view before him. I ſhall give the paſſage [y] below. The caſe is exactly the

[x] Dioſcorides and Cleopatra, to whom the Greek treatiſes De Ponderibus et menſuris, at the end of Hen. Stephens's Theſaurus, are aſcribed, muſt be perſons that lived under the lower empire. Perhaps the former, that Dioſcorides Byzantinus, who lived in the reign of Marcian. Who the lady was, I know not.

[y] Διαπεφώνηϰαι ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ϛαθμῶν, ϰὲ μέτρων γράψασιν ὁποσός ἐϛιν ὁ τ' ΜΝΑΣ ϛαθμὸς, ἐνίων μὲν ἐννεαϊδεϰα λεγόντων ἐξιϰιῶν εἶναι τὴν μνᾶν, ἐνίων δὲ εἴϰοσι· Ἐνίων δὲ ϰὲ διοριζόντων, ϰὴ τὴν Ἀλεξανδριϰὴν εἴϰοσι φασϰόντων εἶναι ἐξιϰιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐννεαϊδεϰα. *A great deal has been ſaid by the writers upon weights and meaſures, about the true weight of the Mina; ſome ſaying it conſiſted of* 20 *ounces, others of* 16: *And here again, they admit a diſtinction, ſaying the Alexandrine Mina was* 20 *ounces, and the other* 16. Gal. De compoſ. med. l. v. He does not here tell us the name of this pound of 16 ounces; but he calls it in another place Attica, Aegyptia: the pound of 18 ounces is never mentioned. I ſay this upon the authority of the very learned Mr. Archdeacon Chapman, to whom I am much obliged for communicating what Galen has ſaid upon that ſubject. He had read over that author with great attention (and I believe all the authors of claſſical antiquity); but as I had no opportunity of conſulting Galen, all the citations from him, except what occurs in H. Stephens's Lexicon or Greaves's Denarius, are owing to his friendſhip and humanity.

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ſame with Epiphanius. In that treatiſe of his, which is expreſsly upon this ſubject, De ponderibus et menſuris, he is equally ſilent about this pound of 18 ounces. Can ſuch an omiſſion be accounted for any other way, than by taking it for granted that he knew nothing of it, and that it was not in being before the fifth century? At the concluſion of the Conſular, and beginning of the Imperial government, Egypt and Italy were the places, where the great branches of the Roman commerce were principally carried on. By this means this firſt mercantile pound was called indiſcriminately, the *Roman*, *Italic*, *Ptolemaic*, or *Alexandrine* pound. After the diminution of the pound, the ſame appellations were continued; for the term *Italic* was applied to both theſe pounds of 18 and 20 ounces: Calling it the Ptolemaic is an evidence that it was in uſe before Egypt was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and that it was originally the ſame as that which Galen calls the Roman and Alexandrine pound.

UPON the whole then, this is very evident, that the cuſtom of having two pounds, the one nummulary, and the other commercial, began almoſt as early as the beginning of commerce among the Greeks. The Romans followed their example. The more valuable goods were not rated by the ſame weight, as the common articles in trade. In theſe, as many of them were more liable to damage or diminution in their freight, there was an allowance made in paying the duties. The firſt groſs weight, that we know of, was 125 pounds to the hundred,,

dred, which was afterwards reduced to 112: or, in the Roman way of reckoning, the pound of 20 ounces was brought down to 18, our preſent Averdupois weight.

LET us now return to Dr. Hickes's account of the Saxon Pound. That this pound of 15 ounces was their commercial pound, is very evident from the law it ſelf. It is directed to be uſed in the ports, where the wares and merchandiſes, either for export or import, were to be weighed off. But if this evidence is not ſufficient, Fleta's [*a*] account of the weights and meaſures in this kingdom makes it indiſputable: he ſays expreſsly, that the mercantile pound was 15 ounces: "Quindecim unciae "faciunt libram mercatoriam." The Saxon practice was the ſame, as that of the Romans and Greeks before them: though they had two pounds, one for the Exchequer, and one for trade, yet the ounces were the ſame in both; the commercial pound differing from the other only in the number of ounces.

THE difference between the Saxon mercantile pound of 15 ounces, and the Roman of 16, was inconſiderable [*b*]: they might mutually paſs for each other in trade without any inconvenience, juſt as the Greek and Roman money did, where there was much the ſame difference. But this is demonſtration that the Saxons did not make uſe of the Roman weights and meaſures; otherwiſe they had

[*a*] Lib. iii. c. 12.

[*b*] Not above half an ounce, ſuppoſing the weight of the old Tower pound, as given in the 18 of Hen. VIII. to be exactly right: but it had probably ſuffered ſome diminution.

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taken this pound of 16 ounces for their traffic; and it proves likewiſe that the Saxon pound was heavier than the Roman by this accommodation of a pound of 15 to one of 16 ounces. This account of Fleta ſhews, that the Norman kings made no innovations in this matter: ſeveral of the Conqueror's laws [*c*] confirm the Saxon practice, that all his ſubjects ſhould uſe the ſame weights and meaſures, which they did in his predeceſſor's reign. All the ſubſequent princes followed the ſame rule; and it was at laſt eſtabliſhed by Magna Charta [*d*]. Fleta proves, that this uſage continued to his time, and moſt probably till the beginning of Edw. III [*e*]. For in his ninth year, the prohibition upon foreign merchants was entirely taken off, and they were at liberty to buy all

[*c*] "Et quod habeant per univerſum regnum menſuras fideliſſimas, et ſig-"natas; et pondera fideliſſima, et ſignata, ſicut boni PRAEDECESSORES noſtri "ſtatuerunt." Legg. Saxon. p. 217. 228.

[*d*] "Una ſit menſura per totum regnum noſtrum: de ponderibus autem "ſit, ut de menſuris." Mag. Charta R. Joh. in Lex. Sax. p. 370. What this pound was appears by 51 Hen. III. it was the pound ſterling, where 20 pence made an ounce. The inſpection of theſe weights and meaſures was at firſt in the king's officers, to whom only the ſubjects could apply for redreſs: but in the latter end of this reign, when the citizens and burgeſſes were repreſented in parliament, the Commons even in this article obtained ſome additional privileges. It was enacted, that in every town the king's bailiff ſhould ſwear in ſix lawful men, to collect all the weights and meaſures, and that a jury ſhould be impannelled, according to whoſe verdict the pains and penalties ſhould be inflicted, 51 Hen. III.

[*e*] There was a much ſtranger prohibition in the next reign, 9 Edw. III. c. 1. The buſineſs of trade was then ſo little underſtood that our merchants were forbidden to export the produce and manufactures of our own country. "Statutum erat, quod mercatores Angliae non exirent regnum cum "lanis et aliis mercimoniis." Knyghton int. Decem ſcriptores, p. 2737.

Averdupois wares, and merchandiſes, &c. at any place within the realm, and ſell them to any perſons whatſoever, except the king's enemies. This, I believe, is the firſt mention of Averdupois wares and merchandiſes in our laws. Our foreign trade was then much enlarged; and along with it this Averdupois Roman pound was moſt probably adopted, to comply with the uſage of the Italian merchants, who were then far more conſiderable, than our own. The conqueſts of this great prince, his ſucceſs at home and abroad, all his military virtues, are much celebrated: but the progreſs he made in trade, which was not inferior to the other glories of his reign, and much more to the advantage of his country, have been ſeldom obſerved: Mr. Addiſon [*f*], who has done much honour to the nation by his writings, tells us that, by an eſtimate taken in Edw. Third's time, it appear'd, that the balance of trade in our favour was then above a quarter of a million, a very conſiderable ſum in thoſe days. The Averdupois pound, made familiar by this increaſe of commerce, and the encouragement then given to foreign merchants, and being more convenient in it's ſubdiviſions than the Saxon, has continued ever ſince, and is now ſpred ſo far into our numerous and diſtant colonies, that it ſeems to be as perpetually, as it was at firſt ſilently, eſtabliſhed.

DR. Hickes would ſcarce have miſtaken the commercial, for the nummulary, pound, if he had given a little more attention to the alteration, and different uſages of

[*f*] Freeholder, N°. 41.

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the pound in this country. The Saxon nummulary pound was continued here for ſome centuries longer, till A. D. 1498, the 12th of Hen. VII, when it was exchanged for the Troy [g] weight: for a ſtatute made in that year enacts: "That every pound ſhould contain 12 "ounces Troy, and every ounce 20 ſterlings." This alteration was owing to the *intercurſus magnus*, or great treaty of commerce concluded between England and Flanders the year before. The Flemiſh pound was adopted, as a compliment to the ducheſs of Burgundy, and for the mutual convenience of all their payments, which would then be adjuſted by the ſame pound.

I AM therefore at a loſs to aſſign any reaſon, why Mr. Folkes [b] fixes the firſt uſe of this pound in the mint to A. D. 1527, the 18th of Hen. VIII; unleſs the papers and records under his inſpection, from the Exchequer or the mint, happened to take no notice of it before that year. But whether they did, or not, the fact is againſt them: an act of parliament, the univerſal and invariable

[g] "That every gallon contain viii li. of wheat of Troy weight .... and "every pound contain xii ounces of Troy weight, and every ounce contain xx "ſterlings." 12 Hen. VII. c. v. Biſhop Hooper and Mr. Lowndes imagined that the Troy weight was the old Saxon Pound. Inquiry, p. 404. Mr. Lowndes's Eſſay, &c. p. 18. Biſhop Cumberland dated the original of the Troy weight ſomething later, and thought it was introduced here by the Normans. Eſſay towards the recovery of the Jewiſh meaſures, &c. p. 107.

[b] Tables of Engliſh money, p. 4. 20. Though he ſuppoſes that the Troy weight was introduced the 18th of Hen. VIII, into our mint; yet he had ſome ſuſpicions about it; becauſe archbiſhop Williams and Mr. Lowndes had quoted an indenture of the 1ſt of Hen. VIII. wherein Troy weight was expreſsly mentioned.

rule of our practice ever ſince, is an evidence much ſuperior to any private anecdotes or records whatſoever.

IT appears likewiſe by this account of the origin of the Saxon pound, that Grotius [*i*], Sheringham, Gronovius, and Sir William Temple, were much miſtaken in aſſerting, that the Goths and Saxons firſt ſettled in Sweden, and came from the ſides of the Baltick to their new conqueſts and dominions in Europe. Sir William Temple had ſome polite and uſeful learning, and great accompliſhments: but the moſt diſtinguiſhing part of his knowledge was the knowledge of the world. It was none of his buſineſs to trace out the origin of ancient nations; but to diſcern and ſettle the real intereſts of his own: and therein he excelled; every true lover of his country muſt remember it with pleaſure. In him ſuch a miſtake was pardonable; but in Grotius, Sheringham, and Gronovius, profeſſed ſcholars, who had made this queſtion the ſubject of a particular enquiry, it was not ſo excuſable. To ſpeak the real truth, it was in Sheringham credulity; in Grotius complaiſance: He was diſpoſed to compliment the queen, whom he had the honour to ſerve. Every one knows, that he had abilities for the work, and that his royal miſtreſs had no averſion to ſuch courtly offices. One of the methods he took to raiſe the honour of her country was to make the wilderneſs be, like Eden, the mother-country of mankind; and

[*i*] Grotii prolegomena ad hiſtoriam Gothorum. Sheringham, De origine gentis Anglorum. J. Frederici Gronovii Diſſertatio de Gothorum ſede originaria. Sir William Temple's Introduction to the hiſtory of England.

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perſuade us, that Sweden was the place from whence; not only all the royal families in Europe, but almoſt all the nations in Europe were derived.

SHERINGHAM had great learning; but along with it a diſpoſition to run away with ſhadows, and truſt to old rhimes, and legendary tales, as true hiſtory. His aſſertions are as bold, as his authorities are obſcure. The reader will be enabled to judge of his taſte, from a ſhort ſpecimen of it in his own words. "Ab illis (i. e. Getis) "Graeci [k] magna ex parte literis et diſciplina imbuti "ſunt." It is ridiculous to ſearch into the tales and traditions of barbarous ages for the origin of nations, unleſs they can be clear'd up and ſupported by authentic hiſtory. Who would now think of deducing our own hiſtory from the accounts given by Jeffrey of Monmouth, or Alfred of Beverley, tho' Mr. Hearne himſelf has recommended them to us? Beſides, going to Sweden is loſing time, and taking the wrong way: it is like ſearching out the fountain by falling down the ſtream; or, what is almoſt the ſame thing, it is being ſent to Iceland, the Orcades, and God knows whither, for the firſt ſettlements in Europe. The very country forbids ſuch a concluſion:

[k] This appears ſo often in Mr. Sheringham's writings, that what I have ſaid needs no apology. I ſhall juſt mention an inſtance or two more. "Traditiones multae Moſi in monte Sinai divinitus datae, et per os inde tranſmiſſae, in ſcriptis Talmudicis referuntur; quae ſcriptis tradere et divulgare "Moſi nequaquam licuit." Praef. ad Cod. Joma.

"Ab Aenea etiam, ut ſupra dictum eſt, antiqui Britanni genus ſuum oſtentant. Cui, licet a nuperis vehementer reclamatum, nihil tamen ſolidum objiciunt." De orig. gentis Anglorum, p. 97. Gronovius's diſſertation ſeems to be only a juvenile exerciſe in favour of Grotius's ſentiments.

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the progreſs of light and learning was always from the Eaſt.

JORNANDES [*l*] was undoubtedly the author of this ſtrange miſtake. He was ſecretary to one of the Gothic princes in Italy, and obſerved, that in his time, among all the Teutonic branches, the name of Goths was more remarkably preſerved upon the coaſts of the Baltic. By this means he miſtook the diſtant remains of that name for it's firſt original; juſt as if we ſhould conclude, that the name of Caeſar came originally from Ruſſia, becauſe there only the name of Czar has continued till of late, as the diſtinguiſhing and peculiar appellation of their princes. After him, and moſt probably from him Paulus Warnefridus [*m*] chancellor to Deſiderius, the laſt king of the Lombards, a writer of the eighth century, adopted the ſame ſentiments: and then Paulus Diaconus in the century following. Grotius indeed quotes an authority older than either of theſe authors, Proſper [*n*] Aquita-

[*l*] "Ex hac inſula (i. e. Scanzia) vagina nationum Gothi quondam memo-"rantur egreſſi." Hiſtor. Gothorum, p. 613... Jornandes, in accounting for the origin of nations, was not always content with paradoxes, but for advancing into the marvellous. We have a ſpecimen of this taſte in what he ſays of the Hunns. Filimer, one of the Gothic princes, had baniſhed ſome ſorcereſſes into the deſarts of the North; and there, by a commerce with wicked ſpirits, they produced the fierce inhuman nation of the Hunns. Jornan. 943.

[*m*] Warnefrid. in Grotii Hiſtor. Gothor. c. 1. 2.

[*n*] The paſſage in Proſper is this. "Langobardi ab extremis Germaniae "finibus, oceanique protinus littore, Scandiaque inſula magna egreſſi," &c. Pontacus in his edition A. D. 1604 obſerved, that this paragraph was omitted in moſt of the Mſſ. and taken moſt probably from Paulus Diaconus. In almoſt all the ſubſequent Editions, in Caniſii Lect. antiqq. Graevii antiqq. Roman. and the editio Pithaeana, theſe words are rejected, as none of Proſper's.

nus's

nus's chronicle: but the paragraph he cites was none of Proſper's: it is omitted in all the beſt Mſſ. and has been given up as an undoubted interpolation, by all the moſt conſiderable editors of that work. Trace but an error up to it's ſource, and it betrays itſelf; you ſufficiently confute it.

ARE ſuch vouchers as theſe ſufficient to over-rule the weight of ſo many excellent and ancient witneſſes of eſtabliſhed judgment and veracity? muſt we go in ſearch of truth thro' all this truly Cimmerian darkneſs, when ſo many lights from hiſtory, ſuch a variety of concurring circumſtances, the extent and progreſs of ſiſter-languages, their colonies, weights and meaſures, and other antient remains diſcover and confirm it to us? Our conviction ariſes from the union of all this evidence: it's ſtrength is not owing to any ſeparate and detached parts; but to the tyes, and bearings, the connexion and reſult of all. How much better does a ſingle paſſage from Herodotus explain all the idle and ſuperſtitious ſtories about Odin or Woden, than the whole liſt of Swediſh chronicles put together? for I ſhall now take it for granted, that the Thracians and Goths were originally the ſame people. Herodotus obſerves, that the princes of Thrace worſhiped Mercury with a more particular veneration. "Their kings, ſays [o] he, beſides their other Deities, "adore HERMES with great religion, ſwearing *only* by

[o] Οἱ δὲ βασιλῆες αὐτέων (Θρηίκων) παρὲξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα Θεῶν· καὶ ὀμνύουσι μοῦνον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἕρμεω ἑωυτούς. Herodot. l. v. c. 7. The genealogiſts agree amazingly with this account, and make all their princes deſcend from Woden.

"his

" his name, and declaring that they are deſcended from " him."

THIS was exactly according to the Grecian taſte: all their princes were deſcended from Gods. There can be no doubt, but that Odin or Woden was the Mercury [*p*] of the Goths. Our *dies Mercurii*, Wodenſday, or Wedneſday, had it's name from him. This was ſo obvious, that ſeveral of our moſt ancient monkiſh writers have obſerved it. " Woden [*q*], quem gentes Anglorum Deum " eſſe delirantes, ei quartum diem ſeptimanae . . . . perpe- " tuo ad hoc tempus conſecraverunt ſacrilegio." This accounts for all that has been ſaid of Woden. But it happened at laſt, that Woden, one of their ancient Deities, and the ſuppoſed father of their princes, was, in the lower ages, conſidered only as a hero. We muſt not be ſurpriſed at

[*p*] Paulus Warnefridus knew nothing of Woden, but under this character: " Wodan, quem, adjecta litera, Godan dixerunt, ipſe eſt qui apud Romanos " Mercurius dicitur, et ab univerſis Germaniae populis ut Deus adoratur." Hiſt. Gothor. 750. But in a few ages afterwards Wodan and Tuiſco began to be confounded with one another. Adam Bremenſis in the XI century makes Wodan, Mars. " Alter Wodan, i. e. fortior, bella gerit, hominumque miniſtrat " virtutem contra inimicos. . . . ſculpunt armatum, ſicut noſtri Martem ſculpere " ſolent." Adam Brem. in Grotii Hiſt. Gothor. p. 104. This was for ſome time the current opinion: but not long afterwards the Daniſh, Swediſh, and Norwegian chronicles made Odin or Woden the great Hero, who conducted the Goths in their return from Aſia, loaden with the ſpoils and riches of the Eaſt, and diſtributed the kingdoms of France, Weſtphalia, Eaſt-Saxony, &c. among his ſons, and then retired again into Sweden. Such is the heroiſm, and hiſtory of thoſe ages. Shering. De orig. p. 233. " Idem, ſays Grotius, qui, omiſſâ " duriore literâ, Othinus aliis ſcribitur." Prolegom. ad Hiſt. Gothor. p. 22. But this hero, and his council of twelve men, to whom the origin of our juries has been aſcribed, may be diſmiſſed for ever from any real place in hiſtory.

[*q*] Malmſbury, De geſt. regum, l. i. p. 9.

ſuch

ſuch revolutions in the Pagan theology. In their ſyſtem kings and heroes were often advanced to Gods; and Gods, on the other hand, were ſometimes degraded to meer men. This was the caſe of Woden. The northern chronicles have leſſened his rank, to advance the reputation of their country.

THE names of Germans and Saxons are ſome of their later appellations. J. Caeſar, I believe, is the firſt writer, that mentions the Germans, and Ptolemy the Saxons. Both the words, tho' poſſibly not of the ſame original, expreſs the very ſame thing, *Warriors* or *Swordſmen*, and aroſe from the ſame national character. But whether the name Seaxena, or Saxons, came from the religious, or military, uſe of the ſword may be ſome queſtion. Herodotus [*r*] again ſays, that one clan of the ancient Scythians (under which title ſome of theſe Teutonic [*s*] colonies were often included) worſhiped Mars un-

[*r*] Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ὄλκῳ ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἵδρυται ἀρχαῖος· ἑκάστοισι δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστι τῷ Ἄρεος ἄγαλμα. Herod. l. iv. 62. And ſo Mela: "Mars omnium Deus; ei pro "ſimulachris enſes et cinctoria dedicant." l. ii. 1.

[*s*] Ἅπαντας μὲν δὴ τοὺς προσβόρρους κοινῶς οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς Σκύθας, δὲ Κελτοσκύθας ἐκάλεν. *Veteres Graecorum ſcriptores univerſas gentes boreales, Scytharum et Celtoscytharum nomine vocabant.* Strab. vol. ii. l. xi. p. 774. "Scy-"tharum nomen uſquequaque tranſit in Sarmatas atque Germanos." Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 25. p. 216. This is a very exact account; it includes the two different clans of the Scythians, the European and the Aſiatic. Maſcou has well obſerved, "That in the moſt ancient Greek hiſtorians the German nations often "lye concealed under the name of Scythians: but we are not always to "apply to the Germans, what we read of the Scythians, unleſs we have ſome "other concurrent circumſtances to inforce their teſtimony." Maſcou's hiſt. of the ancient Germans, l. i. 9. Thus in Xenophon Memor. l. II. 10. ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Σκύθαι μὲν ἄρχουσι. This can mean only the Thracians and Getae, from whom the Germans were deſcended. "Omnes Scytharum ſunt gentes;

der the ſymbol of a ſword. "They erected every year "a huge pile of faggots; one of the ſides was ſloping, "and the three other perpendicular: at the top of this "pile, they placed an old iron ſcymitar, or ſword, as the "image or ſymbol of their God." Hence the worſhipers of Mars in this rude and primitive manner might be called Seaxan, and old Seaxan, or Saxons.

The name Teutones [*t*], the firſt general appellation, which theſe people gave themſelves, came from this very Deity. "Celebrant (ſays Tacitus [*u*]) carminibus anti-"quis (quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium ge-"nus eſt) Tuistonem Deum, terra editum, et filium "Mannum, originem gentis, conditoreſque." That Tuiſto or Tuiſco was their ancient name for Mars is evident from their giving that name to the *dies Martis*, Tuiſcday, or Tueſday. Mars was even by the Greeks and Romans ſuppoſed to be a native of that country, the God of Thrace, who particularly preſided over it. Thus the Latin poets:

"Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praeſidet arvis [*w*].

"Jamque gravis Thracen, et laeva Propontidos intrat;
"Fitque potens voti, Marsque creatus erat [*x*]."

"variae tamen littori oppoſita tenuere, alias Getae, Daci Romanis dicti." Plin. H. N. l. iv. ut ſupra. Γοτθικὰ γένη . . . . οἳ δὴ καὶ Σκύθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐπικαλέντο. Procop. vol. ii. l. iv. c. 5. p. 185. Σκύθαι, οἱ λεγόμενοι Γότθοι. Anaſtaſius.

[*t*] "Even to this day, they call themſelves in their own language "*Tuytſh*, and their country *Tuytſh-land*. The Netherlanders, uſing *D* for "the *T*, do make it *Duytſh*, and *Duytſh-land*." Verſtegan. c. 1.

[*u*] De mor. Germanorum, c. 2.

[*w*] Virgil, Aen. III. ver. 35.

[*x*] Ovid, Faſtor. V. ver. 257.

Ovid

OVID brings us to the very place of his birth among theſe people. Their character was, like that of their God, entirely military, almoſt to a proverb. The name Teutones or Tuiſtones, the only one which at firſt included all the different branches of this people was taken from him. The Romans uſed the word Germans [*y*] for the ſame purpoſe, which was by degrees eſtabliſhed; and under this name almoſt all the different tribes and governments of this people were at laſt united by the Franks.

LED by the nature of this enquiry to obſerve the origin of our own nation, I am tempted to ſtep a little out of my way to obviate an opinion, which has been lately revived by a conſiderable French writer [*z*]. His deſign is to ſhew that the Celts and Germans were originally the ſame people. Cluver [*a*], many years ago, took a great deal of pains to ſupport this ſide of the queſtion; and not without ſome evidence from the later Greek hiſtorians in it's favour. But there were many obvious cauſes that occaſioned their miſtakes. The Celts, according to the rapid emigrations of thoſe early ages, had

[*y*] "Caeterum Germaniae vocabulum recens, et nuper additum." Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 2. Theſe people had a variety of names in their different ſettlements. Sometimes they were taken from the ſituation of the country they poſſeſſed; as Oſtrogothi, Wiſigothi, Auſtriaci, Normanni: From the nature of the ſoil; as Morini, Batavi: From their way of life; as Vandali, Suethiones, Gepidae: From their arms; as Saxones, Longobardi. Vid. Grotii Proleg. ad hiſtor. Goth. et Explicat. vocabul. p. 583.

[*z*] Hiſtoire des Celtes, et particulierement des Gaulois et des Germains par Monſieur Pelloutier, 2 Tomes, à la Haye, 1750.

[*a*] Cluver's Germania antiqua, Lugd. Bat. 1616.

ſpred over Spain and Gaul, paſſed the Rhine and made ſettlements beyond the Alpes long before the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with them: as the ſeveral Teutonic colonies made an equal progreſs from the North-Eaſt, they ſometimes ſettled in the ſame countries with the Celts, had their territories contiguous, or, as Strabo [*b*] ſays, were intermingled with one another. Hence aroſe thoſe uncertain and confuſed accounts, which ſome of the ancient hiſtorians have tranſmitted to us. Herodotus [*c*] ſays, that the ſource of the Danube was in the country of the Celts, *who inhabited the remoteſt part of Europe towards the weſt.* But tho' this account places ſome of the Celts in Germany, it no more makes them Germans, than it makes the Danube riſe in the moſt weſtern parts of Europe. The Celts, even as late, as J. Caeſar's time were poſſeſſed of all Helvetia [*d*], which probably then extended to the very fountains of the Danube; and from thence they had all the midland parts of Gaul to the weſtern ocean. This is almoſt the very ſame ſituation, which Herodotus deſcribed four hundred years before. But notwithſtanding this proximity of ſettlements frequently occaſioned a very familiar connexion with the Germans, almoſt all the ancient writers, except Dion Caſſius, Oppian, Laertius, and Suidas ſpeak of

[*b*] Τὰ Θρᾴκια ϗ ὅσα τούτοις ἀναμέμικται τῶν Κελτικῶν. *Ad meridiem Thracia, et, qui his permiſcentur, Celtici populi.* Vol. i. l. vii. p. 443.

[*c*] Ὁ Ἴστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἵ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, &c. *Iſter, ſumpto ex Celtis initio, qui omnium in Europa ad ſolis occaſum extremi ſunt poſt Cynetas.* Herodot. iv. p. 49.

[*d*] De bello Gallico, l. i. c. 1.

them,

them, as different nations. The beſt accounts are, that the *northern* parts of Europe were inhabited by Scythians [*e*], under which character the Germanic nations were then included, and the *weſtern* by the Celts [*f*]. Livy [*g*] and Plutarch agree that the Celts had ſent large colonies into Italy long before the Romans had made any conſiderable figure, or poſſeſſed a territory of twenty miles extent in that country. Polybius always calls thoſe people Celts, whom Livy as uniformly calls Gauls, who never gives that appellation to the Germans. The firſt appearance of the Celts was in Spain all along the coaſts of the mediterranean to the Iberus, and the Rhoſne. Varro [*h*] ſays, that Spain was peopled, beſides other Aſiatic colonies, by the Phoenicians, and the Celts. This agrees perfectly well with all that the moſt conſi-

[*e*] Vid. p. 105. n. *s*.

[*f*] Ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέραν γνωσθέντων Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἴβηρες, ἢ συμμίκτως Κελτίβηρες, καὶ Κελτοσκύθαι προσηγορεύοντο, ὑφ' ἓν ὄνομα τῶν καθέκαστα ἐθνῶν τατομένων, διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν. *Poſtea cognitis regionibus occiduis Celtae, Iberi, aut, mixto nomine, Celtiberi ac Celtoſcythae dici coeperunt, cum prius propter ignorationem ſingulae gentes ſub uno nomine afficerentur.* vol. i. p. 58. The word Κελτοσκύθαι ſeems to imply that they were a different clan of Scythians, from the Σκύθαι λεγόμενοι Γόθοι.

[*g*] "Ducentis quippe annis ante quam .... urbem Romam caperent, in "Italiam Galli tranſcenderunt." l. v. 33. Plutarch in Camillo, p. 229. Tacitus, who always diſtinguiſhes the Gauls from the Germans, obſerves how eaſily theſe early migrations were conducted. "Credibile eſt Gallos "in Germaniam tranſgreſſos. Quantulum enim amnis obſtabat, quo minus, "ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque ſedes promiſcuas "adhuc, et nulla regnorum potentiâ diviſas. Igitur inter Hercyniam ſilvam "Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii; ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere." De mor. Germ. c. 28.

[*h*] "In univerſam Hiſpaniam M. Varro perveniſſe Iberos, et Perſas, "et Phoenicas, Celtaſque et Poenos tradit." Plin. H. N. l. iii. c. 3. 137.

derable

derable Greek and Roman authors have ſaid of this people. Strabo's [*i*] account is, that before Homer's time, the Phoenicians poſſeſſed the beſt part of Spain, and in another place, that it was ſubdued by the Tyrians and the Celts, meaning very probably ſeveral branches of the ſame people. Caeſar and Tacitus, who were extremely well acquainted with the Germans, and had both of them been in Gaul and Britain, always diſtinguiſh the Germans from the Celts. In Caeſar's time there were three different languages ſpoken in Gaul; one of them, which he calls the Gallic [*k*] or Celtic, was ſo widely different from the German, that Arioviſtus, a German prince, learnt it only by living and converſing long with the Gauls. Tacitus obſerves, that the Gallic language had a great reſemblance with the Britiſh [*l*]; and concludes, in another place, that, where this was the mother-tongue, thoſe people could not poſſibly be Germans. This ſtrongly appears, even at this day, from the remains of the two languages in our own country. Their whole caſt and idiom is very different: the Celtic is one thing, and the Teutonic quite another. What are we therefore to

[*i*] Φοίνικες .... καὶ τῆς Ιβηρίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης τὴν ἀρίςην ἄτοι καλέχον πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς Ὁμήρε· *Phoenices ante Homeri aetatem optima Hiſpaniae atque Africae tenuerunt*, vol. i. l. iii. p. 224. καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Τυρίοις εἶτα Κέλλοις, οἱ νῦν Κελτίβηρες, καὶ Βήρωνες καλέυνται. *Et ante hos Tyriis et Celtis, qui nunc Celtiberi et Verones dicuntur.* Id. ibid. p. 238.

[*k*] "Propter linguae Gallicae ſcientiam, qua multa jam Arioviſtus et longinqua conſuetudine utebatur." De bello Gall. l. i. c. 47.

[*l*] "Proximi Gallis, et ſimiles ſunt....Sermo haud multum diverſus." Vit. Agric. c. 11. "Gothinos Gallica, Oſos Panonica lingua coarguit non eſſe "Germanos." Ibid. c. 43. Dionyſius diſtinguiſhes the Germans from the Celts, περιηγ. ver. 285. 288.

conclude

conclude from theſe accounts, but, what moſt of the ancients had done before, that the Celts were originally Tyrian or Phoenician colonies, detached from that coaſt, as the intereſts of trade, or the ſtraitneſs of their own territories required, and conſequently a very different people from the Germans? Bochart [*m*] has ſhewn the great reſemblance between the Celtic and Phoenician languages in many inſtances, tho' he may have advanced ſome, that are not to the point in queſtion. Several of the moſt learned Spaniards [*n*] in this age, that are great maſters of the oriental tongues, are perſuaded, that the letters upon thoſe very ancient Spaniſh coins, which they call the *Deſconnocidos*, (ſuch as we meet with in Morel's [*o*] nummi Hiſpanici, and thoſe of the Afranian and Coecilian families) muſt be read from the right hand to the left, were form'd from ſome of the Eaſtern languages, and can have no relation to any other. If this point could be ſufficiently cleared up, it would entirely decide the queſtion, there would be no occaſion for any other evidence.

The Greeks and Romans diſtinguiſhed the days of the week by the names of the ſeven planets, and our Saxon anceſtors obſerved the ſame diſtinction; for Tuiſcday, Wodenſday, are *dies Martis*, *dies Mercurii*; nothing but the Saxon names for the very ſame Deities. It has been often matter of enquiry how thoſe days,

[*m*] Bochart's Phaleg. col. 660, &c.
[*n*] Vid. Martini Epiſtol.
[*o*] Vid. Morelli Theſaur. per Havercamp.

whoſe

whoſe names were manifeſtly taken from the planetary ſyſtem, came to be diſtributed in that order, in which they are placed. Dion Caſſius, is the only perſon, that I know of, among the ancients, who takes notice of it, and the account, which he has given us, explains it extremely well. Why it has not been the receiv'd opinion, I am not able to ſay. Perhaps becauſe our great countrymen [*p*], Sir John Marſham and Mr. Selden, &c. have offered, or adopted other ſolutions. But however that may be, it is certain that Dion's explication has not been ſo much attended to, or ſo well known, as it deſerves. As it clears up this part of our antiquities, I ſhall lay it before the reader in a ſhort digreſſion with one or two previous remarks.

It was diſcovered by obſervation and experience, that there was in nature only SEVEN different notes, or ſounds or, as the poet calls them, "ſeptem diſcrimina vocum;" that every octave was a repetition of the ſame note, only higher, or lower. This truth, myſterious as it truly is, could not be ſuffer'd to paſs (ſuch is the vanity of hunan nature) without ſome explication; and therefore was ſoon reſolved into another myſtery, viz. that theſe ſeven muſical notes were the expreſſions of the

[*p*] Vid. Selden De jure gent. iii. c. 21. Sir John Marſham adopts Bede's opinion, De doctrina temporum p. 6; and for this reaſon, "quo ſimplicior, "eo melior;" firſt the Sun, then the Moon, then the Planet next the Sun; then that neareſt the Moon, &c. Canon. Chronic. p. 190. The diſtribution muſt be the ſame in all theſe accounts, the difference is only in the reaſon aſſigned for it; whether it was owing to the ſimplicity or philoſophy of thoſe ages. The great principle of their philoſophy was, πάντα ἁρμονίᾳ γίνεσθαι.

ſame

ſame tones, which the ſeven planets made in the different ſpheres or revolutions. Pythagoras introduced this new principle into the old Greek philoſophy. Macrobius [q] thinks he was the author of it; but Quintilian [r] does not ſcruple to affirm, that it was taken from the tradition of more ancient times. However this was, it was a prevailing opinion among the old philoſophers, eſpecially the Pythagoreans. Among them, a man would have been thought to have had no muſic in his ſoul, who had diſputed this fundamental principle. Macrobius [s] ſpeaks of it, as riſing almoſt to demonſtration. "Ex his inexpugnabili ratione collectum eſt, muſicos "ſonos de ſphaerarum coeleſtium converſione procedere." The ancient planetary ſyſtem was an unſettled [t] thing:

[q] "Hoc Pythagoras primus omnium Graecae gentis hominum mente "concepit." In ſomnium Scipionis, l. ii. c. 1.

[r] "Pythagoras atque eum ſecuti acceptam ſine dubio antiquitus opini-"onem vulgaverint." Inſtit. i. c. 10 .... "Aegyptum petiit, ubi literis gentis "ejus aſſuefactus .... innumerabilium ſaeculorum obſervationes cognovit." Val. Max. l. viii. 7. Et vide Porphyr. vit. Pythagorae, p. 185. Diog. Laert. l. viii. § 3.

[s] Macrob. l. ii. 1. ut ſupra.

[t] Cicero has given us no leſs than three different planetary ſyſtems. In his Natura Deor. l. ii. 20. the Platonic, or one very like it. In the Somnium Scipionis, which was part of his treatiſe De republica, the ſyſtem, which was afterwards called the Ptolemaic. In his Quaeſtiones Academ. iv. 39. Nicetas the Syracuſian's ſyſtem, which ſuppoſed the earth to move, and all the other planets to ſtand ſtill. It does not appear, which of them he approved moſt. But beſides theſe were the Egyptian and Pythagorean ſyſtems. Mr. Stanley indeed, to whoſe uſeful and learned writings we are ſo much indebted for the beſt and moſt comprehenſive view of the ancient philoſophy, has advanced an opinion, that the preſent Copernican ſyſtem was firſt diſcovered by the Pythagoreans, the very ſame which ſome of that

it differed often, as the dark conjectures of their philoſophers furniſh'd a variety of opinions without fixing upon one. But it appears from great authorities [*u*], that one of

ſect embraced. His authority has ſtamped ſuch a credit and currency upon this opinion, that it has paſſed almoſt ever ſince, as a certain fact: It has been admitted by many conſiderable writers; by Dr. Halley, in Dr. Wotton's Reflections upon ancient and modern learning; by Mr. Keil in his Aſtronomy; by a perſon, whom I ought to mention with particular regard, Mr. Baker in his Reflexions upon learning; and laſt of all, by Mr. Maclaurin in his account of the Newtonian philoſophy. It is granted, that, as Ariſtotle informs us, ſome of the Pythagoreans aſcribed a circular motion to the earth, περὶ τὸ πῦρ: but by this fire, if we allow that Plutarch, Simplicius, and Stobaeus underſtood their philoſophy, they certainly did not mean the Sun. Plutarch ſays, κύκλῳ περιφέρεσθαι περὶ τὸ ΠΥΡ καὶ κύκλα λόξα, ὁμοιοτρόπως ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ. de Placit. Philoſoph. iii. c. 13. The earth moved in a circle, round the ſame center with the ſun and moon, and in the ſame manner. This center, Simplicius ſays, was the element of fire in the midſt of the earth. Or, as Plutarch explains it much better in his life of Numa, ἀπομιμέμενος, ὃ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς ὡς Ἑστίας ἕδος, ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμπαντος κόσμου, ἔν μέσον οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸ πῦρ ἵδρυσθαι νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο Ἑστίαν καλοῦσι, καὶ Μονάδα. *Adumbrans, non effigiem terrae, quaſi ea Veſta ſit, ſed univerſi mundi, cujus in medio ignis ſedem locant Pythagoraei, eamque Veſtam nominant, et Monada.* vol. i. p. 146. This element of fire, which they called Veſta, or unity, was an inviſible imaginary principle, acting in the center of the whole ſyſtem, and round which the ſun and all the planets moved. The paſſage in Clemens Alexand. quoted by Mr. Stanley, ſays nothing of Pythagoras, or the Planets motion round the Sun. v. Strom. iv. p. 405. The ſpheres of the four elements were part of the Pythagorean ſyſtem, tho' not always placed in the ſame order; and for this reaſon, as their ſyſtem had more ſpheres, their lyre had more ſtrings, which diſtinguiſhed the Pythagorean from the Orphean lyre.

[*u*] "Ex quibus unum globum poſſidet illa, quam in terris Saturnum nomi-
" minant: deinde eſt hominum generi proſperus et ſalutaris ille fulgor, qui
" dicitur Jovis: tum rutilus horribilisque terris, quem Martium vocant: deinde
" ſubter mediam fere regionem Sol obtinet, dux et princeps et moderator lu-
" minum reliquorum, mens mundi et temperatio, tanta magnitudine, ut cuncta
" ſua luce illuſtret, et compleat. Hunc ut comites ſequuntur alter Veneris,
" alter Mercurii curſus: in infimoque orbe Luna radiis ſolis accenſa conver-
" titur." Somn. Scipionis. c. iv. ed. Graevii, p. 609. et v. Plin. H. N. ii. c. 8. p. 75.

the

the moſt popular and prevailing opinions was that, which was afterwards called the Ptolemaic. The Earth was in the center, and then the reſt of the planets in this order; firſt the Moon, then Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. As there were ſeven planets, the lyre had for this reaſon ſeven ſtrings: it was formed upon this plan to expreſs the harmony of the heavens. Varro [*w*] calls the planetary ſyſtem "mobilem Divûm "lyram:" And Quintilian [*x*] takes it for granted, that the world was the great original from which the lyre was taken. "Mundum ipſum ejus ratione "compoſitum eſſe, quam poſtea ſit lyra imitata." One of the ancient muſicians [*y*] ſays, that Mercury, the inventor of the old ſeven-ſtringed lyre, fitted it up and tuned it in imitation of thoſe ſpheres, which the planets moved in.

Let us now come to Dion Caſſius [*z*]: what he ſays upon the ſubject amounts to this: that calling the days

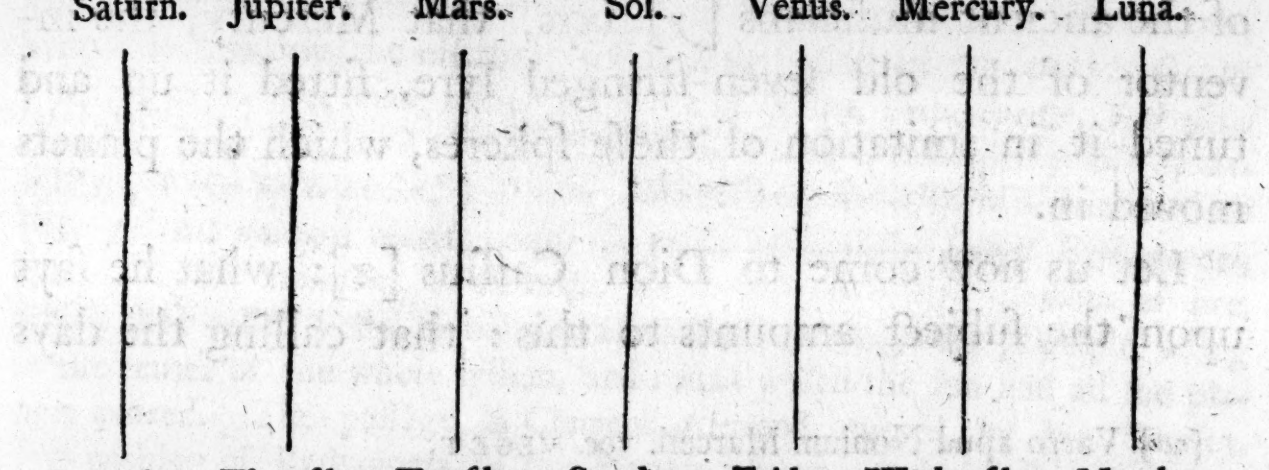
[*w*] Varro apud Nonium Marcell. voc. VEGET.

[*x*] Lib. i. c. 10.

[*y*] Ἑρμῆς .... καὶ τὰ μίμησιν τῶν σφαιρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανωμένων ἀστέρων τὴν ἀρχαιοτρόπον ἑπτάχορδον λύραν ἡρμόσατο. *Mercurius hanc veteriformem lyram ad imitationem ſphaerarum ſeptem ſtellarum errantium accommodavit.* Manuel. Briennii Harmon. inter Walliſii Opp. tom. iii. p. 362.

[*z*] Τὸ δὲ δὴ εἰς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἑπτὰ τοὺς πλανήτας ὠνομασμένους τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακεῖσθαι, καίτοι μὴ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεσι δὲ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἐ πάλαι πω οὖσι, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀρξάμενον. *Quod autem dies ad ſeptem ſidera illa, quae planetas appellarunt, referuntur; id ab Aegyptiis inſtitutum, ad omnes homines, haud ita pridem, ut conjicio, dimanavit* .... Εἰ γάρ τις τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων καλουμένων (ἥπερ ποτὲ καὶ τὸ ΚΥΡΟΣ τῆς μουσικῆς συνέχειν πεπιστεύκαι), καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας τούτους ὑφ' ὧν ὁ πᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κόσμος διείληπται..... Ὀκτάγωνοι &c.... εὑρήσει πάσας αὐτὰς μουσικῶς πως τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διακοσμήσει προσεχούσας. *Nam ſi quis harmoniam eam, quae diateſſaron*

of the week by the names of the ſeven planets was a cuſtom taken from the Egyptians; and, tho' not of very ancient date, was then become familiar among the Romans, and received among all nations: That this diſtribution of the days was owing to the muſic of the ancients. One of their moſt celebrated tunes was the Diateſſaron; and ſtriking the ſtrings of the lyre, as that tune directed, would aſſign the days of the week to each planet, juſt in that order, in which they are now ranged. There is no explaining this well, without giving a ſcheme of it. The planets in the order of the old Ptolemaic ſyſtem ſtood thus:



Saturday. Thurſday. Tueſday. Sunday. Friday. Wedneſday. Monday.

THE planets diſtributed by the Diateſſaron thus:

7 5 3 1 6 4 2.

or, Sunday, Monday, Tueſday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, Friday, Saturday.

juſt as we place the days of the week.

IN playing this tune upon the lyre, Dion indeed ſays, that you ſtruck the outermoſt ſtring, or Saturn firſt; then

vocatur (quae alioquin in muſica primas obtinere creditur) etiam ad iſthaec ſidera, quibus omnis coeli ornatus conſtat .... ita transferat .... Is inveniet omnes dies, muſica quadam ratione, coeleſti ordini elegantiſſimo congruere. Dion. Caſſ. vol. i. l. xxxvii. c. 18. p. 123. ed. Reimar.

every

every fourth ſtring incluſive in their order. But it appears by the old muſicians, that there were ſeveral ways of beginning this tune, and that you might ſet off from different ſtrings. In reckoning the days of the week, they plainly began with the fourth: and it is allowed by the judges of muſic that ſtriking the firſt ſtring laſt would make the compoſition more harmonious.

DION's obſervation about the antiquity of this cuſtom ſeems to be as well grounded. He ſays, that the ancient Greeks knew nothing of it. It is certain, that the univerſal reception of it among the Greeks and Romans could not be long before his time. Ovid would ſcarce have loſt an opportunity of embelliſhing his Faſti with the ſtory of ſome of theſe hebdomadary Deities, if this had been the uſual practice in that age. Reckoning the month, and conſequently the year, by weeks was very ancient. Philo [*a*] and Joſephus aſſure us, that this diſtribution of time was univerſally received among all nations.

THE practice of aſſigning each day of the week to a particular Deity was, as Herodotus [*b*] informs us, an invention of the Egyptians: from thence it came by ſlow-

[*a*] Οὐδ' ἔϛιν ἡ πόλις Ἑλλήνων, ἠδηλιῶν ἠδὲ Βαρβάρων· ἠδὲ ἔν ἔθνεϛ, ἔνθα μὴ τὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδοϛ, ἣν ἀργῶμεν ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἦθοϛ ἐ διαπεφοίτηκεν. *Neque eſt civitas Graecorum uſquam aut Barbarorum, nec ulla gens, ad quam ſeptimanae in qua vacamus, conſuetudo minime pervenit.* Joſeph. cont. Appion. l. ii. c. 89. Et vid. Philo de opifice mundi et vitam Moſis, l. ii. p. 657.

[*b*] Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισί ἐϛι ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη, ἑκάϛη θεῶν ὅτευ ἐϛί. *Alia inſuper ſunt ab Aegyptiis excogitata, quis menſis, diesve, cujus deorum ſit.* l. ii. c. 82.

advances

advances into Italy and Rome. Moſt of the Egyptian cuſtoms had been long held in great contempt by the Romans; but after Veſpaſian [c] had aſſumed the purple, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the empire, they began to be more faſhionable at court. This invention, whenever it was received there, came from thence to our anceſtors the Saxons; and is one inſtance, among many others, of their great diſpoſition to imitate the Roman cuſtoms.

THE late lord Bolingbroke [d] has aſſerted, that the original of nations is too improbable, and too ill vouched, to procure any degree of belief. It is not indeed to be expected, that great geniuſes ſhould ſubmit to the low office of making ſuch reſearches; where, to collect the evidence, and connect its ſeveral parts, is a work of ſome time and trouble. It is aſking too much of them to believe what they are not diſpoſed to examine; or, that theſe maſter-builders ſhould ſubmit to the judgment and direction of under-workmen. Beſides, his lordſhip might have been offended at the thoughts of having his ance-

[c] At the very beginning of his reign, whilſt the iſſue of the war was uncertain, the Egyptian prieſts had the addreſs to give him the honour of working ſome miracles in Egypt, and ſuch omens of ſucceſs in the temple of Serapis, that he ever afterwards retained a favourable opinion of their religion and divinations. The ſymbols of the Egyptian deities, Iſis and Oſiris, were, I believe, firſt introduced by him upon the Roman coins. He himſelf is repreſented with the attributes of Jupiter Ammon upon his head: he built temples in honour of their ſuperſtitions, an Heum and Serapeum. This began to make that way of worſhip more faſhionable at Rome, and was perhaps one reaſon that raiſed Juvenal's indignation (Sat. xiv.) againſt their horrid and barbarous ſuperſtitions.

[d] Letters on hiſtory, p. 122. ed. 8vo. 1752.

ſtors

ſtors come from Aſia, eſpecially of having them brought from the plains of Shinar. Nor ſhall I attempt it: going up to the origin of the Gothic nations is going high enough for my purpoſe: though, if I was diſpoſed to carry it a ſtep higher, it might be eaſily done: his own favourite author Strabo would ſupport me. But I have at preſent no ſuch views; nor is it any part of my buſineſs. I am content with aſſigning the origin of our Saxon weights and meaſures, and then leaving our anceſtors, juſt where I found them, upon the ſides of the Helleſpont, and Euxine; looking indeed as if they came from Aſia,

"Tendentesque manus ripae ulterioris amore."

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The SAXON SHILLING *and* THRIMSA. *Their methods of* PAYING MONEY. *The Roman* MILIARENSIS *what. Innovations in their* NUMMULARY *language.*

THE word Shilling came from the Latin Sicilicus, which ſignifyed in that language a quarter of an ounce, or the forty eighth part of the Roman pound. Junius [*a*] was much miſtaken in deriving it from the Gothic Scettan, *ſonare*. There is ſcarce any ſimilitude in the ſound; and the ſignification has nothing more to do with the Shilling, than any other coin whatſoever. Mr. Skinner's and biſhop Hooper's etymologies are almoſt as improbable and remote. The one [*b*] derives it from the Saxon ϒcilo, *ſcutum*; as if the ſhield was the uſual and original impreſs upon their coins: the other [*c*] thinks it came from the Arabic *ſchicle* ſignifying a weight. The formation of the Saxon word was eaſy and natural. From Sicilicus came *ſicilic*, *ſcillic*, *ſcilling*; for ſo the Saxons always wrote it. The final *g*, as Quintilian [*d*] tells us, is only a ſofter ſound of the *c*. "Cum *c* et ſi-"militer *t* non valuerunt, in *g* et *d* molliuntur."

THE Greeks, [*e*] as well as Romans, pronounced in this manner, and often turned *x* into *γ*. The inſertion of

[*a*] Junii Gloſſar. in voce.
[*b*] Skinner's Etymolog. linguae Anglicanae, in voc.
[*c*] Ancient weights and meaſures, p. 408.
[*d*] Inſtitut. orat. l. i. c. 11.
[*e*] Vid. Mattaire's Obſervations in Marm. Arundel.

the

the *n* before another letter was common in all theſe languages; as λείγω, *lingo*; δασὺς, *denſus*; laterna, *lantern*; vagor, *wander*.

As a further evidence of this derivation, the Shilling kept its original ſignification, and bore the ſame proportion in the Saxon pound, as Sicilicus did in the Roman and the Greek; it was exactly the forty eighth part of the Saxon pound. We owe this diſcovery to Mr. Lambarde [*f*], who was ſo happy in his conjectures, as even from wrong premiſes to make a right concluſion. Some of our moſt conſiderable antiquaries, Mr. Camden [*g*], Sir Hen. Spelman, and biſhop Nicolſon adopted Mr. Lambarde's ſentiments; and biſhop Fleetwood [*b*] (though Dr. Hickes had thrown ſome difficulties in his way) followed their authority, and added, in confirmation of of this opinion, "that whoſoever looks into the laws of "Ina, Alfred, and others, and finds the ſame proportion

[*f*] His words are: "Libra his temporibus 48 ſolidos valebat argen-"teos. Solidus autem, qui eſt apud nos pars librae viceſima, denarios per id "temporis continebat quinque, nunc duodecim. Atque ita fit ut libra ex 240 "denariis conſtaret, quem ad modum nunc conſtat. At tum quidem 240 "denarii pondo unum gravitate exaequabant; id quod nunc 720 denarii vix "aut omnino non aſſequuntur. Hujus autem rei monumenta certa extant in "denariis argenteis tempeſtate Aethelredi regis excuſis." Vid. Lambard's Explicatio rerum et verborum in Legg. Sax. voc. LIBRA. Mr. Lambarde, I believe, when he made this eſtimate, had no ſuſpicion, but that the preſent Troy pound was the pound of our Saxon anceſtors; and happening to meet with a penny of Ethelred's, that weigh'd the 240th part of the Troy pound, made this concluſion. The great inequality in the weight of the Saxon coins was not then ſo well known.

[*g*] Camden's Remains, p. 200. Spelman's Gloſſary, v. SOLIDUS. Nicolſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 44.

[*b*] Chronicon pretioſum, p. 31.

"of 120, 60, and 30 Shillings ſo often obſerved in "the fines and forfeitures of offenders, will be apt to "conclude that the [Saxon] pound was then 48 Shil-"lings." He was certainly right, as to the number of Shillings in the pound; but how he could deduce it from the laws of Ina is to me a ſecret: There is a great variety of fines, &c. in thoſe laws; but it does not appear what proportion any number of Shillings bore to the pound. Alfred's laws indeed might be produced as a proper evidence in this point; and here his Lordſhip very probably obſerved the proportion on which this eſtimate was founded. In the third and thirteenth ſection of Alfred's laws the fines are thus ſtated.

L. III .... "Archiepiſcopi [*i*] bonʒerhnyee, i. e. vi-"olatio fidejuſſionis pro pace ſervanda datae, tri-"bus libris emendetur .... alterius Epiſcopi, vel "Aldermanni, duabus libris."

L. XV. "Siquis pugnat coram Archiepiſcopo, emen-"det centum quinquaginta ſolidis."

.... "Siquis coram alio Epiſcopo, vel Aldermanno, "emendet centum ſolidis."

IF a man had given ſecurity for keeping the peace of an Archbiſhop, or Alderman, (i. e. where their juriſdiction extended), and forfeited his recognizance, the penalty was the ſame, as if the offence had been committed in their preſence. The law in this caſe made no diſtinction; the fine is in one paragraph computed

[*i*] Wilkins's Legg. Saxonicae, p. 35. 38. So the Solidi in the tranſlation of king Alfred's will, the language of a latter age, are to be underſtood.

by

by Shillings, in the other by Pounds. This ſhews that the Saxon pound in tale was commonly eſtimated at 50 Shillings. That collection of laws, which goes under the name of Hen. I. and was tranſcribed chiefly from ſome old Saxon laws of different periods, confirms this account. There it is expreſsly ſaid, that the fine for the murder of a Twyhind [*k*] is 200 Shillings, *which make* 4 *pound*. In theſe laſt words, the author ſpeaks as an evidence, not a legiſlator. It had been taking a very unwarrantable liberty in penal caſes, to leſſen or increaſe the fine meerly for the ſake of ſtating it in round numbers. This proportion agrees exactly with the ſums mention'd in the laws of Aethelbirht, our firſt Saxon legiſlator, and ſhews, that, not long after the Saxons had ſettled in Britain, their pound was eſtimated by tale at 50 Shillings. Take a ſhort ſpecimen.

Si auris [*l*] perforetur, emendetur	III ſolidis.
Si . . . . attondeatur	VI ſolidis.
Si . . . . abſcindatur	XII ſolidis.
Si pudicitia ancillae regiae tertiae ſortis violatur, emendet	XII ſolidis.
Si molens ſerva ſit,	XXV ſolidis.
Si ſit ancilla regia,	L ſolidis.
Pro homicidio in regis villa,	L ſolidi.
. . . . in comitis villa,	XII ſolidi.

HERE the gradation is obſervable, The fines are rated at the 16th, the 8th, the 4th, the half and the

[*k*] Legg. Saxon. p. 269. [*l*] Ibid. p. 2, 3.

whole of the Saxon pound. The three firſt are regular aliquot parts of it without any addition: the two laſt have an incrementum of a twenty fourth part, or two Shillings in the pound. Their way of computing was the ſame whether they reckon'd by Shillings, or by Pence. The king's Weregild [*m*] is eſtimated either at 120 pounds, or 30,000 Scaettas. Divide 30,000 by 240, the number of pence in the Saxon pound, and it amounts to 125 pounds; exactly one twenty fourth part more; the very ſame incrementum as the former. This united evidence, ſo ſimilar in all its parts, is a certain proof, that there was ſome difference in reckoning the pound by tale and by weight; and that the incrementum in tale was not carried lower than the half pound.

BUT leſt this difference ſhould be conſidered as an objection of ſome moment againſt this method of computing the Saxon pound, it may be proper to ſtate this matter a little more at large, and ſhew that this cuſtom began long before, and continued long after, the Saxon times.

RECKONING the Pound by tale at ſomething more than the real number of coins, which was ſtruck out of it at the mint, was a Greek and Roman, as well as Saxon practice. It was making a ſettled allowance for any accidental, or fraudulent diminution in the weight or fineneſs of the money. The original of this cuſtom is, I believe, of great antiquity; but that is no part of

[*m*] Ibid. p. 72.

our

our preſent enquiry: it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that, during the republic, and under ſome of the firſt emperors, the Romans coined only 84 [*n*] Denarii out of a pound of ſilver, though the pound by tale was always reckoned at a hundred; more than one ſixth was allowed in every hundred Denarii for the want of weight, or fineneſs in the coins. What the allowance was, when they came to reckon by Solidi, appears in ſome meaſure by a law of the elder Valentinian. The words [*o*] are: "Facile enim eos provinciae rector a diſ-"pendio vindicabit, qui *binis* ſeu ternis ſolidis neceſſi-"tatem ſolutionis adimplevit."

VALENTINIAN was enforcing a law of Conſtantine's for paying by weight; but obſerves, that it was uſual to take two or three Solidi in the pound, as the common allowance in tale. This was very moderate, not above a twenty fourth part of the ſum at moſt. But it differed very much according to the different exigencies of the ſtate. For it appears by the Λογαριικὴ [*p*], or old Exchequer table, that this was afterwards doubled, and that a διλέρατον, or Denarius, was paid with every Solidus, as the legal incrementum; which, as the exchange then ſtood, was become a twelfth part, or as twenty pence in our pound ſterling. Some centuries before this, Leo [*q*] Iſaurus had carried the incrementum ſtill

[*n*] Scribonius Largus, in praefat. Plinii. H. N. lib. xxxiii. c. 46. 627. Celſus, l. v. c. 17.

[*o*] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xii. tit. vi. § 12. p. 545.

[*p*] Gronov. De pecunia vet. p. 716.

[*q*] Ibid. p. 712.

higher,

higher, and brought it near to a tenth; or as two Shillings in our preſent pound. It is highly probable, that the extortion of the officers obliged the emperors to fix and limit the incrementum by expreſs laws. Conſtantine the great ordained, that, when ſeveral payments were to be made in the Exchequer by the ſame tenant for different firms or eſtates, the full ſum ſhould be eſtimated together, and one incrementum taken upon the whole.

"NE ſeparatim [r] ab unoquoque auro exacto, mul-
"tis et aſſiduis incrementis provincialium utilitas fati-
"getur."

THE cuſtom of paying the incrementum was carried ſo far, that ſcarce a preſent would be received at court without it. Gratian was very juſtly offended at the inſolence of this demand; and decreed, that, in all voluntary oblations whatſoever, there ſhould be no incrementum at all; they ſhould be received, juſt as they were offered.

"QUAE diverſarum [s] ordines curiarum vel amore
"proprio, vel indulgentiarum laetitia, vel rebus proſ-
"pere geſtis admoniti, in coronis aureis ſigniſque di-
"verſis obtulerint, in quacunque fuerint materia oblata,
"in ea ſuſcipiantur; ne id, quod voluntate offertur,
"occaſione obryzae incrementi neceſſitatis injuria in-
"ſequatur."

[r] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xii. tit. vi. § 2. p. 536.
[s] Ibid. l. xii. tit. xiii. § 4. p. 604.

THE

THE incrementum, if the ſum was paid in caſh, was ſome addition or cuſtomary allowance in tale, to make up its proper and legal value: if the ſum was paid in bullion not quite refined, it was an equivalent for want of fineneſs in the metal. Thus large accounts were diſcharged without the trouble of weighing, and the great buſineſs of the public revenue was tranſacted with more diſpatch. Valentinian's law alludes to the ancient and ſettled allowance of two or three Solidi in the pound, as then current in tale. And about 150 years before, it ſeems to be the common way of rekoning even at the mint. Lampridius tells us, that when the exceſſive vanity or profuſion of Elagabalus had induced him to ſtrike ſuch enormous coins, as pieces of one and two pound weight in gold, they were called pieces of 50 and 100 Aurei; though, as Salmaſius [*t*] has obſerved in his notes upon the place, there were probably no more, than 48 Aurei then ſtruck out of the Roman pound. Eſtimating the pound at two Aurei more than were coined out of it was the uſual practice, and made no difference in the appellation. J. Fred. Gronovius indeed was by no means ſatisfied with what Salmaſius had ſaid upon this paſſage. In obſcure and incorrect places there is no expecting any great harmony among critics: all of them are apt to indulge their own conjectures; and we have certainly a right to take the ſame liberty with them, that they do with their authors, the liberty of correcting them after they are

[*t*] Not. in hiſt. Aug. Scriptores, vol. i. p. 968. edit. 1671.

dead:

dead: It may then ſerve to balance the account without inflaming the reckoning. As this paſſage in Lampridius is of uſe in clearing up part of the Roman antiquities, as well as our own, I ſhall give the whole paragraph at large with all the principal remarks, which theſe two able critics have made upon it. The paragraph is this:

"FORMAS [*u*] binarias, ternarias, et quaternarias, et de-
"narias etiam, ... uſque ad bilibres quoque et centenarias,

[*u*] Lampridius in vita Alexandri, c. 39. p. 965. Alexander had great virtues; all his views were directed to the public good; but his meaſures were precipitate and impolitic. He reduced one branch of the public taxes, and that undoubtedly the moſt oppreſſive, to a thirtieth part of what it was before; ſo that the Exchequer received, in this article, no more than 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* inſtead of 100 pound. But what were the effects? he fell a ſacrifice to his own virtues. That diſſolute empire, under the controul of a mercenary army, was not able to bear ſuch a reduction. What theſe taxes were is not ſo clear. By the language of the hiſtorian, they ſhould be the cuſtoms and inland duties, though poſſibly the capitation or poll-tax might be included. Lampridius (or whoever was the author) gives this account of it. "Vecti-
"galia publica in id contraxit, ut qui decem aureos ſub Heliogabalo praeſti-
"terant, tertiam partem auri praeſtarent, hoc eſt, triceſimam partem: tunc-
"que primum ſemiſſes aureorum formati ſunt; tunc etiam, quum ad tertiam
"partem auri vectigal decidiſſet, tremiſſes: dicente Alexandro etiam quar-
"tarios futuros, quod minus non poſſet. Quos quidem jam formatos in mo-
"neta detinuit, expectans, ut ſi vectigal contrahere potuiſſet, et eoſdem ederet.
"Sed quum non potuiſſet per publicas neceſſitates, conflari eos juſſit, et tre-
"miſſes tantum ſolidosque formari." Ibid. p. 959. Salmaſius not ſo ſkilful in the Roman money, as in other parts of learning, looked upon the ſecond ſentence of this paragraph, as very incorrect. He threw out the *tunc primum* as an interpolation, and inſtead of *ſemiſſes* would read *tremiſſes*: becauſe ſuch pieces as *ſemiſſes* were never coined. "Adulterini hi certe, et
"nunquam in moneta Caeſaris cuſi." Gronovius was of the ſame opinion, De pecun. vet. p. 90. and after him Graevius likewiſe, Praef. to vol. iii. of his Theſaurus. It is poſſible that *ſemiſſes* may occur in no other place of the Roman authors now remaining. But how precarious is it to reaſon upon

"quas

" quas Heliogabalus invenerat, [Alexander] reſolvi prae-
" cepit, neque in uſu cujuſquam verſari. [Atque ex eo
" his materiae nomen inditum eſt], quum diceret plus
" largiendi hanc eſſe imperatori cauſam, ſi quum multos

facts, purely from the diſuſe of words? ſhould we not rather think, that the Romans, as the Greeks had done before them, made the Half-aurei ſome of their common coins? it was ſuch a ſtep as the public utility required, without any regard to taxes. Pliny certainly mentions theſe coins: he calls them Denarii aurei to ſhew that they were the Half-aureus; for the whole was at that time two denarii in weight. Savot aſſures us that many of them are now remaining; he obſerves this againſt the account here given by Lampridius. " Quamvis ex Lampridio videatur colligi poſſe, Alexandrum Severum " fuiſſe primum, qui Semiſſes et Tremiſſes aureorum percuſſerit, reperiuntur " tamen Semiſſes aureorum, ſive Semi-aurei, jam tempore primorum imperato- " rum cuſi. Supra laudatus Ds. Fontenaeus non exiguam hujuſmodi Semiſſium, " nitidiſſimorum adhuc, et magna diligentia conſervatorum, copiam poſſidet." Savot. in Graev. Antiq. Rom. vol. xi. p. 1250. Le Blanc ſays the very ſame thing; that there were many Half-aurei of the Roman emperors in the king of France's cabinet. There were three or four of Julius Caeſar's and Auguſtus's in lord Pembroke's, and Dr. Mead's collections. One of Dr. Mead's, p. 2. n. 13. C. CAES. DIC. TER. *Caput victoriae cum alis.* On the reverſe, L. PLANC. PRAEF. VRB. *Urceus.* The weight 65 Troy grains; exactly the Half-aureus, or Denarius aureus of that age. The Semiſſes, which, as Salmaſius and Gronovius concluded, never were in being, were coined long before Alexander's reign; and perhaps grew into diſuſe, when the Tremiſſes were introduced: that they were coined from the beginning is unqueſtionable. One or two ſkilful medaliſts are of more weight in ſuch queſtions, than twenty critics. There was therefore no occaſion to correct a ſingle word in this paſſage of Lampridius. The meaning, though a little obſcurely expreſſed, is, that Alexander firſt coined the Semiſſes for the purpoſe of making the public taxes payable in thoſe coins. The following parts of the paragraph ſeem to require this conſtruction: that he brought the tax, firſt, to the Half-aureus; then to the Tremiſſis; intending by degrees to bring it to the Quarter-aureus. But as that was impracticable, theſe laſt coins were melted down again. Caſaubon had before obſerved, that the word Tremiſſis was contrary to all the rules of analogy; and moſt probably had never been introduced, if Semiſſis had not been uſed before for the Half-aureus. If Salmaſius had attended to this obſervation, his conjecture had been ſpared.

" ſolidos minores dare poſſit, dans decem vel amplius
" una forma [*w*], triginta et quinquaginta et centum
" dare cogeretur."

[*w*] The language of the mint is very obſervable; *moneta* ſignifying both the money and the mint; *forma* both the dye and the coin. From the familiar uſe of this word in the buſineſs of coining, Dr. Bentley, in order to expoſe the great want of taſte in James Gronovius, in rejecting his favourite emendation of "Et male TER NATOS" in ver. 441. of Horace's Art of poetry, propoſed another, and would read

" Et male FORMATOS incudi reddere verſus."

This was thrown out in high contempt of the little piddlers in that part of learning. But great critics, like legiſlators, ſhould allow ſome toleration to different taſtes. Incenſe is not to be had in every climate: "Molles ſua thura
" Sabaei." This laſt conjecture, to ſay the leaſt of it, is as good as the former; for neither of them are right. The ſenſe of the precept is very plain, whatever is the true reading; that if the lines happened to be rudely finiſhed, ſtruck off without a full round, or fair relieve, they ſhould be brought again on the anvil. And why does not the old reading TORNATOS perfectly anſwer this purpoſe? It is a metaphor, not taken from the lath; but the dye. Mr. Baxter in his notes upon the place ſays very juſtly, " Tornus, forma mo-
" netaria," the dye in which the coins were ſtruck. Several of the very inſtances, which Dr. Bentley has appealed to, are a ſufficient evidence of this ſignification. Thus Propertius, lib. ii. Eleg. xxv. 43.

" Incipe jam anguſto verſus includere TORNO,
" Inque tuos ignes, dure poeta, veni."

Here Scaliger long ago obſerved, that *includere torno*, taking it for a lath, was a very improper expreſſion, and was therefore for reading, *componere torno*. But the *anguſtus tornus*, when applied to the ſame inſtrument, is ſtill more unaccountable. Who ever talked of a broad and narrow lath? but apply it to the dye, and the whole is beautiful: it anſwers to the *incluſus* and *anguſtus* both: it carries on the ſame metaphor through the next line, and ſhews that the *tornus* had ſomething to do with the anvil and the fire:

" Inque tuos IGNES, dure poeta, veni."

So again, Lucan, or the author of the Panegyric upon Piſo:

" Advolat excuſſo velox ſententia torno."

Here the *advolat excuſſo torno* is the ſame turn of expreſſion, as *advolat excuſſo ſago* in Martial. There muſt be ſome cavity to receive the object, that was to be toſſed out of it. How this can be applied to a lath is beyond

HERE

HERE it is plain, that the Romans had their gold coins of two, four, and ten Aurei, whatever was the weight of the Aureus. This at leaſt occaſioned no controverſy: but in explaining the value of theſe enormous coins, which Elagabalus introduced, Salmaſius [x] obſerved, that as *centum ſolidi* and *centenariae formae* were manifeſtly the ſame; ſo, what are here called, *quinquaginta* and *bilibres* ſhould be the ſame likewiſe: and this was the more probable, becauſe one of the old editions, inſtead of *bilibres*, had *ad libras quoque*. This was a very eaſy miſtake for *librarias*, and then the *formae librariae* and *quinquaginta ſolidi* would exactly anſwer. For as 48 Solidi were then ſtruck out of the Roman pound, calling it 50 in the round number, made no difference. "Duo enim aurei ſupra libram excurrentes "formae librariae appellationem minime tollunt." Sal-

my imagination. No ſhaking, no velocity is required to remove what is in the lath. The contents can be taken out of it, only when it ſtands ſtill. But all theſe ideas ſuit exactly with the dye. It muſt often happen in dead languages, that all the ſeveral ſenſes, which a word bore, cannot be exemplified in ſuch a variety of inſtances, as will put each of them beyond exception. What is then to be done, but to have recourſe to common ſenſe? an appeal which the ancients have a right to demand. The Italians have, in ſome meaſure, preſerved this ſenſe of *tornus*. They call thoſe medals *contorniati*, which are ſtruck with a concave ſurface, as if the *tornus* was applied the contrary way. An expreſſion certainly not taken from the lath. Beſides, if *ter natos* had ever been in any of the Mſſ. none of Dr. Bentley's dreaming librarians had ever been ſo ſottiſh, as to throw it out. So plain a reading had certainly kept poſſeſſion, would never have been diſturbed to make room for an expreſſion, that ſcarce ever occurred. This rule is almoſt univerſally true; and therefore as *tornatos* is in all the Mſſ. as it is very proper and expreſſive, the conſequence is, that *tornatos* is right.

[x] Not. in locum, p. 967, 968.

maſius therefore corrected the place, and inſtead of *bilibra* reads *ad libharias quoque et centenarias.*

GRONOVIUS [*y*] comes afterwards, diſcuſſes the whole paragraph, and with a true controverſial ſpirit rejects all that Salmaſius had ſaid. He contends for the common reading *bilibris*, and aſſerts, that, as there were but 40 Aurei then coined out of the Roman pound, the *bilibres* or two pound pieces, were 80 Aurei, and the *formae centenariae* were two pound pieces and a half, or *formae ſeſtertiae*: and that this made a very diſtinguiſhable and ſufficient difference in thoſe heavy coins. Gronovius enters into all the points in debate with an air of authority, talks like a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, as if the Roman money was intirely his own province, ſays, "Nos non agnoſcimus in libra praeter quadraginta au-"reos." Then concludes with a ſort of triumph, "Hic "eſt fructus iſtius opinionis, quae aureum fecit di-"drachmum."

From this view of their different opinions it is eaſy to ſee that the point in queſtion may be brought to a ſhort iſſue. It depends upon a ſingle fact, upon the number of Aurei then coined out of the Roman pound. If there were more than forty, all that Gronovius has ſaid has not the leaſt foundation, and comes to nothing. Pliny, after mentioning the proportion that there was between the gold and ſilver coins, when the Romans firſt coined the Aureus, proceeds to tell us, what the value of the Aureus was from the conſular times to his own.

[*y*] De pecunia vet. p. 360. edit. 1691.

"Poſt

"Poſt haec placuit XL ſignari ex auri libris: pau-
"latimque *principes* imminuere pondus; minutiſſime
"Nero [*z*] ad XLV."

Now what is to be done with Pliny? how is it poſſible to over-rule his authority, or reconcile it with theſe aſſertions? He ſays expreſsly, that in his time, long before Caracalla, the Aurei were brought down to 45 in the pound, if not lower: for here the Mſſ. [*a*] differ; but ſo far they univerſally agree, that there is no rating the Aurei of that age at fewer than 45 in the pound.

I HAVE not the leaſt inclination to detract from Gronovius's known character, as a ſcholar: he will always ſtand, as he juſtly deſerves, very high in that claſs. But the great merit of his book De ſeſtertiis, is in the critical and grammatical parts of it. Many paſſages in the Greek and Roman authors are there very judiciouſly corrected, and the language of their money accounts very well explained: but in other reſpects, as to the occaſional alterations in the Roman money, the value, and number of coins in their pound at different times, he falls into

[*z*] Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxiii. p. c. 612.

[*a*] Villalpandus compared this paſſage with the old Mſſ. in the Vatican library, and they all agreed in reading the firſt number XL, and the ſecond XLV. Comment. in Ezech. vol. iii. p. 354. But Mr. Greaves met with a very fair Mſ. in Ballol college library, Oxon. where the laſt number was XLVIII. The true reading is undoubtedly that of the Vatican Mſſ. But whether it is XLV or XLVIII, it equally overthrows all that Gronovius has advanced upon this queſtion. He ſays indeed, that Budaeus firſt altered the reading in the laſt clauſe of this paragraph from *vero* to *Nero*. But this is a point of no moment; if the Aurei in Pliny's time were fallen as low as XLV in the pound, it is nothing to the preſent queſtion, whether this was ten, or fifteen years ſooner, or later. Greaves's Denarius p. 98. Gronov. De pecun. vet. p. 149.

great

great miſtakes. I may have occaſion to mention ſome of them, as they come in my way hereafter. In this very inſtance, to ſupport a bad reading he advances a falſe fact. Salmaſius's conjecture is in all appearance right. It makes Lampridius's account go on regularly from one to two pound pieces: it prevents the ſeveral parts of the paragraph from being at variance with one another: it has the reading of an old edition in its favour; and ſtates the fact in ſuch a manner, as may be eaſily reconciled with all the Aurei of that age now remaining; when all that Gronovius has ſaid is utterly inconſiſtent with thoſe remains. Elagabalus himſelf, amidſt all his abſurdities, could never have been ſo unaccountably ridiculous, as to coin pieces of two pounds weight in gold, and others only a few Aurei larger, which could ſcarce poſſibly be diſtinguiſhed, or anſwer any purpoſe either for uſe, vanity, or profuſion.

BUT to enter a little further into this queſtion, which may deſerve our attention, if it were only for the pleaſure of reconciling Gronovius with all thoſe great men, from whom he has differed, and even with himſelf. Moſt of the beſt judges in this ſort of learning, Budaeus [*b*], Agricola, Hotoman, Scaliger, &c. had aſſerted, that the Roman Aureus was didrachmalis, or equal to two drachmae in weight. Gronovius rejected this, as an erroneous opinion, with ſome contempt. But how does

[*b*] "Cum libra Romana ſex et nonaginta drachmarum fuerit, duo de "quinquaginta nummi (aurei) didrachmi ex ea factitati ſunt." De aſſe, p. 293. "Ante Conſtantinum magnum pauciores ſolidos, ſeu aureos quaternos ferme, "in unciam cudi mos erat." Gothofred in Cod. Theodoſ. vol. ii. l. vii. p. 250.

it

it appear to be an error? or what could induce him to treat an opinion with contempt, which, when duely examined, is not at all different from his own? Let us ſee how the caſe ſtands. Pollux [c] and Heſychius obſerve

[c] Ὁ δὲ χρυσοῦς ſαλὴρ δύο εἶχε δραχμὰς Ατλικὰς. Poll. l. iv. p. 453. et Heſych. in voc. χρυσοῦς. This was the common Aureus. But the Greeks, as moſt other ſtates, had ſeveral ſorts of gold coins, more or leſs in value, than the ſtater; but all of them ſtruck in a regular proportion to it. We have the pleaſure of ſeeing all theſe coins exhibited in lord Pembroke's cabinet, and ſo well preſerved that they differ very little from their original weight. Mr. Greaves ſtates the weight of the Attic drachm at 67 Troy grains. In this proportion there are among the Numiſmata Pembrochiana, the Quarter-aureus of Philip, and Alexander weighing 33 Troy grains, and Berenice's, 31 grains. The Greek name of this coin is, I believe, not preſerved; it might perhaps be ἡμίδραχμον χρυσίν. Secondly, the δραχμὴ χρυσίν, or ἡμίχρυσον, the Half-aureus of Pyrrhus, Hiero, and the Syracuſians of 66, and 66½ grains. Thirdly, the ſtater, or common Aureus didrachmalis of Philip, Alexander, and Lyſimachus, of 134. 132. 131 grains. Fourthly the δίχρυσον, or τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦν, the Double-aureus of Alexander and Lyſimachus, 266 and 265 grains. And fifthly the τετραſάτηρ, or Quadruple-aureus of Lyſimachus and Antiochus, 540 et 525 grains. None of theſe indeed happen to be Attic coins; but Mr. Greaves has ſhewn from undoubted authorities, that all theſe ſtaters, whether Daric, Attic, Philippic, Alexandrine or Syrian were of the ſame value, and ſtruck in the ſame proportion; ſo well was the convenience of the exchange, and all other payments of theſe different ſtates conſulted in their coins. That the Athenians had even this larger Aureus appears from that paſſage in Ariſtophanes, which alludes to it.

Ὁρᾶτε μὲν μὲ δέομενον σωτηρίας,
ΤΕΤΡΑΣΤΑΤΗΡΟΥ αὐτόν. Concionat. ver. 706.

The humour of this paſſage conſiſts in ridiculing the conduct of the Athenian Prytanes: when the queſtion was about the public goood περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως, every ſenator propoſed what was moſt for his own advantage. In this view the poet brings in a fellow quite naked, and half ſtarved, giving it as his opinion, that nothing would ſo effectually promote the common weal, as keeping the people warm, and well clothed; that this expedient would not coſt more than a meer trifle, a Tetraſtater a man. Pollux ſays that there were ſtaters worth a pound; his words are, ὁ δὲ χρυσοῦς ſατὴρ μνᾶν ἐδύνατο. But this paſſage has been queſtioned, and occaſioned much controverſy. His commentators, and the writers upon this ſubject have taken much pains

from

from older and better authors, that the Stater, or Greek Aureus, was equal to two Attic drachmae: and Pliny ſays in effect the ſame thing of the Roman Aureus. "Poſt haec placuit XL ſignari ex auri libris." Coining XL Aurei in the pound made the Roman Aureus very nearly the ſame as the Greek, i. e. two drachmae in weight. This is very evident: I ſhall give the proof of it at the bottom of the page [*d*]. Why therefore ſhould Gronovius of all people reject this duplicate proportion, who contends, that there was always, at leaſt till Elagabalus's reign, XL Aurei in the pound? Pliny indeed gives this eſtimate of the Aureus during the republic

either to reject or explain it. The laſt very learned editor obſerves, "duri "quid et difficilis habet hic locus, quod animadvertas licet ex diverſiſſimis "ſuper eo doctiſſimorum hominum ſententiis." And after mentioning a variety of conjectures, and emendations, that gave no ſatisfaction, he concludes that the author was miſtaken, and thinking upon ſomething elſe, when he wrote that paragraph. "Aliud itaque Pollucem noſtrum egiſſe, "cum haec traderet, perſpicuum eſt; nec quiſquam, puto, ſeu de pondere "velit, ſeu de nummo intelligi, expediet locum." Hoſtus on the other hand is for ſaving the author's credit, and ſuppoſes that Pollux meant this of the quadruple Aureus; that it was not otherwiſe to be explained. De re nummar. l. v. c. 4. Nor do I ſee the leaſt objection againſt this explanation. For, as the exchange between gold and ſilver had been long before Pollux, at 25 denarii to the Aureus, this quadruple Aureus, or ſtater uncialis would paſs for a 100: he might juſtly ſay μνᾶν ἐδίναπο, that it was a pound piece: Gronovius's ſolution of this paſſage is very ſingular, he ſays that the ſtater really weighed, and was called, "a pound of gold." De pec. vet. p. 166. But it does not appear by what authority or analogy he ſupports this aſſertion. From this comprehenſive application of the word Stater, it is moſt probable that ϛατῆρσιν ἀρριάζειν in Ariſtophanes means no particular coin, but in general, *playing for gold.*

[*d*] Stating the Roman pound, as Mr. Greaves has done, at 5256 Troy grains, the Roman Aureus at 40 in the pound would be near 132 grains. The Greek Aureus not quite 137. Our own gold coins in common currency have a much greater difference.

only.

only: his account is ſhort, but excellent; and ſets this matter in a very clear light: Gronovius ſhould not have taken one part of it only, but attended to the whole. Pliny ſays firſt, "Placuit XL ſignari ex auri libris." One would conclude from the very expreſſion he uſes, that the ſenate came to this reſolution of making the Roman Aureus equal to the Greek. And a wiſe reſolution it was: for this was a mutual convenience: it made the exchange and currency of their gold coins juſt the ſame as the ſilver; and was of great uſe in the circulations of trade, in receiving all tributes, fines, and payments whatſoever. This weight of the Aureus continued during the republic without any diminution. For Pliny tells us in the words immediately following, "paula-"tim *principes* imminuere pondus." Indeed when theſe princes had extended their empire from the Euphrates to the Thames, and given their own coins a univerſal currency through all theſe diſtant countries, there was no ſort of neceſſity for paying a ſtrict regard to the weight of the old Greek Aureus. But perhaps departing widely from it immediately, and making a great alteration at once, might be attended with ſome inconveniences. They therefore did it by degrees: the firſt ſtep they took was to make their Aureus equal to two of their own Denarii, inſtead of two Drachmae, or to coin 42 Aurei out of the pound. The weight of the conſular and firſt imperial Denarii was about 62 or 63 Troy grains; and the Aurei of theſe emperors would weigh in this duplicate proportion about 125 Troy grains. And ſo they-

do. Budaeus obſerved this long ago: he weighed a great number of the Aurei, and thoſe of the emperors before Nero were exactly in this proportion. He therefore juſtly concluded, "Aureum [e] quoque duorum denario-"rum pondere percuſſum fuiſſe merito judicare debemus. "Quanquam quid opus eſt argumentis, cum nummi ipſi "extent vetuſtatis ſymbola aſſervantes?"

ALL the Aurei of the firſt Caeſars, that Mr. Greaves [f] had weighed, all that were in the late lord Oxford's, lord Pembroke's, and Dr Mead's collections prove the ſame thing, and are altogether ſuch an evidence, as riſes even to demonſtration. Budaeus indeed, by a very pardonable error, imagined that the Drachma and Denarius were exactly of the ſame weight, becauſe they always paſſed currently for each other. But notwithſtanding this, what he obſerves is ſtrictly true, that the firſt imperial Aurei were the weight of two Denarii, and conſequently 42 in the pound. Nero did not much alter this proportion, though he leſſened the Aureus. He took another method: he had ſpent immenſe ſums in the moſt extravagant profuſion; had thrown away above ſeventeen millions [g] ſterling in *donatives* only. The con-

[e] De aſſe, p. 293. ed. Lug. Bat. 1695.

[f] Greaves's Denarius, p. 103. Numiſmata Pembrochiana, Tab. xiii, xiv. Lord Oxford's and Dr. Mead's catalogues of medals.

[g] "Bis et vicies ſeſtertium donationibus Nero effuderat." Tac. Hiſt. l. i. c. 20. "conferendis pecuniis pervaſtata Italia, provinciae everſae, ſo-"ciique populi, et quae civitatum liberae vocantur. Inque eam praedam "etiam Dii ceſſere, ſpoliatis in urbe templis, egeſtoque auro, quod trium-"phis, quod votis omnis populi Romani aetas proſpere aut in metu ſa-"craverat." Ann. l. xv. c. 45.

ſequence

quence of this was, that he was obliged to reduce both his gold and ſilver coins; and by this means, though he brought down the Aureus as low as 45 in the pound, yet it kept very near the old proportion of being double the Denarius in weight. For about this time the Denarius was reduced alſo, leſſened to ſeven and one half in the ounce; and conſequently two of them equal to an Aureus of 45 in the pound. Caracalla, a prince of the ſame character, who fell from very promiſing beginnings to the moſt flagitious enormities, was reduced to the ſame neceſſity. His exceſſive liberality to the ſoldiers [*b*] made it very difficult for him to furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies. But their pay was increaſed more in appearance than reality, for he ſunk the weight of the Aurei, in which they were paid. By this means Elagabalus found them reduced to 48 in the pound before his acceſſion to the empire. They diminiſhed gradually (juſt as our pound ſterling did under the Anglo-Norman princes) till they came in Conſtantine's time to 72 in the pound; where they continued till the weſtern empire came to its final period. It was much too aſſuming in Gronovius to advance an opinion in ſuch a peremptory manner, which could not be ſupported.

[*b*] Ἔλεγε πολλάκις ὅτι ἑδένα ἀνθρώπων πλὴν ἐμᾶ ἀργύριον ἔχειν δεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῖς στρατιώταις χαρίζωμαι. Dion. Caſſ. lib. lxxvii. c. 10. p. 1296. ed. Reimar. *Crebro enim dicebat, pecuniam ſibi ſoli eſſe oportere, praeterea nemini, ut eam largiretur militibus.* Μὴ μόνον εἰς τὲς στρατιώτας φιλαναλωτὴς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τἄλλα πάντα, ἐφ' ἓν τῦτο μόνον, τὸ τὲς ἀνθρώπες πάντας φθείρειν, ἀποσυλᾶν, ἐκτρύχειν. Ibid. 1294. *Cum eſſet non modo erga milites, ſed etiam in caeteris rebus profuſiſſimus, in id unum omni ſtudio incumbebat, ut reliquos omnes ſpoliaret, depeculareturr, et opprimeret.*

BUT to return to the point in which we are more immediately engaged. It is very plain, that our Saxon anceſtors did the very ſame thing in their payments, which the Greeks and Romans had done before them. Their ſums of money were often paid with an INCREMENTUM, i. e. with a ſettled allowance in every pound paid by tale, over and above the number of coins that were ſtruck out of it. Thus in Ethelbyrth's laws, they eſtimated the pound of ſilver in tale at two Saxon Shillings more than were coined out of it at the mint: and in Athelſtan's, the king's Weregild is 120 pounds, or in tale 30,000 pennies, which make 125 pound; juſt one 24th part more, as in the former inſtance. This cuſtom continued with very little variation for many ages afterwards. Mr. Lowndes [*i*] obſerves, that in Domes-day book, the payments were made either *ad numerum*, *ad penſum*, or *ad pondus*. He ſhould have ſaid, *ad numerum*, *ad penſam*, *ad penſum*, *ad pondus*, and *ad arſuram*; for all theſe terms [*k*] are made uſe of in it.

THOSE three words, that ſeem to be ſynonymous, may perhaps not ſignify the very ſame thing. It is certain, that the payment *ad pondus* was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a payment by weight: but whether *ad penſam* or *penſum* was not uſed in the ſame way that *ad ſcalam* was in the reigns immediately following, may be queſtioned; be-

[*i*] Eſſay on the amendment of coins, p. 16.
[*k*] Madox's Exchequer, p. 187.

cauſe

cauſe Sir Hen. Spelman [*l*] has obſerved from Mr. Agard, that *ad penſum* and *ad numerum* were almoſt the ſame payment; and we know that theſe terms were ſoon altered to make them more diſtinct, and ſtood thus, *ad numerum*, *ad ſcalam*, *ad pondus*, and *ad arſuram*. The payment *ad ſcalam* was (as the Red [*m*] book of the Exchequer explains it) paying an *incrementum* of ſixpence in the pound over and above every pound that was paid in by tale, as an allowed equivalent for ſome deficiency in weight. This was according to the proportion of the Norman Shilling, and conſequently this ſixpence in the pound was equal to one Shilling and a half of the latter Saxon princes: it did not come quite ſo high, as the allowance in Ethelbyrth's time by two fifth's: but the reaſon of this is plain. The Norman conqueſt ſucceeding ſo ſoon after the ravage made by the Danes, brought this nation for ſome years into great diſtreſs [*n*].

[*l*] Gloſſar. in voce LIBRA: but as we know not Mr. Agard's authorities, this is propos'd only as a doubtful point; though his opinion is juſtly of the greateſt weight, having read Domes-day three times over.

[*m*] "Addentes ut ad ſcalam ſolveret, h. e. propter quamlibet numeratam "libram VI den." Dial. de ſcaccario, p. 20.

[*n*] This appears in a very ſtrong light by the accounts given in Domes-day book: to mention only an inſtance, or two..... "In Eboraco civitate "tempore R. Edwardi praeter ſcyram Archiepiſcopi fuere VI ſcyrae, una "ex his eſt vaſtata in caſtellis.... In quinque ſcyris fuerunt mille et qua"dringente et XVIII manſiones hoſpitate.... De ſupradictis omnibus manſi"onibus ſunt modo hoſpitate in manu regis reddentes conſuetudinem qua"dringente IX minus, inter magnas et parvas: et CCCC manſiones non hoſpitate, "que reddunt melior. I denarium, et alie minus; et quingente et XL man"ſiones ita vacue, quod nihil omnino reddunt, et CXLV manſiones tenent "Francigene." Above a third part of the city was almoſt deſolate. The

The

The ſums carried away by fugitive or exiled perſons, the caſh buried or ſecreted in monaſteries, and the continual interruption or diſcouragement given to the little trade then ſubſiſting in this country by the oppreſſive meaſures of the conquerors, made money become very ſcarce; much ſcarcer, I believe, than it was at any other period from the union of the Saxon kingdoms. This moſt probably brought the eſtimate for the *incrementum* to a lower proportion, i. e. from two Saxon Shillings at five pence, to one and a half at four. But in a few years afterwards, when the nation began to revive, the old proportion was not only reſtored, but increaſed. Roger [*o*] biſhop of Saliſbury was then at the head of the Exchequer. Henry I, before his acceſſion to the crown, brought him from a very obſcure ſituation in Normandy, and at laſt raiſed him to that high office. He was in return very active in promoting his maſter's intereſt. He obſerved, that the then late methods of payment in the Exchequer did not fully anſwer the purpoſes for which they were eſtabliſhed. For though the ſums paid *ad ſcalam* or *ad pondus* might be exact enough, either in tale or weight; yet, for want of a proper fineneſs in the ſilver, the king's revenue might often ſuffer conſiderable diminutions. The *incrementum* therefore was raiſed ſomething above the old proportion: he inſiſted, that an allow-

caſe was much the ſame all over England. At Ipſwich there were 328 burgeſſes leſs, than in the Confeſſor's time. At Thetford, 224, &c. See Brady on Burghs, p. 9, 10, 3. 6. Selden's Titles of Honour p. 552. edit. 3. et Conſuet. Domes-day, int. Gale's xv Script. p. 774.

[*o*] Dial. de Scaccar. p. 20, 21. Godwin, De praeſulibus Sariſburien.

ance

ance muſt be made, not only for want of weight, but fineneſs; ſomething muſt be given *ad dealbandum argentum*, *pro argento blanco*, or *pro combuſtione firmae*. Inſtead of ſix Pence in the pound, the *incrementum* was by this means raiſed to a Norman Shilling [*p*], or 12

[*p*] Mr. Smith in his Litterae de re nummaria p. 66. ſays, that "it was "noted by our old hiſtorians as a great piece of policy in the lord "treaſurer biſhop Edendon (who firſt made that mutation in our coin) to "raiſe the pound from 20, to 22*s.* and 6*d*; and then to 25*s.*" From which of the old hiſtorians he had this account, I know not; I have not been ſo fortunate, as to find it: but whoever was the author, the account itſelf is far from being exact, and perhaps not rightly repreſented. Walſingham ſays, A. D. 1351. "Willielmus de Edyngdon Wintonienſis epiſco-"pus regni thefaurarius, et vir magnae prudentiae, et qui plus regis di-"lexit commodum quam communitatis, excogitavit, et fecit inſculpi novam "monetam, ſcilicet, groſſum et dimidium groſſum; ſed haec erat minoris "ponderis, quam correſpondens ſumma ſterlingorum. Quae res fuit ex "poſt occaſio, quod victualia ſive mercimonia fuerunt per totam Angliam "magis cara." p. 169. Not a word is here ſaid of raiſing the pound, but leſſening it. Mr. Smith ſeems to have miſtaken the caſe; but admitting that he meant the reverſe of what he ſaid, the proportions are not right. Edw. III found it difficult to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies: even the conqueſt of France was not ſufficient to pay the Conqueror's expences. Edyngton therefore, in order to ſupply ſome part of the demands upon the treaſury, leſſened the coins. Before the 18th of Edw. I. the pound ſterling had ſuffered no alteration; and what was then made was but inconſiderable. But now in the 18th of Edw. III. the pound in tale was, leſs than the real pound ſterling by 5*s.* and 7 $\frac{3}{4}$*d.* In the 20th the diminution was ſtill greater, 6*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$*d.* The conſequence of theſe meaſures was as Walſingham repreſents it. The price of every thing was raiſed, and ſervants refuſed the old wages. This forced the court into ſuch meaſures, as were ſtill more unpopular and oppreſſive. An act paſſed in the 23d of this reign to oblige ſervants to take the old wages, and all victuallers whatſoever to ſell at ſuch prices as were thought reaſonable. Edyngton not ſeeing the miſchief of this plan, or not regarding it, made in the year 1358 a much greater alteration in the coin, and brought the pound in tale 11*s.* and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$*d.* lower than the real pound. Such temporary expe-

pence;

pence; one ſixth more than the firſt Saxon allowance. This, if the ſum was paid in tale, was given *pro blanco firmae:* the perſon, who made the payment, might indeed, if he pleaſed, melt down the ſilver to a proper fineneſs; or ſtand the examen of the Exchequer officers; who, if they melted down the money, obliged the accomptant to make good the deficiency, beſides paying them for their trouble. Hence it was, that we ſometimes meet with payments made in the maſs, of bullion [q] quite refined, *de libra arſa, et penſata, de argento blanco examinato.*

THE *libra arſa, ad arſuram,* or *combuſtio firmae* was, like all the former methods of payment, taken from the Roman practice. This was the whole ſum melted down, and the ſilver or gold quite refined. It is thus deſcribed in a law of the elder Valentinian.

" Diu multumque [r] flammae edacis examine obry-
" za detineatur, quemadmodum pura videatur."

THIS way of paying in bullion was introduced, as far as now appears, by Conſtantine the Great. The *in-*

dients, though they had the appearance of improving the revenue, were a real injury to it. The crown was by degrees much the greateſt loſer. The fines, reliefs, ſubſidies, and all cuſtomary rents whatſoever, were, as the coins decreaſed in weight, juſt ſo much leſſened in value for ever afterwards. It is much that Edyngton, who gave no great attention to his office as a biſhop, ſhould not ſucceed better as a treaſurer. But perhaps he had too many employments to make a great figure in any; or having ſo much addreſs as to be a good courtier, his ambition was ſatisfy'd without any other character.

[q] Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 190, 191.

[r] Cod. Theodoſ. lib. xii. tit. vii. p. 567.

crementum

crementum demanded by the officers of that arbitrary government was grown to be a ſore grievance to the ſubject, and ſometimes, by the fraud of the officers, a diminution of the revenue itſelf. Conſtantine therefore gave the tenants, that held ferms of the empire, and the collectors of the public taxes, the liberty of paying the ſums due to the Exchequer, in ſo much fine bullion as the whole amounted to, for which no *incrementum* was taken. This method of payment, beſides its being a check upon the fraud or extortion of the officers, was very probably intended as a proper expedient for ſupplying the mint. But, whatever were the motives, the firſt Valentinian very much encouraged and enforced this practice. This is one of his conſtitutions.

"Nulla [*s*] debet eſſe cauſatio, quin ſolidi, ex quo-
"cunque titulo congregati, ſicut jampridem praecepimus,
"in maſſam obryzae ſoliditatemque redintegrentur. Et
"ita fiat omnis inlatio, ut largitionum, et proſecutorum,
"allectorumque *fraudibus* aditus obſtruatur."

"Si idem ſuſcipientium deprehenditur quod fuerat
"antea faſtidium, cum obryzae materies adferatur quae
"non poteſt diſplicere; ſub congrua animadverſione plec-
"tendus eſt, qui id calumniatur et reprobat quod ad COM-
"PENDIUM ſimplicis ſatisfactionis inventum eſt."

THE tenants of the crown of England had the ſame advantage (if it was any advantage) from this method of payment. If the ſheriff brought the ſum into the Exchequer in pure ſilver, no *incrementum* was taken.

[*s*] Cod. Theodoſ. lib. xii. tit. vi. p. 545.

Therefore ſuch articles as theſe are often met with in their accounts, *De argento blanco*, *In argento blanco examinato*. But as this was always attended with a good deal of trouble, and ſome loſs, the ſheriff, rather than reduce the ſum he was to pay into pure ſilver, generally ſubmitted to pay the demand of the officers *pro blanco firmae*.

THE payment *ad numerum* or *ad ſcalam* was much the leaſt burthenſome: in this caſe, the officers took the money as it was tendered, and the tenants were exempted from any troubleſome ſcrutiny. Some few particular counties [*t*] were favoured with this exemption, which were Salop, Suſſex, Cumberland and Northumberland. Three of them were upon the marches of Wales, or Scotland, and for that reaſon probably treated with more indulgence: Suſſex could be diſtinguiſhed with this particular mark of the royal favour for no better reaſon, than becauſe the Norman conqueror had there ſecured the crown of England to himſelf, and his poſterity, by a ſingle victory.

FROM the great variety of terms made uſe of in our old Exchequer accounts, it has been uſually thought that the payments there were made very different ways. Mr. Madox, who was incomparably well ſkilled in our antiquities, was of this opinion. But though he is in general extremely accurate, he does not ſeem to examine this evidence with his uſual judgment. He agrees, that the payment *ad ſcalam* [*u*] was paying 6 *d*. advance with

[*t*] Dialog. de Scaccar. p. 21.
[*u*] Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 187.

every

every pound or xx ſhillings; and yet he ſays, that the payment *ad ſcalam* was a payment by weight. It is impoſſible, if the money had been put into the ſcale, that 6*d.* in the pound, or any one ſum whatſoever, could have been in all inſtances the exact equivalent for the loſs of weight. And it is very certain from the records he appeals to, that theſe two payments *ad numerum* and *ad ſcalam* were both payments by tale. *Ad ſcalam* was the general term: It implied, that you paid 6*d.* in the pound above the ſum due, whatever it was: and which, in the contingent parts of the revenue, it was not poſſible to ſpecify. The payment *ad numerum* was the *incrementum* added to the ſum due, and divided into its ſeveral parts. Thus Henry [*w*] I. confirmed a grant made by his queen Matilda to the priory of the Holy Trinity in London of xxv *lib. ad ſcalam*. The record ſays,

"xxv libras ad ſcalam de reditibus ipſius reginae in "Exonia."

IN the ſheriff of Devonſhire's accounts, this grant was annually paid under the following terms:

"Canonicis S. Trinitatis Lundoniae, xxv *l.* xii *s.* et "vi *d.* numero."

HERE both the terms were uſed for the ſame payment, and make exactly the ſame ſum. And ſo in other inſtances.

UPON the whole therefore, notwithſtanding this variety of terms, there were but two ways of paying money

[*w*] Ibid. p. 183.

into our Exchequer, either by tale or by weight; and an *incrementum* was due either way, unleſs you paid in bullion quite refined. Our methods of payment were the very ſame as the Roman. What Gothofred has obſerved of their practice was equally true of ours.

"Ab iis qui nummos [x] ſolvebant vel etiam mate-
"riam impuram, *incrementi* nomine aliquid ſuſceptores
"accipiebant."

I HAVE brought all this buſineſs of the *incrementum* into one view, becauſe I do not remember that Gronovius, in that favourite work of his De ſeſtertiis [y], takes

[x] Not. ad Cod. Theodoſ. vol. ii. p. 449.

[y] Salmaſius, not able to bear a rival in any part of learning, was offended with Gronovius for undertaking this argument, upon which he himſelf had ſaid ſo much, and often promiſed a great deal more. He allowed that in ſome parts of Gronovius's work there was great erudition, though he had not cleared up all the difficulties upon that ſubject. "Non potuit amicus differ-
"tator noſter nodum ſolvere de denariis Romanis, nec componere diffi-
"dium, quod in hanc quaeſtionem incurrit, ſi denarii tantum 84 libram
"Romanam conficiant, et centeni in ea computentur." See his epiſtle to Sarravius at the end of Gronovius De pecunia vet. Salmaſius thought that the two different ways of computing the Roman pound by 84 and 100 denarii was one of the moſt difficult things to account for in explaining the Roman money. But this difficulty is eaſily removed, and not peculiar either to the Greek or Roman ways of reckoning. For the difference between the pound in tale and in weight has continued in ſome form or other, either by increaſe or diminution, from Solon down to the preſent times. It was begun and altered juſt as the convenience of public buſineſs, the real exigence of ſtates, or the ſeeming intereſt of princes, directed and required. The Greek and Roman pounds in tale were, in the earlier ages, much heavier than the real pound uſed at the mint; by degrees they became ſomething leſs; an *incrementum* was required. Our pound in tale is a meer nominal thing, very little more than a third of the original and real pound. Salmaſius ran into great inconſiſtencies upon this ſubject of ancient money, which Gronovius very juſtly retorts upon him, with a modeſt apology for the

the leaſt notice of the difference there was in eſtimating the Roman Libra by tale, and weight; though much depends upon this difference in ſtating the value of their coins: and becauſe it ſhews how intirely the Roman cuſtoms were adopted by our Saxon princes, and their ſucceſſors in our Exchequer payments. They always followed the ſame plan, and often in the ſame proportion. When the Romans coined ninety ſix Denarii out of the pound, as they certainly did from the latter end at leaſt of the ſecond century, they paid a hundred; and when the Saxons coined 48 ſhillings in the pound, they paid fifty; the Saxon ſhilling being then four in the ounce, and the Roman Denarius eight. The Saxon laws always reckon the pound in the round number at fifty ſhillings, when it is evident that they really coined out of it but forty eight. For if the Saxon pound, as Dr. Hickes allows, contained 240 pence, and their ſhilling 5, the neceſſary conſequence is, that there were 48 ſhillings in the pound; for 5 times 48 is 240. Let us try the ſame premiſes upon our own ſhilling. We have, like our anceſtors, 240 pence in the pound, and 12 pence in the ſhilling. Admitting theſe two facts, there muſt be, as we know there is, 20 ſhillings in the pound. In this caſe indeed the pound is nominal, in the other real; but this makes no difference in the eſtimate. The

himſelf. "Sicubi haeſimus, nec ſatis expedire nos potuimus, cum iiſdem hae-
"ſimus, quibuſcum omnes, qui hoc ſaxum volverunt.... nam ſi ego dignus
"hac contumelia ſum maxime, at tu indignus qui faceres tamen." De pecu-nia vet. p. 700, 701.

number

number of ſhillings, and pence will bear the ſame juſt proportion to the pound, whether nominal, or real, which is the baſis of the computation.

THOUGH this method of calculation appears very unexceptionable, yet this objection has been made to it, that the concluſion would be very certain, if the premiſes themſelves were clear. But it is no where ſaid in all the Saxon monuments now remaining, that there were 240 pence in their pound. I do not know that it is; I am ſure it is in none that I have met with; yet, I think, the premiſes are very certain. In Domesday book, where the revenues of the Saxon princes are frequently mentioned, it is very often ſaid, that there was 20 [ℨ] pence in the Ora, an equivalent term for an ounce; and this implies the very ſame thing: Hence it follows, that there muſt be 240 pence in the pound: for the Conqueror, as Mr. Folkes obſerves, made no alteration in this reſpect. His own laws are in this caſe the moſt deciſive evidence. Theſe are the words,

"Statuimus et praecipimus, quod habeant per uni-
"verſum regnum menſuras .... et pondera .... ſicut
"boni PRAEDECESSORES [*a*] ſtatuerunt."

HERE the Saxon weights and meaſures were eſtabliſhed through the whole kingdom. Aſſigning this proportion of 20 pence to the ounce could only be to ſhew, that it was the legal eſtimate, and that his revenues, in the return made by theſe commiſſioners, were, in moſt inſtances, the very ſame, as his Saxon prede-

[*z*] Spelmanni Gloſſarium, v. LIBRA.
[*a*] Wilkins's Legg. Saxon. p. 217.

ceſſors.

ceſſors. The weight of the Saxon pound was a point, which of all others he would have the leaſt inclination to alter. For the ſame diviſion of the nummulary pound prevailed at that time in the greateſt part of Europe. His anceſtors had been uſed to a pound of 240 pence, ever ſince their firſt ſettlements in France: among the Franks themſelves it began many years before. Charlemagne's imperial authority had ſpred it far over his wide dominions. It was certainly the common pound in Italy as early as A. D. 958, if not much earlier. For one of their records mentions an eſtate ſold there for 60 pounds of 240 [*b*] pence to the pound.

DR. Hickes therefore had great reaſon to look upon this as an unqueſtionable fact, that the Saxon pound was 240 pence: he did not want authorities for his other aſſertions, that the ſhilling was 5 pence, and that there were 60 ſhillings in the pound. But theſe were facts of different ages: this number and proportion could not take place at the ſame time: for if the Shilling was 5 pence and the pound 240, there could not poſſibly be 60 Shillings in the pound. But being ſure of his authorities, he let them paſs without examining; not conſidering the inconſiſtency of the account, which would have appeared immediately, had he given it the leaſt attention.

MR. Folkes's diſcovery of the old Tower-pound has made this valuation of the Saxon ſhilling at 48 in the pound,

[*b*] "Argentum per denarios bonos libras ſexaginta, habentes ducenti "quadraginta denarii libra." Muratori apud Argelati de num. Italiae, vol. i. p. 105.

if

if poſſible, more evident: it ſhews, that what was true in theory, appears to be ſo in fact; the very coins now remaining eſtabliſh the ſame concluſion: for if the true weight of the Saxon pennies is at a medium 22 Troy grains and an half, as Mr. Folkes [*c*] ſtates it, the weight of the ſhilling, or 5 pence, would be in that proportion 112½ Troy grains, exactly the 48th part of the Tower-pound: Or, ſuppoſing a ſmall diminution in the pound itſelf, this would only raiſe the true weight of the coins a very little higher, but make no difference in the calculation: there would ſtill be the ſame number in the pound. Any exceptions taken againſt the uſe and antiquity of the old Tower-pound from the different and uncertain weight of the Saxon pennies are of no moment. Nothing could be eſtabliſhed upon ſuch premiſes. The Tower-pound is the only ſure ſtandard to which theſe coins can be reduced.

How long the ſhilling continued at 5 [*d*] pence, or which of the Saxon princes made this innovation in their coins, is not quite evident: it was certainly brought down to four pence above a century before the conqueſt. Several of the Saxon laws, made in Athelſtan's reign, oblige us to take this eſtimate. That prince found himſelf under the neceſſity of demanding conſiderable ſub-

[*c*] Tables of ancient coins, p. 5.

[*d*] Rents, fines &c. that were originally fixed at the ſhilling of 5 pence, continued, long after that ſhilling was diſuſed, as the cuſtomary payments to the crown. Thus in Domesday book: "Franci Norwic. In novo burgo "xxxvi burgenſes.... ex annua conſuetudine reddebat unuſquiſque v *d.*" Brady on Burghs, p. 4. The ſame cuſtomary payment, i. e. the firſt Saxon ſhilling occurs, in many other places of that return.

ſidies.

ſidies. Every perſon, whoſe whole effects were worth 30 pence, was within 12 months required to contribute four pence as an aid to the king, which in the ſame paragraph is called his ſhilling [*e*]. Whether this legal contribution extended to perſons of that low rank, and in that proportion, and whether the Saxon copy is right or wrong in that inſtance, it very evidently ſhews the number of pence then in the ſhilling. In two more of Athelſtan's laws, where the evidence is uniform, and the authority of the Saxon copy ſupported by the old Latin verſion, the Thane's Weregild is computed at 1200 [*f*] ſhillings, and ſaid to be equal to the ſixth part of 120 *l.* If 1200 ſhillings were 20 pound, the pound, or 240 pence, muſt be 60 ſhillings: and there is no making 60 ſhillings equal to 240 pence, but by a ſhilling of four pence. There is another inſtance of the ſame kind among his laws. Two hundred *Shillings* [*g*] are there ſtated as equal to 266 *Thrimſas*. Here again we are obliged to ſay (whatever Thrimſa may ſignify), that theſe numbers are in the proportion of 4 to 3; and conſequently this ſhilling muſt be four pence.

THE concluſions, which ariſe from the relation of one number to another, are ſuch neceſſary truths, ſo invariable in all ages, that they admit of no exceptions.

[*e*] Legg. Sax. p. 66. It is highly probable, that the true reading in this law ſhould be, þ haeꝑbe ꝑ ẏꝑꝑe ꝑ pæne xxx ꝛcill pꝛꝺ, *qui facultates habuerit* xxx ſolidos *valentes*. This makes the law itſelf more reaſonable, and fixes it in the very ſame proportion with Brompton's verſion.

[*f*] Ibid. p. 72. et Brompton, p. 846.

[*g*] Legg. Saxon. et Brompton, ut ſupra.

Whatever appearances there may be to the contrary, no argument can ſet aſide a ſtrict demonſtration. There are other proofs of this reduction of the ſhilling, though not quite ſo deciſive. In one of his laws a ſheep is valued at four [*b*] pence, in another at a ſhilling. All the greater ſums mentioned in theſe laws agree with this valuation of the ſhilling. They are ſtated at a 120, 60, 30 ſhillings; which, as aliquot parts of the Saxon pound, prove the ſhilling to be four pence: and ſeveral [*i*] of theſe laws are not to be explained without admitting this reduction.

So it continued to the Norman times: one of the Conqueror's laws puts this matter out of all doubt. It is there ſaid, that the Saxon ſhilling was four pence. And the preamble informs us, that theſe laws were in force during the Confeſſor's reign. "Ice les meiſmes, que le "Reis Edward ſun coſin tint devant lui."

"Del [*k*] dei apres le poleier xv ſolz de ſolt Englois, "co eſt QUER deners."

THE fine for the loſs of the firſt finger was xv ſolz, i. e. of the Engliſh Solt, or Solidus [*l*], which was four pence.

[*b*] Leges Saxon. p. 56 et 66.

[*i*] In one of Athelſtan's laws a horſe is rated at half a pound or 120 pence. L. Sax. p. 66. In another of Ethelred's, at 30 ſhillings, p. 126. and this laſt was the price upon the borders of Wales, one of the cheapeſt parts of England. If this ſhilling was 5 pence, the whole ſum would be 150 pence, a much higher price. But 30 ſhillings, at 4 pence the ſhilling, are 120 pence, juſt the ſame price as the former.

[*k*] Legg. Saxon. p. 221.

[*l*] Dufreſne, not a little ſurpriſed at this valuation of the Solidus, imagined that the number was wrong; that inſtead of *quarante* ſhould be read *querante*.

This

This very diſtinction ſhews that the ſhilling [*m*] was the common coin by which the Engliſh payments were adjuſted. He obſerves the uſual ſtyle of their laws; for the Normans had been long uſed to the French Solidus of 12 pence, which had been the only Solidus among the Franks for ſome ages, and their common eſtimate in all computations. But the fondneſs of the Engliſh for their own language, which perhaps was increaſed by the imperious efforts of the Conqueror to introduce the French, ſoon altered this appellation. Our coins, like our conſtitution, had in that age a very remarkable revolution in their names. The French SOLIDUS, though it preſerved it's valuation, took an Engliſh name, and was called the SHILLING: and the Saxon SHILLING of four pence took, on the contrary, a Norman name, and was called the GROAT, or Great coin; becauſe it was the greateſt then known among them.

DR. Hickes [*n*] was ſenſible, that the Saxon ſhilling had been ſometimes eſtimated at four pence; but ſeems

"Quae quidem verba ultima de quadraginta denariis accipienda exiſtimo, ut "*quer* ſit pro *querante*, ut tunc efferebant." Dufreſne's Gloſſar. voc. SOLIDUS. But the reading is right. The Saxons never had a Solidus of 40 pence. The ſhilling being the uſual eſtimate in their laws, the Normans called it in their own language le Solt Englois. Dufreſne had reaſon to think that the Solidus, as a gold coin, could never fall ſo low as four pence.

[*m*] Hence the old Daniſh computation was moſt probably derived. "Unus As, ſive Stilling, olim, et tempore Stenonis ſenioris erat iv nummorum "alborum." Loccenii Antiqq. Sueogoth. p. 123. Upſaliae, p. 1670.

[*n*] "Hoc a lectore obſervatum velim; quippe ſunt, qui contendunt Scyl-"lingum Anglorum ex quatuor penningis conſtitiſſe." Diſſert. Epiſtol. p. 109.

to caution the reader againſt admitting this valuation, though nothing elſe could make his opinion conſiſtent, but the certainty of this fact. He ſays truly, that the Saxon pound contained 60 ſhillings, i. e. when the ſhilling was reduced to four pence. For this keeps up exactly to the firſt weight and eſtimate of their pound; 5 times 48 being equal to 4 times 60, each making 240 pence. The ſhilling was coined at firſt for, what the word ſignifyed, a quarter of an ounce; and and at laſt for the fifth part of it. This alteration happened in Edward the Firſt's or Athelſtan's reign; and was probably owing to the incurſions and depredations of the Danes. They had for ſome time haraſſed almoſt all Europe by perpetual invaſions. We ſuffered in common with our neighbours. It is amazing how a nation at that time with little trade, without any ſupplies at home, and under a perpetual ravage from abroad, could ſupport the great tributes and exactions, which were then paid or taken by military execution. The Saxons were undoubtedly poſſeſſed of much more caſh, not long after their firſt ſettlements, than is commonly imagined. When Ina the Weſt-Saxon carried his arms into Kent to revenge the death of Mollo his predeceſſor's brother, that ſingle county raiſed, if we could depend upon Malmſbury, 30,000 marks of gold [o].

[o] "Nundinantur pacem xxx millibus auri marcis." De geſt. Reg. p. 14. The Saxon chronicle carries it ſtill higher, and makes the ſum 30,000 pounds. But ſurely both theſe accounts are incredible. 30,000 pounds of their money was in weight above 87,000 *l.* of ours: too great a ſum for that county to raiſe immediately. The moſt probable account is Ethelwerd's. The words are "cui committunt *ſolidos* triginta millia per ſingulos conſtanti numero ſex-

by

by way of contribution to purchaſe peace. The Saxon chronicle [*p*] informs us, that in 27 years they paid above 207,000*l.* in tributes; beſides the much greater ſums, that were wreſted out of their hands by the plunder of their country. This is Aſſer's obſervation, one of the Weſt-Saxon biſhops, who knew the truth of it by a

"decim nummis." Script. poſt Bed. p. 837. It ſhould rather be, "PRO ſin-"gulis conſtanti numero ſexdecim NUMMOS." The numerals are the ſame in each of theſe authors; the queſtion is only under what denomination they are to be placed. Ethelwerd computes the ſum by a Solidus of 16 pence. Muſt we not ſay therefore, either, that the ſum being written at firſt in numerals, XII was miſtaken for XVI; or that an imperious conqueror made the uncertain weight of their pennies a reaſon for eſtimating the Solidus above its real value. The ſum, that was raiſed immediately, was 2000*l.* of their money; not much leſs than 6000*l.* of ours, and in its comparative value above 113,000*l.* In ſtating the difference of their money and ours, we muſt go upon precarious, though not improbable, premiſes. Mr. Hume ſays, that we eſtimate every ſum of their money, as if it were multiplyed a hundred fold above a ſum of the ſame denomination at preſent. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 162. I believe not quite ſo high: the method, I have taken to form this valuation is by eſtimating that part of their ſtock which was kept purely for food and the moſt ordinary uſes, and comparing it with ours. An ox was valued at 30 of their pence, near ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence of our money, which multiplyed by 20 would be ſeven pound ten: a cow was 20 or 24 Saxon pence, near 5 or 6 ſhillings ſterling, and conſequently five or ſix pounds at preſent: a hog was 8, or 10 pence of their money, i. e. about 2 ſhillings, or 2 ſhillings and ſixpence, and in the ſame proportion would now be worth 40 or 50 ſhillings. This rule ſeems to bid fair for a very reaſonable valuation; but in the preſent advanced price of cattle it might go at ſomething more, perhaps at 25 to one. Horſes and ſheep were rated higher in proportion than other ſtock, becauſe the horſes contributed much to the ſtate of the principal inhabitants, and the ſheep to the dreſs of all. Mr. Hume has obſerved, that a ſheep's fleece among the Saxons was $\frac{2}{5}$ of the whole value; and that William Rufus gave a ſum not leſs than 30 pound ſterling for a horſe.

[*p*] Chron. Sax. ad ann. 991. et ſequent. What an immenſe ſum was this? equal to eight or nine millions now!

ſorrowful

ſorrowful experience, that the Danes looked upon theſe tributes, as the leaſt profitable part of their expeditions, "majorem [q] pecuniam furtivâ praeda, quam pace, "adepturi." This was enough to ſink the current caſh of the kingdom and oblige the Saxons to reduce their ſhillings to a lower proportion. It is the natural effect of diſtreſs in every country. There is no other reſource, but by lowering the weight, or increaſing the alloy. They took the wiſeſt method. The bad policy of many Roman emperors and ſome of our own princes induced them to prefer the laſt, to the great diſadvantage of their ſubjects trade, and their own revenue.

THIS lower valuation of the Saxon ſhilling has given ſome reaſon to believe, that it was taken from what Gronovius [r] and others have called the Roman Milliarenſis.

"Milliarenſes ſexaginta libram faciebant, quinque "unciam .... Ergo milliarenſis ſchellingo Britannico "par eſt."

THE eſtimates of the Byzantine Milliarenſis, which Gronovius has given us, were taken up much too haſtily: it was multiplying, not removing, difficulties. As this account was received at firſt, and reſts at preſent chiefly

[q] Wiſe's Aſſer, p. 15.

[r] De pecunia vet. p. 243. 364. Bouteroue in his Recherches, p. 110. obſerved that the word Milliarenſis was never mentioned by any Latin writer, except the author of the Notitia Imp. He forgot the code. Monſieur Bouteroue has not ſcrupled to carry the origin of this name, as high as Severus Alexander, but without any authority whatſoever.

upon

upon his authority, I ſhall take the liberty of giving it a particular examination. The value of the coin, which is here called a Milliarenſis, is taken from a conſtitution of the elder Theodoſius. The law [s] ſtands thus:

[s] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xv. tit. ix. p. 381. About fifty years after Theodoſius, Marcian, a prince of great abilities and excellent judgment, endeavoured to put a ſtop to this ridiculous profuſion. He obliged the conſuls, inſtead of throwing away their money, to apply a certain ſum to one of the moſt uſeful and laudable purpoſes, repairing the public aquaeducts of the city, in which every individual had an intereſt. The conſuls were probably no loſers by this exchange, though the ſum required was *centena pondo auri*, or above 4000 *l.* ſterling. But what conſtitution could ever bear the cure of inveterate maladies? the populace ſoon recovered their Miſſilia, though leſs in value, and under ſome reſtriction. Juſtinian very wiſely confined theſe diſtributions to their principal ſtate-holidays. What they were appears in ſome meaſure by the Novellae; but it may be difficult to aſſign each their proper place in the calendar. For this paſſage of the Novellae is imperfect in one part of the deſcription, and wants correcting in another. The Roman Faſti were perpetually altering. They were ſo crowded with ſtate-holydays by the ſlaviſh adulation of the ſenate, that there was often a neceſſity for making ſome removes. Tacitus's obſervation, that there was a motion made in ſenate for this purpoſe under Veſpaſian, "ut faſtos adula-"tione temporum foedatos exonerarent," ſhews, that this practice began early under the Imperial government. I believe, for reaſons too long to be inſerted in this place, that the days for diſtributing theſe Miſſilia, as appointed by Juſtinian, were the following.

1. The firſt of January, when the new conſuls were inaugurated.
2. Feb. 27. The ſpring horſe races: the birth day of Conſtantine the great.
3. The firſt of May; the day for hunting tame beaſts in the Circus.
4. September the 4th. when the old athletic exerciſes of the Circus were obſerved.
5. September 37. obſerved in honour of Julius Caeſar. By this means the founders of the weſtern and eaſtern empires were tranſmitted to poſterity with particular and public honours.

October. 15. the autumn races.

December 31. the day when the old conſuls laid down the faſces.

"Illud

" Illud etiam conſtitutione ſolidamus, ut, exceptis con-
" ſulibus ordinariis, nulli prorſus alteri auream ſportulam,
" diptyca ex ebore dandi facultas ſit. Cum publica ce-
" lebrantur officia, ſit ſportulis nummus argenteus, alia
" materia diptycis. Nec majorem argenteum nummum
" fas ſit expendere, quam qui formari ſolet, cum argenti
" libra una in argenteos ſexaginta dividitur; minorem
" dare volentibus, non ſolum liberum, ſed etiam hone-
" ſtum eſſe permittimus."

THEODOSIUS made ſeveral excellent regulations; this ſumptuary law was one of them. The magiſtrates at their entrance into the public offices and upon ſeveral other occaſions, were obliged, even under the lower empire, to be at very great expences. To reduce this uſeleſs extravagance within proper bounds, Theodoſius ordained, that the Miſſilia uſually ſcattered among the populace, and the little honorary preſents given to their friends upon theſe occaſions, ſhould be diſtributed in ſilver coins, which were none of them larger than five in the ounce. This ordinance extended to all the magiſtrates except the conſuls [*t*] whoſe names were to be in

[*t*] Juſtinian extended this regulation much further: he confined the conſular Miſſilia to ſilver only, allowing none of them to be larger than the common Denarius. Mr. Selden quotes a paſſage of Theophanes, as then tranſlated by Landulphus Sagax (for the original was not publiſhed, when Mr. Selden made this extract), which is to be explained only by this edict of Juſtinian. The words are, " Ita proceſſerunt, jactantibus imperatoribus hy-
" patia, tremiſſia, et hemiſſia, et numiſmata nova, uſque ad magnam eccleſiam." Here Mr. Selden obſerves, that " the Hypatia, and the reſt, were monies of
" that time caſt among the people, as was the faſhion at ſuch ſolemnities." Titles of Honour, 3. edit. p. 231. The preſent reading in Theophanes is, ἅπω

the

the Faſti for the year enſuing. If any of the inferior magiſtrates were diſpoſed to uſe coins of leſs value, they had not only the emperor's permiſſion, but encouragement to do it. Though theſe occaſional coins were ſtruck annually, and ſometimes paſſed in traffic, yet all of them were not originally intended as part of their current money, but ſeveral of them pieces without a name, ſuch as are coined upon the births, marriages, and inauguration of our princes. As the value of the preſent was inconſiderable, this form gave it a more polite appearance, and preſerved a ſort of dignity in the perſon, who made it. Theſe ſumptuary laws were in this, as in moſt other caſes, owing to neceſſity: not only the magiſtrates, but the emperors themſelves were obliged to purſue this frugal plan. Heraclius ſtruck a ſilver coin exactly the weight of the firſt Saxon ſhilling, as Theodoſius's was of the laſt. The uſe of it was, as the

προσῆλθον οἱ βασιλεῖς ῥίπτοντες ὑπαλείαν [leg. ὑπάτια] τριμίσια, καὶ σιμίσια, καὶ νομίσματα καινέργια ἕως τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας. ed. Veneta, p. 297. It is highly probable, that it was in Sagax's Mſ. ὑπάτια, and not ὑπατείαν, becauſe he tranſlates it *hypatia*, and not *hypatiam*. The editors of Theophanes have tranſlated this paſſage very inaccurately: ὑπατείαν is there rendered *munera*, and νομίσματα *nummos*; a verſion which is very far from giving us their true meaning. It ſhould be, ita *proceſſerunt imperatores ſpargentes hypatia, tremiſſes, et ſemiſſes, et ſolidos recenter cuſos*, &c. The hiſtorian riſes in the account. The emperors, viz. Leo et Copronymus ſcattered ſilver (the conſular Miſſilia) and gold among the populace, even ſome of their principal gold coins juſt freſh from the mint. Juſtinian's edict ſays, "Nos non permittimus glorioſiſſimis conſu-"libus aurum ſpargere, aut vaſa majora [i. e. majoris formae nummos argen-"teos), ſed in miliareſiis, et melis, et caveis, et in quadrangulis mediocribus "hujuſmodi facere donationem." Novell. cv. c. 2. § 3. The largeſt of theſe conſular Miſſilia was not much above ſixpence in value.

hiſtorian [*u*] obſerves, to leſſen the imperial donatives at leaſt one half.

" Hoc anno, lege lata, nummus argenteus ſex ſcrupu-
" lorum cuſus eſt, et in illis nummis factae ſunt largitio-
" nes imperatoriae, dimidium tantum veterum largitio-
" num valentes."

THE cuſtom of introducing coins of leſs value for the ſake of oeconomy was no new thing. The conſuls, long before this, were obliged to make their donatives in ſilver only. And the emperors at laſt did the ſame thing; they reduced their Miſſilia to ſilver; firſt to tetradrachms, and now, in the beginning of the ſeventh century, to coins of half that value. How much was the caſh of that empire, which commanded the riches of almoſt the whole world, ſunk and diſſipated in a few centuries! An event, ſufficient to convince all future diſpenſers of public money, that, how great ſoever their funds are, they moſt certainly have a bottom. Thoſe princes, who were ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed by their public donatives, and uſed to diſtribute their imperial munificence in gold, and ſometimes in pieces of great value, were reduced to the neceſſity of diſperſing this

[*u*] Τότῳ τῷ ἔτει γέγονεν ἀπὸ νόμι νόμισμα ἐξάγραμμον ἀργυρᾶν, καὶ βασιλικαὶ ῥογαὶ δι' αὐτῦ γεγόνασι, μὴ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος. Chron. Alexand. ad annum quintum Heraclii, ed. Veneta, p. 307. vid. Dufreſne's Diſſertatio de nummis Conſtantinopolitanis. Very plauſible reaſons were aſſigned for the reduction of theſe Miſſilia, to conceal the true one, the poverty of the ſtate. It was ſaid, that it prevented a deal of miſchief in theſe public proceſſions, and made the imperial munificence more extenſive. Juſtinian very gravely gives this reaſon in one of his edicts: ὅσον τὸ μικρότερον τὸ ῥιπτόμενον, τοσότῳ πλείους οἱ λαμβάνοντες. The ſmaller the pieces were, the more they would be diſperſed.

cuſtomary

cuſtomary benevolence in didrachms, coins worth very little more than one of our preſent ſhillings. As theſe occaſional coins were perpetually leſſening through the unavoidable exigencies of the ſtate, is it at all probable that, a few years before Theodoſius, all their current ſilver money was enlarged? Why Gronovius calls this coin of Theodoſius a Milliarenſis, or why he ſuppoſes coins of this value to be the only current money in Conſtantine's time, I know not. He runs into great inconſiſtencies upon this ſubject: ſometimes his opinion [*w*] is, that the Milliarenſis was a coin of 60 or 68 in the pound: ſometimes it was nothing, but a new name given to the old Argenteus or Denarius. In one place we are told, that Conſtantine was the author of theſe innovations; that he put a ſtop to the circulation of the old Denarii, and introduced this new money in its ſtead: in another place it is ſaid, that theſe alterations were made before Conſtantine's acceſſion to the empire, and that he appointed the Denarius to be the *only* current ſilver coin. Here is a great variety of opinions, moſt of them not very conſiſtent, all of them a little confuſed, and, I be-

[*w*] "Milliarenſis nomen primum tulit ipſe vetus denarius." p. 367. "Milliarenſes graviores denario." p. 343. "Non detractum ponderi mil-"liarenſium primo, ſed adjectum fuiſſe, et minores tempore anteceſſiſſe; gravi-"ores eſſe, quos ſolos libri legum et hiſtoriae agnoſcunt; adeo ut, abſque illis "doctis gloſſis eſſet, eos ignoraremus." De pecunia vet. p. 369. The Roman nummulary language was much altered from about the middle of the third century and the firſt part of the fourth. But as Gronovius uſes the old word Denarius for the ſilver coin, I ſhall, to prevent the ambiguity of uſing other terms, take the ſame liberty.

lieve none of them exactly right, except this one, that the Milliarenſis was only a new name given to an old coin: for that neither of theſe coins of 60 or 68 in the pound were called Milliarenſes, or that Conſtantine made any alteration in the current ſilver money will be eaſily ſhewn. The alteration of a name was a matter of no great moment: it might be owing to meer popular fancy. We have ſeveral ſuch inſtances in the names of ſome of our old coins, and in many, if not moſt, of their's. But altering the whole current ſilver caſh of the empire was a work of the utmoſt importance, and what nothing, but ſuch reaſons of ſtate as aroſe from great neceſſity or advantage, would induce a prince to undertake. Gronovius aſcribes all this to Conſtantine.

" Denarios abolevit Conſtantinus, et pro illis intro-
" duxit milliarenſes, graviores denario . . . ſexaginta li-
" bram faciebant."

ONE would naturally expect ſome authorities for ſo remarkable an aſſertion or event as this: but, inſtead of that, we have only his reaſons. Let us examine them firſt, and then ſee how the fact ſtands. I entirely agree with Gronovius in his firſt poſition, that, under all the Byzantine emperors, the Solidus and its parts, the whole ſet of gold coins, were reduced to a much lower value, i. e. a greater number were ſtruck out of the pound than in any of the preceding reigns: and hence he concludes, that, as *gold was grown ſcarcer*, it was neceſſary to enlarge their ſilver coins.

" Argen-

"Argentum [x] in nummis adauctum eſt, poſtquam "vilius, quam fuerat, ejus pretium contra aurum factum "eſt."

HAD Conſtantine kept the gold coins up to the old ſtandard, this expedient of enlarging the ſilver might have anſwered well enough. But there were two methods of removing this inconvenience, more obvious, more advantageous, and much eaſier to execute. The firſt was, to leſſen the gold coins. This had been the practice from the very beginning of the imperial government, eſpecially from Nero downwards, except ſome few reigns, which kept nearer to the old ſtandard, and whoſe coins were diſtinguiſhed by the ſucceeding princes in making preſents to perſons of rank upon particular occaſions. It is agreed, on all hands, that Conſtantine took this method: he leſſened the gold coins, fixed them at a certain weight; brought them from 4, or rather from an arbitrary and uncertain weight, between 4 and 5, to 6 in the ounce; and put the mint under better regulations than had been known there for almoſt a century before. What occaſion could there poſſibly be to do both theſe things, to enlarge the ſilver coins, as well as reduce the gold? This ſurely was quite needleſs; an expence and trouble that might well have been ſaved.

THE other way was to alter the exchange, making the Solidi paſs for more Denarii in proportion as gold increaſed in value. This was the practice of Conſtantine's

[x] De pecunia vet. p. 343.

more

more immediate ſucceſſors. The ſame Solidus, that paſſed for 14 Milliarenſes in his time, went afterwards for 20: this continued till after Juſtinian, for we meet with no innovations upon this ſubject in any of his laws.

BUT the misfortune is, that neither of thoſe reaſons, which Gronovius has aſſigned, were real facts in Conſtantine's reign. Though he brought the gold coins to a lower ſtandard, yet gold itſelf was far from being ſcarcer, than it was before. The anonymous author at the end of the Notitia obſerves,

"Conſtantini [y] temporibus profuſa largitio: aurum "pro aere, quod antea magni pretii habebatur, vilibus "commerciis aſſignavit."

Its familiar currency in the lower branches of trade, and the proportion which gold and ſilver then bore to each other ſhew that gold had never been of ſo little value ſince the times of the republic, which was a certain evidence of its plenty.

IT appears from the law above cited that this ſuppoſed Milliarenſis, whenever it was introduced, was introduced purely for the ſake of oeconomy: and oeconomy,

[y] Labbe's Notitia dignitatum Imper. Rom. p. 170. This affluence was owing to their late victories in the eaſt. The conquered provinces ſupplyed them with more caſh, and opened a larger extent of trade into the neighbouring kingdoms. Aurelian, who, upon the conqueſt of that country, had the plunder of Palmyra, was perſuaded, by the riches he met with there, that gold was more common than ſilver; "dicens," ſays Vopiſcus, "plus "auri eſſe in rerum natura, quam argenti." Hiſt. Aug. ſcript. vol. ii. p. 550. If this obſervation was applyed only to the kingdoms of the eaſt, it was moſt probably right.

as almoſt all his hiſtorians obſerve, was not the diſtinguiſhing part of Conſtantine's character, or at all the object of his adminiſtration. His reign was a reign of great affluence and expence. His nephew Julian, who had not the leaſt ſuperſtitious regard to his uncle's memory, has given us his true portrait: πολλὰ [z] κλησάμενον, πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι. Conſtantine had ſubdued many rivals in his way to empire, and was obliged to uſe great munificence towards his ſoldiers. The magiſtrates, to make their court to him, would in their public appearance be diſpoſed to follow his example.

As the reaſons, which Gronovius has aſſigned for this imaginary alteration, are of no weight, let us ſee how the fact ſtands, the enlarging of the ſilver coins. Conſtantius made a law to prohibit the exportation of money, i. e. to carry it off as a mercantile article, like other goods. Such a prohibition muſt have ſome effect, though (as we know by experience) it is impoſſible to prevent the exportation of money, when the balance of trade can be adjuſted no other way. This law, made not twenty years after Conſtantine's death, may ſerve to clear up this whole matter. Theſe are ſome of the clauſes.

" Quicunque [a] pecunias ad diverſa, vendendi cauſa,
" transferre detegitur, capite plectatur. Placet denique,

[z] Julian's Caeſars, edit. Spanheim, p. 335. So the other hiſtorians of that reign. ἀσωτίαν ἡγεῖτο φιλοτιμίαν. Zozim. ed. Oxon. p. 115. *prodigalitatem pro munificentia ducebat.*

[a] Cod. Theodoſ. lib. ix. tit. xxiii. p. 185. The great ſcarcity of money appears by ſeveral of the imperial conſtitutions; ſome of them not much to the honour of Chriſtian princes. One of Gratian's edicts, to prevent the ex-

" ut

" ut ſiquis forſitan nummus, praeter eum, qui in uſu
" publico perſeverat, apud aliquem mercatorem ſit in-
" ventus, fiſci dominio cum omnibus delinquentis fa-
" cultatibus vindicetur."

" Et ſi forte cum mercibus ad quaſcunque provincias
" venerint, cuncta ſolita licentia mercabuntur praeter
" PECUNIAS, quas, more ſolito, MAJORINAS, vel CENTENIO-
" NALES communes appellant, quas vetitas eſſe cognoſ-
" cunt."

IT appears by the language of this law, that their current ſilver coins were of more ſorts than one; the Majorinae et Centenionales communes. The Majorinae were of ſeveral ſizes from two, to four, and ten Denarii in weight; beſides, many of thoſe occaſional coins which the magiſtrates ſtruck every year, and ſome of them perhaps no aliquot parts of their pound. Upon this account theſe larger coins were not ſo eaſily reduced under one common appellation: the moſt obvious method was that here taken. They were all much larger than the Denarius, and therefore in general called the Majorinae. The next claſs, the Centenionales communes could be nothing elſe but the common Argenteus or Denarius.

portation of gold, ſays, " Non ſolum barbaris aurum minime praebeatur, ſed
" etiam, ſi apud illos inventum fuerit, ſubtili auferatur ingenio: ſed ſi
" ulterius aurum pro mancipiis, vel quibuſcunque ſpeciebus, ad barbaricum
" fuerit tranſlatum a mercatoribus, non jam damnis, ſed ſuppliciis ſubjugentur."
Cod. Theodoſ. lib. iv. tit. lxiii. What equitable and admirable directions were theſe for Cuſtom-houſe officers!

THEO-

THEODOSIUS's conſtitution implies the very ſame thing; that there were ſeveral ſorts of current money, and that the inferior magiſtrates were at liberty to make their Miſſilia in the leſſer coins. Both theſe laws give us ſufficient reaſons to believe that Conſtantine was very far from enlarging, or even altering, the ſilver money, and never thought of aboliſhing all the old coins; but ſuffered them to circulate in all forms whatſoever, juſt as they had done before.

GRONOVIUS goes further yet, and aſſerts that theſe coins of ſixty in the pound were called Milliarenſes; and yet he admits, that the Denarius had now loſt its name, and was called ſo likewiſe. But is it poſſible to make both theſe accounts agree? coins of ſuch unequal value, as eight and five in the ounce, could never have the ſame numerical relation to the ſame pound. It is now agreed, that the Milliarenſis was ſo called from being the thouſandth part of the gold pound. We owe this diſcovery to one of the Gloſſae baſiliçorum, and ſo far at leaſt it is of unqueſtionable authority. I ſhall here inſert juſt as much of it as relates more immediately to this matter, and give the whole in a note.

" Miliareſium [*b*], milleſima pars librae auri . . . . . " . . . . . adeo ut pro omni ſolido (ιδ') quatuor- " decim acciperentur miliareſia."

[*b*] Μιλιαρήσιον τὸ χιλιοστὸν τῆ χρυσίᾳ λίτρας· μίλε γὰρ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τὰ χίλια καλοῦσι, ϗ οὕτω καὶακερμάτωσαν τὸ πόσον τῆς λίτρας, ἵνα δι' αὐτῆ σώζηται τὰ χίλια μιλιαρήσια, ὥστε καὶὰ νομίσματα λαγχάνειν μιλιαρήσια ιδ'. Everard. Otto in Theſaur. juris civilis, p. 1764. edit. 1733. *Miliareſium, milleſima pars librae auri. Romani enim vocant* χίλια, mille, *et adeo minutatim conciderunt libram, ut ex ea mille cu-*

I KNOW this paſſage has been corrected from Suidas [*c*], from the old λογαριχὴ, and even from other parts of theſe Gloſſes; and inſtead of ιδ′, 14, they would read ιβ′, 12; becauſe they never conſidered the difference of exchange; that, at the time theſe accounts were given, the proportion was altered, ſilver was riſen much in value, ſo that 12 Denarii were equal to a Solidus. I know likewiſe that Gronovius [*d*], to favour his own hypotheſis, has taken much greater liberties, and inſtead of ιδ′ 14, would read χέ, 25 Miliareſia. But critics ſhould keep off their hands upon ſuch occaſions. Numbers are ſtubborn things, and form ſuch concluſions, as bear down all conjectures, eſpecially ſuch ſtrange conjectures as this. The Gloſs evidently tells us theſe two things; that the Milliarenſis was the thouſandth part of the gold pound, and that 14 Milliarenſes were equal to a Solidus. The number of Solidi then coined out of their pound was cetainly 72, and 14 times 72 is a 1008. The Milliarenſis therefore was what the Gloſs calls it, the 1000th part of the gold pound, and 14 of them made a Solidus. The very inconſiderable exceſs in the whole number was not regarded. But

derentur milliarenſes, ut pro omni ſolido quatuordecim acciperentur milliarenſes. The author of this gloſs ſeemed to think that the name Milliarenſes was owing to the minuteneſs of the coins without conſidering the exchange. But there was no alteration in the coin, the weight was juſt the ſame as it had been for ſome ages before.

[*c*] That article in Suidas ſhould rather be corrected: inſtead of μιλιαρήσιον τὸ τῦ νομίσμαΘ· δέκαΘον, ſhould be read, δωδέκαΘον. For this was the exchange under the Byzantine empire, in the eleventh century, and for ſome time before.

[*d*] De pecunia vet. p. 367.

ſtill

ſtill what this coin was is the queſtion. The old λογαριχὴ [e], or computation table, made for the uſe of the lower Byzantine Exchequer, knew of no Milliarenſis but the common ſilver coin; the Milliarenſis and Argenteus were then ſynonymous terms.

"Milliarenſis enim pro argenteo putatur, et argenteus "pro milliarenſi." And ſo Epiphanius [f]; "Argen-"teus vero a Romanis miliareſium dicitur."

WHAT could this Argenteus be, but the old Roman Denarius, which had now taken a new name? For, long before this, the Roman Denarius was, like the empire it ſelf, much ſunk from its ancient figure and eſtimation. From the middle of the third century, during the exceſſive poverty and confuſion of that period, to the beginning of the fourth, great innovations were made in their nummulary language. To indulge themſelves in the pleaſing ſound of more property than they poſſeſſed, the names of the old ſilver coins were, by a ridiculous affectation, transfer'd to the braſs. I muſt juſt mention this alteration, becauſe it gives a proper opening to the point in queſtion, the names that were given ſoon afterwards to the Byzantine ſilver coins. The Roman coins were then, as uſual, the *Aurei*, *Argentei*, and *Aerei*. When the Aureus was mentioned without any addition, it meant the Solidus or principal gold coin. The old Denarius had now the name of Argenteus; and the As

[e] Δώδεκα μιλλιαρήσια, ἢ δώδεκα ἀργυρὰ τῷ νομίσμαΐι λογαριάζονΐαι .... τὸ γὰρ μιλλιαρήσιον ἀντὶ τᾶ ἀργυρᾶ, τὸ δὲ ἀργυρὸν ἀντὶ τᾶ μιλλιαρησίε. Gronov. De pec. vet. p. 709.

[f] De pond. et menſuris, vol. ii. p. 183.

was called Denarius. The Aerei were of ſeveral ſorts, the Denarius aereus, the Follis, and Seſtertius aereus; i. e. the As and its ſubdiviſions. Thus when the emperor Valerian ordered the prefect of the city to furniſh the proper appointments for Aurelian during his ſtay at Rome, he was to receive every day in caſh,

"Aureos [*g*] Antoninianos binos, ARGENTEOS Philip-
"peos minutulos quinquagenos, aeris DENARIOS cen-
"tum."

To enable Aurelian to exhibit the Circenſian games, the emperor gave orders for the payment of the following ſum:

"Aureos [*h*] Antoninianos trecentos, ARGENTEOS Phi-
"lippeos minutulos tria millia, in aere HS. quinqua-
"gies."

THE ſame emperor, when he promoted Probus to the command of a legion, directs his Praefectus praetorio to preſent him among many other articles with

"Aureos [*i*] Antoninianos centum, ARGENTEOS Aureli-
"anos [*k*] mille, aereos Philippeos decem mille."

[*g*] Hiſtor. Auguſt. ſcript. vol. ii. p. 442.

[*h*] Ibid. p. 446.

[*i*] Hiſt. Aug. ſcript. vol. ii. p. 646. Salmaſius makes this preſent of Valerian's to Probus 240 Aurei, and ſays, that this was the regular annual payment of a Roman tribune. His way of reckoning it is this. 1. There was an hundred Aurei in ſpecie; 2. a thouſand Argentei, which made forty Aurei, and laſtly, ten thouſand Aerei. Theſe Aerei are computed, as ſo many ſeſterces, or fourth parts of an old Denarius; if ſo, a hundred Aerei were equal to an Aureus, and conſequently ten thouſand were a hundred Aurei, and made the whole ſum 240. But what authority is there for making this Aereus the ſame as the old Seſtertius? nothing is here ſaid of Se-

BONOSUS

Bonosus upon his wedding received the ſame ſum in gold and ſilver from the emperor Aurelian, but a much larger in braſs.

"Aureos Philippeos centum, ARGENTEOS Antoninianos "mille, aeris [*l*] HS. decies."

ſtertii in the hiſtorian: or were there any braſs Seſterces at that time of the value of four Aſſes? Salmaſius himſelf did not ſeem to be convinced of this; for in one of the following notes he ſays, "Aeris ſeſtertios hoc loco vocat Au-"relianus, quos Aereos ſimpliciter dixit Valerianus; Aerei, et Aerei ſeſtertii, "et Aerei denarii, et Folles ea tempeſtate de eodem pecuniae genere dice-"bantur." Hiſtor. Aug. ſcript. vol. ii. p. 775. How is it poſſible to make both theſe opinions conſiſtent? Folles and Aeris denarii could never be the ſame coins, as the old ſeſterce. It is highly incredible, that they ſhould have no braſs coins of a lower value, than almoſt two pence ſterling. The very coins of that age now remaining are a demonſtration to the contrary. The value therefore of this preſent of Valerian's muſt be taken from ſome other eſtimate; ſee note [*l*].

[*k*] Caſaubon imagined, that inſtead of *Aurelianos* ſhould be read *Aurelianeos*, as *Philippeos* in the ſame paragraph. If the coin had been named from Aurelianus, the emendation had been right: but when Valerian made this preſent, no Aurelianus had been emperor, but two or three Aurelii. From Aurelius, the appellative Aurelianus is very proper; and therefore there is no occaſion for any alteration. Theſe were probably Marcus Antoninus's coins, whoſe Aurei (as appears by theſe now remaining) kept nearer the old ſtandard, than any others, from Nero downwards.

[*l*] Hiſtor. Aug. ſcript. vol. ii. p. 774. Salmaſius, and Gronovius after him, were much at a loſs how to explain the braſs coins of that age under theſe new appellations. Gronovius ſays, "Pro ſeſtertio extitit follis ex uncia "aeris, eique quatuor ſubjecti aſſes quadrantarii, ut ſeſtertius argenteus ha-"buit quatuor aſſes unciales .... hic follis, et denarius aeris, et ſeſtertius aeris, "et obolus appellari meruit." De pecunia vet. p. 439. Sometimes the Aeris ſeſtertius was a braſs coin of an ounce; ſometimes the Aereus, Denarius aeris, Follis, et Seſtertius aereus were all the ſame coin. Theſe are the very ſentiments of Salmaſius in the notes juſt mentioned. One would imagine that nothing could have produced this unuſual harmony, but the cleareſt evidence. But whence does it ariſe? What is it that ſupports theſe aſſertions? The

THIS

THIS was the common way of reckoning, and diſtinguiſhing the Roman money long before the Byzantine

moſt natural concluſions from all theſe paſſages in the Hiſtoriae Auguſtae ſcriptores are very different; which are theſe. 1. that the Aereus, or Aeris denarius, was the ſame thing which the As was before, their principal braſs coin: 2. that the analogy of their language was moſt probably preſerved, when the meaning of the words, as to their object, was quite altered; that the Aeris ſeſtertius was, what it originally implied, a quarter of the Denarius: and if the Denarius then was, as it certainly was, a new name for the As, the Aeris ſeſtertius could be nothing more than a farthing. But if the Aeris ſeſtertius was then four times the value of the Aeris denarius, it not only deſtroys, but reverſes this analogy: or, if theſe coins were all the ſame, it introduces ſuch a confuſion in language as is quite incredible. Beſides, the very language of theſe grants is a preſumptive evidence againſt both theſe opinions. When the Aeris ſeſtertii are mentioned, the ſums are vaſtly increaſed; in one inſtance, *HS. decies*; in the other *HS. quinquagies*, i. e. one million, and five millions of ſeſterces: whereas the higheſt ſum of the Aerei, or Aeris denarii, is only *decem mille*. Hence it is natural to conclude that theſe laſt-mentioned coins were of greater value. If, according to Salmaſius and Gronovius, theſe Aeris ſeſtertii were each of them an ounce of braſs, the preſent to Aurelian was one of the weightieſt preſents in money, that ever was made and to a prime miniſter; very little leſs than a hundred and forty tun. What the weight of the Denarius was at that time is not quite certain, nor perhaps was it thought neceſſary to keep to any ſtrict ſtandard in their braſs coins. Gronovius makes it a quarter of an ounce. But whatever it was, the Aeris denarius, Follis, and Seſtertius were in all appearance the three ſeveral ſorts of their braſs coins, the Penny, Halfpenny, and Farthing; to which was at laſt added the Mite or Half-farthing. If this was the caſe, the Aerei, in Valerian's preſent to Probus, were only a quarter of that ſum, at which Salmaſius computes them. The whole, 165 Aurei, or about 150*l.* ſterling. Such imperial preſents to perſons of ſuperior merit and diſtinction (for both Bonoſus and Probus were afterwards emperors) diſcover the incredible poverty of that overgrown and ill-governed empire. What an appearance would it now have, if his preſent majeſty ſhould preſent a General officer of the firſt rank and eminence, with 150*l.* and ſend five and twenty of it by a porter in braſs, for his private expences?

It follows likewiſe from theſe accounts, that the coins of different emperors, which circulated under the ſame name, were not of the ſame value;

empire

empire was ever thought of. The Argentei or Argentei minutuli were their common ſilver coin, which was at firſt called the Denarius, and paſſed currently many ages, before it was reduced one eighth, with the Drachmae of the Greeks.

THE very language of this gloſs, the ἕτω καὶ ἀκερμάτωσαν, ſhews that, whatever the coin was, it was far from being enlarged. Conſtantius's edict calls their common ſilver money, Centenionalis communis, or coins of a hundred in the pound, reckoning, as was uſual, in the round number. In Honorius's time, long before theſe Gloſſae were written, or the laws, which they illuſtrate, the Centenionalis communis, or the Denarius, and it's parts were the only current ſilver coins in that empire. One of his edicts ſays,

" Centenionalem [*m*] tantum nummum in converſati-
" one publicâ tractari praecipimus, majoris pecuniae figu-

otherwiſe the Antoniniani, Aureliani, and Philippei had not been ſo particularly ſpecifyed. This difference appears even now in their weight. And laſtly, the Argentei minutuli muſt imply, that there were ſilver coins of different ſizes; that there were then Argentei majuſculi, which occaſioned this diſtinction.

[*m*] Cod. Theodoſ. lib. ix. tit. xxiii. p. 187. Salmaſius concluded that Centenarius and Centenionalis were words of the ſame import, and might be uſed indiſcriminately. " Centenarius et centenio, nummus qui centum " aureorum pondus habet." Not. in Hiſt. Aug. ſcriptor. vol. i. p. 968. The Centenariae formae of Elagabalus were certainly coins of a 100 Aurei. Gutherius, by a very remarkable blunder, turned theſe Aurei into pounds. " Centenionalis, aureus nummus eſt, qui centenas auri libras efficit." De offic. domus Auguſtae, lib. iii. p. 19. A moſt monſtrous coin indeed! Elagabalus's were nothing to do it. It had one peculiar advantage, that no body would be robbed of it, not even this author. But, I believe, both theſe gentlemen,

" ratione

" ratione ſubmotâ. Nullus igitur decargyrum num-
" mum alio audeat commutare, ſciens fiſco eandem pecu-
" niam vindicandam, quae in publica potuerit converſa-
" tione deprehendi."

THE preſent copy of the Notitia, drawn up in one of the following reigns, ſhews the effect of this law, that no ſilver was allowed to circulate, but in the ſmaller coins. The Comes largitionum, a ſort of lord treaſurer, who had the care of receiving and iſſuing the public revenue, diſtributed the accounts of all the ſilver in the Exchequer into two claſſes; the *Scrinium* [*n*] *ab argento*, and the *Scrinium a milliarenſibus*. What we are to underſtand by *Argentum* is plain from the Digeſt [*o*]:

and Pitiſcus after them, were miſtaken in the uſe of the word Centenionalis. Pitiſcus, who collected ſeveral opinions, and inſerted much out of Gothofred, has very unluckily omitted what was moſt to his purpoſe in this article. " Ego " putem, (ſays Gothofred) centenionales nummos, communes dictos *denarios* " *argenteos*, qui centum in libra ſignati, quique adeo centeſimam librae partem " efficiebant." Not. in Cod. Theodoſ. lib. ix. p. 188. Savot was of the ſame opinion, that theſe Centenionales nummi were the common Milliarenſes. Lib. iii. c. 25. Both undoubtedly right; in value the thouſandth part of the gold pound, when they were firſt called Milliarenſes; in weight, for many ages, the hundredth part of the ſilver pound. This makes a very remarkable difference in the uſe of Centenarius and Centenionalis worth obſerving. Centenarius is uſed in a collective ſenſe. " Centenarius dicitur, eo quod cen-
" tum libras continet," &c. and ſo Librae centenariae were a hundred pounds; Nummi centenarii, Formae centenariae, coins that contained a hundred Aurei or Denarii in one piece. But Centenionalis was uſed diſtributively; for the hundredth part of a pound, or any integer to which it was applied. Thus Nummus centenionalis, one of the common Milliarenſes or Denarii, which were reckoned a hundred to the pound.

[*n*] Notitia imperii occidentalis, c. xiii.

[*o*] Lib. xxxiv. tit. ii. § 19.

it

it extended to all the ſilver not coined, whether wrought into furniture, or only in bullion: *Pecuniam autem ſignatam in eo non contineri.* Other clerks had the *Scrinium a milliarenſibus* in their office: and, as it appears by the Theodoſian code, that there was no other ſilver money then current, but the Denarius and its parts, the Milliarenſis could poſſibly be nothing elſe, but the Denarius [*p*] only. Theſe plain teſtimonies are even now

[*p*] The Juſtinian code, which very minutely deſcribes all the different articles in the Scrinium ab argento, takes no notice of any variety at all in their ſilver coins, or Scrinium a milliarenſibus. The reaſon of this appears very plain in both the codes. There were no other ſilver coins then current but the Milliarenſis and its parts. All the reſt were prohibited. Cod. Juſtinian. l. xii. p. 24. The Comes largitionum had all the public money belonging to the Exchequer under his care. This office is diſtributed in the Notitia into five different chambers or claſſes; which had each of them ſeveral clerks, under the direction of one principal clerk or primicerius. There was

Primicerius Scrinii aureae maſſae.
. . . . . Scrinii auri ad reſponſum.
. . . . . Scrinii ab argento.
. . . . . Scrinii a milliarenſibus.
. . . . . Scrinii a pecuniis.

What the Scrinium aureae maſſae, argenti, and à milliarenſibus were is very obvious: they are not eaſily miſtaken; though Sperlingius was diſpoſed to take the Milliarenſes into his great claſs of uncoined money: vid, De nummis non cuſis, p. 22. Pancirolus in his very uſeful and learned commentary upon the Notitia (from which Mr. Selden borrowed much in his Titles of Honour) was at a loſs how to explain the two other branches of the Exchequer. He imagined that the Aurum ad reſponſum was gold allotted for the payment of thoſe couriers, who carried the imperial edicts and diſpatches into the ſeveral provinces of the empire. It is not credible that theſe meſſengers ſhould be treated with ſuch ſingular marks of diſtinction, as to have a particular office erected to iſſue the ſums due to them, and inſpect their accounts; or that theſe expences ſhould be diſcharged in gold only. Muſt we not rather conclude, that, as one branch of the Treaſury was allotted for

confirmed by the coins themſelves. The common Argentei under the Byzantine emperors may be ſeen in all

iſſuing the ſilver, there muſt be another for the gold? We cannot ſuppoſe that the Notitia had intirely omitted this important article. The Aurum ad reſponſum therefore muſt be the gold in ſpecie, money ready to anſwer the demands made upon the Exchequer, by orders from the court or army. The Aurea maſſa, the gold in bars or ingots, would not anſwer this purpoſe; it could not be diſtributed immediately in ſuch payments and proportions, as thoſe occaſions muſt require. If the Notitia therefore gives an exact account of their Exchequer, and there were any gold coins at all in it, they could be in no other office but this: they muſt be the Aurum ad reſponſum. We uſe the word *reſponſible* almoſt in the ſame ſenſe. The laſt article, the Scrinium a pecuniis has more difficulty. Pancirolus thought that the whole produce of all the mints in the empire was regiſter'd and accounted for by theſe clerks. But this buſineſs was certainly aſſigned to other hands. The Procuratores monetae, who were likewiſe under the direction of the Comes largitionum, had the care of theſe accounts. Moneta, and not Pecunia, was their language, when they ſpoke of the mints. Is there any other way of explaining this article agreeably to the cuſtoms of that age, and the order in which it is here placed, but by admitting that, after *pecuniis*, *aereis* was underſtood; that in this part of the treaſury they kept their braſs coins, and that all ſums of that kind were paid and received there, which perhaps by their conſtant uſe were called *pecuniae κατ' ἐξοχὴν*; from whence, by dropping the firſt ſyllable, the word *coin* was probably derived. This was certainly no inconſiderable branch of the public accounts. As in the infancy of that riſing empire all their payments were in braſs; in its decline they were obliged to return again towards the ſame practice, and make a great part of their payments in that ſpecies. There was ſcarce a preſent ſent to perſons of the firſt rank by the emperors themſelves, but part of it was in theſe braſs coins, which might be truly called the Aes grave. Hence it is, that ſuch immenſe quantities of them are found all over Europe. An officer of very conſiderable diſtinction, who had the care of the emperor's private revenue, and the charge of all the treaſure-trove in the provinces was, perhaps for this reaſon, called MAGISTER AERIS. An edict of the emperors Theodoſius and Valentinian obliging the provinces to furniſh the public magazines with the uſual ſupplies of corn, hay, &c. is directed, "Omnibus tam viris "Spectabilibus quam Clariſſimis.... necnon Comiti commerciorum, MAGISTRO "AERIS, ſive PRIVATAE REI RATIONALI." Cod. Juſtinian. lib. i. leg. 52.

the

the cabinets of the Roman coins. Their weight ſhews what they were; Gronovius might have ſaved himſelf much trouble, if he had let the medaliſts decide this queſtion from thoſe remains.

GRONOVIUS has likewiſe given us, from the ſame Gloſſae Baſilicorum, another Milliarenſis [q], ſomething leſs than the former; and this not without authority: the gloſs is the voucher for the appellation.

"Eſt et alius follis conſtans ex argenteis minutis, mi-
"litibus dari ſolitis, ideoque Miliareſiis vocatis. Va-
"let autem unumquodque minutorum horum argente-
"orum ceratium et dodrantem, i. e. tres partes alterius
"ceratii."

IN the former inſtance he gave us the true weight of the coin, but had no reaſon for calling it a Milliarenſis, no authority for placing it in that claſs; if this liberty is taken in matters of antiquity, we may wander for ever in endleſs conjectures, without finding any thing to fix our ſentiments, or deſerve our attention. In this

making a compoſition, or an allowance for theſe articles, was called *adaerare*, i. e. paying the equivalent in money, perhaps uſually in theſe braſs coins. Thus the emperor Valerian, in a letter to the Procurator of Syria, when he has ſpecifyed the particular allowances that were to be made to the Roman general, ſays, "caetera, quae propter minutias ſuas ſcribi nequeunt, pro mo-
"deratione praeſtabis; ſed ita ut nihil adaeretur." Hiſtor. Auguſt. ſcript. vol. ii. p. 394. In this view the ſeveral offices and branches of the revenue are diſpoſed in a natural and conſiſtent order. The Notitia includes them all. Firſt, the gold in bullion, plate, or jewels. 2dly, the gold coins. 3dly, the ſilver in bars or plate. 4thly, the ſilver coins, and 5thly, the braſs.

[q] Ἔξι δὲ ἕτερος φόλλις συναγόμενος ἐξ ἀργυρίων λεπτῶν, τοῖς στρατιώταις διδομένων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μιλιαρησίων καλουμένων· ἔχει δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων λεπτῶν ἀργυρίων κεράτιον ἓν ἥμισυ τέταρτον. De pecunia vet. p. 374.

caſe the error is reverſed, the name is right, but the value of the coin is quite miſtaken; for he calls it a Milliarenſis of 68 in the pound. But what we truly learn from this gloſs is, that the writer was a different perſon from the former; he was a ſtranger to the true meaning of the word, otherwiſe he would never have ſaid, that theſe coins were called Miliareſia, becauſe they were given to the ſoldiers: He lived likewiſe when the coins themſelves were leſſened: He calls theſe Miliareſia, ἀργύρια λεπτὰ, and ſays that the value of them was a Ceratium and three quarters, i. e. that they were an eighth leſs than the former Milliarenſes, which were two Ceratia. Ceratium is the uſual term for the Half-denarius in the Byzantine writers: The Denarius was for that reaſon called δικέρατον; it is almoſt the only word uſed for it in the old rationale [r]; and this is the common language of that age. Cedrenus, after an account of the conqueſts made by Chagan, general of the Avari, one of the branches of the Huns, ſays that he offered to releaſe his priſoners upon theſe terms; firſt,

"Accepto [s] in ſingula capita ſolido; rurſuſque "binos uno ſolido; denique ſingulos quatuor ceratiis."

[r] Ἐσὶ δὲ κ᾽ ἡ ἀπαίτησις δικεράτε καλὰ τὸν τύπον τῦ Σεκρέτε, *Sic ſe habet exactio dicerati* [ſive milliarenſis] *ex praeſcripto Secreti*. De pecun. vet. p. 710.

[s] Διδόναι τὰς αἰχμαλώτες ἀνὰ νομίσμαλ@, καὶ πάλιν δύο τῦ νομίσμαλ@, καὶ πάλιν ἀνὰ κεράτια δ'. Cedrenus ad ann. XVIII Mauritii, p. 315. ed. Venet. The tranſlators of the Byzantine hiſtorians render νομίσματα ſometimes *monetam*, and ſometimes *nummos*, which ſhould be uniformly *ſolidos*. Thus this hiſtorian ſays of Heraclius, ἐχάραξε νομίσματα καὶ μιλιαρίσια, *cudit ſolidos et miliariſia*. Horace uſes it in this ſenſe, 2 Ep. I. 34.

"Rettulit acceptos, regale nomiſma, Philippos."

When νόμισμα is applyed to ſilver, ἀργυρῦν is added.

THE

THE ſame author in accounting for the origin of this coin obſerves its antiquity.

" Idem [Numa] [*t*] officium quoddam conſtituit, quod " quidam ipſius famulorum gerens, ab unoquovis eorum, " qui a palatio ſtipendium ſumebant, accipiebat folles " XII, ſeu unum ceratium; ideoque ceratium dicebatur."

THOUGH his accounts, as an antiquary, are truly ridiculous; that the Oboli or Folles were called Nummi, becauſe they were firſt coined by Numa; and that the Half-denarius was called Ceratium, becauſe they were originally a capitation tax, which he had impoſed upon his courtiers; yet he certainly ſpeaks of the Ceratium as a coin; and a coin which had been current at Rome in the remoter ages; as it truly had under it's firſt name, the Quinarius. Their other hiſtorians mention it in the ſame manner. Theophanes ſays, that Leo Iſaurus in order to repair the walls of Conſtantinople, which had been thrown down by an earthquake, made a law, that every one of the inhabitants ſhould pay two Ceratia, or a Milliarenſis, over and above every Solidus which was due to the Exchequer.

" Inde [*u*] mos invaluit, ut duo ceratia procuratoribus " regiis conferantur."

[*t*] Οὗτος καὶ ὀφφίκιον ἐτύπωσεν, ὅπερ εἷς τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ ἔχων, ἐλάμβανεν ἐξ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῷ παλατίῳ ῥογευομένων φόλεις ιβ', ἤτοι κεράτιον ἕν· διὸ καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Κερατιάν. Id. ad ann. XXIV Leonis Iſauri, p. 361. ibid. The Romans uſed the ſeeds of ſeveral plants for their ſmalleſt nummulary weights; and from thence the loweſt of our money weights are called *grains*. The κεράτια or Siliquae were one ſort of theſe ſeeds; and hence the word *carats* is ſtill uſed to expreſs the degrees of fineneſs in gold.

[*u*] Ἐντεῦθεν ἓν ἐπικράτησεν ἡ συνήθεια δίδειν τὰ δύο κεράτια τοῖς διοικηταῖς. Theophan. ad ann. XXIV. Leon. Iſauri, p. 275.

ONE

ONE of the ſcholiaſts upon the Baſilica is ſtill more particular in the account:

"Sciendum [*w*] eſt, quod unum ceratium valet XII "folles, vel dimidium miliareſii: duodecim enim cera- "tia ſunt dimidium ſolidi."

AND thus Moſchus, in his diſcourſe De prato ſpirituali:

"Unum [*x*] tibi conſtituam ceratium . . . quando "igitur viginti quatuor ſupplevit ceratia, quae unum "ſolidum faciunt."

IT is needleſs to multiply citations: all theſe writers ſpeak of the Ceratium, as one of their common ſilver coins, and tell us the value of it in braſs. The proportion aſſigned by the Gloſs determines what the value of this new Milliarenſis was in ſilver: it was one eighth leſs than the former, and the government availed themſelves of this diminution by paying the ſoldiers with it: and hence that idle conjecture about the origin of the name.

IF Gronovius's opinion is right, theſe ἀργύρια λεπτὰ, inſtead of being leſs, were much heavier than any of the old Denarii, even in the conſular times: but as the caſh of that empire was perpetually decreaſing and growing ſcarcer from Caracalla downwards; as this appears by hiſtory, by facts, by all the evidence of the coins now re-

[*w*] Χρῆ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ ἓν κεράτιον φόλλεις εἰσὶ ιϐ', ἤτοι μιλιαρησίε τὸ ἥμισυ· τὰ ἓν ιϐ' κεράτια εἰσὶ τῦ νομίσματος ἥμισυ. Gloſſae baſilic. Eclog. 3.

[*x*] Τάξω σοὶ ἓν κεράτιον . . . . ὅταν ἓν ἐπλήρωσεν τὰ κδ' κεράτια, ὅ ἐϛι νόμισμα ἕν. Prat. Spiritual.

maining

maining, his ſentiments about increaſing the weight of the Milliarenſis cannot poſſibly be right.

Gronovius fell into theſe miſtakes by throwing the accounts of different reigns indiſcriminately together, and by that means mixing very wide extremes. He ſays in one place,

"Nomina [y] pecuniae a Conſtantino introductae "fuerunt et ante Conſtantinum. Solidus idem, qui "priſcis Aureus: Milliarenſis, qui et Minutus et Argen- "teus, pro Denario: Follis, qui Seſtertius, ſed ex aere, "dicti. Sic ſolidus erat viginti quinque minutorum "ſive milliarenſium; ut viginti quinque denariorum "aureus."

AND in another place. "Nam ad ſimilitudinem au- "rei ſolidi, qui ſub Conſtantini Magni ſucceſſoribus fuit, "et duodecim milliarenſibus vertebatur, percuſſerunt "Franci et hae nationes argenteum, quem duodecim "aeſtimabant denariis ſive ſterlingis."

NOT to make any obſervations upon theſe paragraphs, but what relate immediately to the point before us, might we not preſume that one or both theſe proportions of exchange between the Solidus and the Milliarenſis were obſerved under Conſtantine, or ſome of his more immediate ſucceſſors; that the Solidus paſſed for 25 Denarii, and then again for 12, ſome time in the fourth or fifth centuries; and wiſh only, that we knew a little more particularly when they began, or when

[y] De pecunia vet. p. 359. 153, &c.

they

they were altered, or whether both of them are right. This is at beſt but a looſe way of treating this ſubject; but, what is ſtill worſe, in that period, to which they ſeem to be aſſigned, neither of them are right. There was no ſuch exchange between the Solidus and Milliarenſis from the time that the ſeat of empire was fixed at Byzantium, to the utter deſtruction of it in the weſt. It was not the exchange under Conſtantine, when, as the Gloſs aſſures us, 14 Milliarenſes made a Solidus; nor under any of his ſucceſſors till after the end of the ſixth century at leaſt, in which period, as the laws inform us, the value of a Solidus was 20 Milliarenſes. The reaſon of the thing, as well as the authority of the evidence, is very ſtrong againſt both theſe aſſertions. For if 12 Milliarenſes were equal to a Solidus, the Milliarenſis had then been very conſiderably more than the thouſandth part of the gold pound; if 25, then the Milliarenſis would have been much below that proportion; there is no accounting for the name Milliarenſis upon theſe principles. I know indeed, that Gronovius has carried the origin of this name much higher, and deduces it from a period, in which it had certainly no exiſtence. He ſays the Denarius was firſt called Milliarenſis [z], when a pound of gold was cut into 40 Aurei, each of them 25 Denarii in value, and by conſequence a thouſand Dena-

[z] "Libra auri, decem libris argenti reſpondens, quod ad denarios attinet, "erat milliaria; nam argenti libra centum denarii .... E libra autem auri "feriebantur aurei quadraginta, ſinguli viginti quinque denarium." De pecunia vet. p. 367. Theſe facts were true, but did not take place at the ſame time.

rii to the pound of gold. It is certain that 25 times 40 is exactly a thouſand: but muſt we therefore conclude, that the origin of the name Milliarenſis muſt be carried up as high as the republic, when all the revenue of that empire was accounted for in ſilver only! For the misfortune is, there is no ſtopping ſhort of that period; there was no time from the firſt emperors downwards (if we may give any credit to Pliny or the coins themſelves now remaining) when this proportion was obſerved: nor do we know that it was obſerved at all. All the accounts we have, during the republic, make the uſual exchange between gold and ſilver as about 10 to one, or that 20, not 25, Denarii were then equal to an Aureus. The proportion of 20 to 40 is much too low to make the Denarius the thouſandth part of the gold pound; for 20 times 40 is only 800. If we come to the Imperial times, and take the mean proportion from the accounts Pliny has given us, reckoning the Aureus at $43\frac{1}{4}$ only to the pound, the exceſs will be too great the other way; and, at 45 in the pound, ſtill greater. In ſhort, there is no accounting for the name Milliarenſis but from the exchange in Conſtantine's reign of 14 Milliarenſes to a Solidus; nor was that appellation for a Roman coin ever known before.

ANOTHER occaſion of theſe errors was, that Gronovius did not allow the Ceratium to be a coin. But this is utterly incredible: no one can imagine that all theſe hiſtorians, lawyers, &c. in aſcertaining the value of a few braſs half-pence, or Folles, ſhould tell you that they were

ſo many Siliquae or κεράτια in gold. This had been a ſtrange method of information: to make it any information at all, the proportion between the value of gold and braſs muſt be adjuſted, which perhaps was very ſeldom regarded. How few are there that can now tell, when our coins are ſo exactly minted, what the value of a few pence is in gold, or who ever ſpeaks of them under that exchange? It is moſt probable, that theſe writers behaved juſt as we do at preſent; that they did not tell us the value of their braſs-money in gold, or ſend us to a table of fractions to ſettle ſuch an account. The κεράτιον therefore muſt be, as Scaliger, Antonius Auguſtinus, Hotoman, Dufreſne, Pitiſcus, all agree it was, a ſilver coin. Gronovius, who could ſcarce ever reſiſt the pleaſure he had in the very appearance of correcting Scaliger or Salmaſius, thought he had ſufficiently confuted Scaliger's account of the Ceratium by ſaying,

"Male [*a*] inter ſpecies argenteas ponit κεράτιον, ſive "ſiliquam; nam nec ſpecies [nummi] erat, nec argentea, "ſed ſummula aereorum; duodecim [*b*] folles, dimidium "milliarenſis, Siliqua et Auri ſiliqua dicebatur."

By this account it was neither ſilver, gold, nor braſs, but one of the ſmaller gold weights, which implyed a particular value in each of theſe coins: but it could never be a meer ideal denomination of money in every ſpecies. The truth is, that Scaliger was right in both theſe aſſertions; *et ſpecies erat nummi, et argentea*, juſt half

[*a*] De pecunia vet. p. 433.
[*b*] De pecunia vet. p. 389. 423.

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the Milliarenſis, as he ſtates it. It is very plain from all theſe accounts, that the Milliarenſis was nothing more than the common old Denarius, and the Denarius only; but altering in value, as the proportion between gold and ſilver altered, and the neceſſity of the times required. The different ſentiments of Scaliger, Petavius, Gronovius, &c. &c. have occaſioned many difficulties in this ſubject, which were owing to one or other of theſe cauſes: either not attending to the exchange between gold and ſilver, as it ſtood at different times; or not obſerving that particular proportion, which occaſioned the name Milliarenſis; or imagining that ſome of thoſe coins were real Milliarenſes, which were ſtruck occaſionally to diſperſe among the populace by the emperors, or chief magiſtrates, on their ſtate-days.

THE plain and ſhort view of the whole matter is no more than this: about the middle of the third century, the popular humour went ſo far among the Romans as to turn the names of all their braſs coins into ſilver: and in the beginning of the next, they advanced the names of all their ſilver coins into gold. The accounts of the Byzantine revenue were kept in Solidi, or gold only, and this faſhionable way of reckoning was ſpred through all their common ſilver money, i. e. it received ſuch appellations as related to that metal. Thus the old Denarius or Argenteus was now firſt called the Milliarenſis, becauſe it was the thouſandth part of the gold pound: as the whim took, and they ſeemed much pleaſed with this ludicrous innovation, it was not difficult

to find ſome proportion or other in the gold weights, that would ſuit the Half-milliarenſis likewiſe. They then called the ſixth part of a ſcruple of gold by two different names, the Siliqua and κεράτιον, from the two different languages [c] then in uſe. This proportion came neareſt to the value of the Half-denarius, there

[c] *Ceratium*, I believe, was not uſed in Latin, but only *Siliqua*. This was at leaſt the common language of their laws. Theodoſius and Valentinian, in order to raiſe ſupplies for the current ſervice, obliged their ſubjects to pay a Siliqua to the government, upon every Solidus that was laid out in any purchaſe whatſoever. "Ut in omni venditione per ſolidum dimidia ſiliqua "ab emptore, dimidia a venditore, per omnem contractum aequaliter confe-"ratur." The Siliqua was then the fortieth part of the Solidus. In order to levy this tax, it was neceſſary to appoint public markets in every province, and confine almoſt the whole inland trade to thoſe places. The edict enjoins this. "Nulli igitur mercatori, niſi ad deſignata loca temporibus "praeſtitutis ad negotiationis ſuae ſpecies diſtrahendas paſſim licebit acce-"dere." Leg. Novell. in tom. vi. Cod. Theodoſ. p. 29. The ſame method of raiſing the crown revenue was practiſed even in this country by the Saxons. Thus at Lewes in Suſſex, among the cuſtoms of that borough mentioned in Domes-day book, we find this was one. "Qui in burgo vendit, "dat praepoſito numerum, [l. nummum], et qui emit, alium. De bove obolum; "de homine IV denarios." Gale's XV ſcriptor. p. 762. The ſum paid to the Praepoſitus or Port-reeve was adjuſted according to the value of the thing. The whole buſineſs of traffic, except in ſome ſmaller articles, was, as the Roman laws had directed, confined by the Saxons to their market towns. It was by them enacted, Þ man naeanne ceap ne ceapige butan porte, open xx peninga, *quod nemo mercatum aliquem mercetur extra portam oppidi ſupra* xx *denarios*. Legg. Sax. p. 58. § 12. et vid. p. 48. § 1. The prohibition was general; the Portreeve or ſome credible perſon was to be witneſs to the bargain. The Saxons found it neceſſary to continue this practice, not only upon the account of the revenue; but to prevent the vending any ſtolen goods. The cities and market towns ſoon found the great advantage of this reſtriction; and hence the origin of granting and procuring charters for fairs and markets. From the Saxon ceapan, *to buy*, came, as Mr. Somner has obſerved, the Engliſh word *ſhop*; and, keeping cloſer to the old pronunciation, the ſtreets in London, *Cheapſide* and *Eaſt-cheap*.

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was not above half a grain difference. It was near enough to anſwer the ſame purpoſe. They adopted both the words: half the Denarius or Milliarenſis paſſed for the future under theſe appellations; and at laſt this ſame three penny half-penny piece, which had acquired two names from the weights, or eſtimates of the gold pound, was honoured with a third, and called δίχρυσος [d]: becauſe this coin was, as it were, double gilt before, being a κεράτιον and a Siliqua likewiſe.

SUCH was the ſtate of the Byzantine money from Conſtantine downwards, and there appears nothing very difficult or obſcure in the whole account. The Milliarenſis kept its name, as the Denarius did at firſt, when

[d] Δίχρυσον δὲ ἐκάλεν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῦ ἀργυρῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀργυρῦν τῦτό ἐςιν ὃ Ρωμαῖοι μιλιαρήσιον καλῦσι. *Bis aureum antiqui vocabant argentei dimidium; argentea vero ſunt quae miliareſia vocant Romani.* Epiph. De ponder. et menſuris, vol. ii. p. 183. The remarks, which Gronovius has made upon this paſſage, ſhew what great difficulties he was under to get quit of this little coin, the Half-milliarenſis. "Verum eſt, ſays he, quod utroque membro hujus "orationis pronuntiatur: nempe et δίχρυσον eſſe τὸ ἥμισυ τῦ ἀργυρῦ, et τὸ ἀργυρῦν "eſſe milliarenſem: ſed non de eodem ἀργυρῷ accipiendum eſt: nam priore "loco ἀργυρῦς eſt mina, poſteriore loco τὸ ἀργυρῦν νόμισμα appellatur, ut milliarenſem vocat et Zonaras." De pecun. vet. p. 435. Is it poſſible to underſtand Epiphanius in this ſenſe? What lengths do we not go, even in matters of no moment, to ſerve an hypotheſis? Muſt not the τὸ ἀργυρῦν τῦτο be the very ſame thing, whatever it was, as the ἥμισυ τῦ ἀργυρῦ, when not a word intervened? To underſtand this Argenteus in one place, of a pound; in the other, of a ſixpence; is doing the greateſt violence imaginable to a plain paſſage, and impoſing ſuch a ſenſe, as the author never dreamt of. The word δίχρυσος was uſed by the ancient Greeks for their Stater or Double-aureus.

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the proportion that gave occaſion to it was quite altered; and when the very origin of the name, as appears by theſe gloſſes, was intirely forgotten. Gronovius, by refining too much, has run into many difficulties: he removed all the old Denarii to make way for theſe new coins, and yet was obliged to recall them again, and ſay, *Solus* [*e*] *in uſu manſit denarius*. A very bold poſition, which nothing could have induced him to make, but not taking the Ceratia for real money, and not ſuffering them to paſs in his accounts. But if the hiſtorians and gloſſographers had ſaid nothing of theſe coins, there could be no queſtion, but the Half-milliarenſes, like the Half-denarii before, were always part of their current ſilver money. The coins now remaining ſpeak for themſelves, and, I believe, every cabinet of Byzantine money might have convinced Gronovius, that this aſſertion had nothing to ſupport it.

I HAVE been longer upon this point; becauſe, in all that Gronovius has ſaid upon the Roman money, he is no where elſe ſo much embarraſſed or miſtaken, at leaſt as far as I am able to judge. For many parts of the chapter upon this ſubject are ſo obſcure, and overflow with ſuch an inundation of good old Roman arithmetic upon wrong principles, that it is not always eaſy to arrive at the point in view, or even to keep ſight of it.

THE firſt Saxon ſhilling ſet out upon an eſtimate twice the value of theſe real Milliarenſes, and conſiderably heavier than either of thoſe imaginary ones, which he

[*e*] De pecun. vet. p. 360.

has

has mentioned. It was a coin well known among the Greeks and Romans, and then uſually called by its Greek name, the Didrachm. The Saxons had it from this original; and made uſe of it likewiſe for ſuch purpoſes, as were taken from the Roman cuſtoms. The Romans had a *Notitia*, and a *Rationarium imperii*: The *Notitia* gave an account of all the civil and military officers upon the eſtabliſhment; what their buſineſs was; what number and kind of troops were in pay; where ſtationed, and under whoſe command. A copy of this *Notitia*, as it ſtood in the reign of the younger Theodoſius, is come down to us, and is a very valuable remain. The *Rationarium* contained an account of their whole revenue; what every province paid, and in what manner it was collected: it included all the expences of the current ſervice; what were the neceſſary ſupplies, and what was remaining in the Exchequer, when all theſe demands were anſwer'd. What a variety of curious obſervations would this work have furniſhed, had it been preſerved! This whole plan was owing to Auguſtus [*f*]. He brought that vaſt

[*f*] Auguſtus, though he had very able aſſiſtants in the cabinet, was a greater maſter of his own affairs, than any of his miniſters. The plan of every thing, which related to the revenues and government of that vaſt empire, the accounts of the taxes raiſed, of the troops ſtationed in every province, were all written with his own hand. His ſurpriſing diligence and attention to the public buſineſs appears by the volumes he left behind him. This is one of thoſe facts, which is related differently by different hiſtorians, without the leaſt impeachment either of their judgment or veracity. Suetonius's account is, that he left, as a ſacred depoſitum in the hands of the Veſtal virgins, one copy of his will, "TRIBUS ſignatis æque voluminibus: uno, "mandata de funere ſuo complexus eſt: ALTERO, indicem rerum a ſe geſta-"rum: ..... TERTIO, breviarium totius imperii: .....et adjecit libertorum

empire

empire under a very regular and judicious eſtabliſhment; and ſpent great ſums of his own upon the public ſervice.

" ſervorumque nomina." In Auguſt. c. 101. Dion makes them four volumes, beſides his will; he divides this laſt volume into two. Ἐσεκομίδη δὴ καὶ βιβλία ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ. vol. ii. lib. lvi. c. 33. Tacitus, Paterculus, and Zonaras mention only one. Tacitus entered into this affair not a ſingle ſtep further, than what concerned the public: Paterculus no further than what concerned himſelf. Tacitus ſays nothing of the two firſt volumes; he had no inclination to do any honour to the memory of Auguſtus: Paterculus, making court to Tiberius to ſerve himſelf, ſpeaks only of the laſt. Tacitus gives a very particular deſcription of the volume he mentions: " Opes " publicae continebantur:" this was the ſubject in general. Then he adds the following particulars. " 1°. Quantum civium ſociorumque in armis. " 2°. Quot claſſes, regna, provinciae. 3°. Tributa et vectigalia. 4°. Ne- " ceſſitates et largitiones:" and then ſays, " adjeceratque conſilium coercendi " intra terminos imperii." Annal. lib. i. c. 11. This volume is mentioned in equivalent terms by Dion, λογισμὸς τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων .... βιβλίον τῶν δωσόμενων .... τῶνδε ἀναλωμάτων τῶν δημοσίων. By Suetonius, " Breviarium, rationes, " rationarium imperii." That part of this work, which is come down to us, is now called NOTITIA *imperii Romani*. Tacitus, I believe, uſes *Notitia* in the ſame ſenſe. " Britannia inſularum, quas Romana NOTITIA complecti- " tur, maxima." Vit. Agricol. c. 10. And thus, as Pancirolus has obſerved, *Notitia* is uſed in the code, for a particular of the ſum, which each province was to pay, for a catalogue of the great officers, and troops under their command, &c. " quorum nomina in ſubjecta *notitia* continentur .... ſecundum " quod *notitia* ſubjecta declarat." This whole work ſhews what attention this great monarch gave to the buſineſs of government, and the intereſts of the ſtate. A late celebrated writer has made ſuch reflexions upon this prince's conduct, as place it in a very different light. But that penetrating diſcernment, which is in general ſo juſtly admired in Monteſquieu, was here loſt in contemplating a more ſtriking object. - Auguſtus's whole conduct certainly proves, that he was formed for that very work, which was given him to do. Though he had not that variety of ſhining abilities which his great uncle Julius had; yet in all his views, which were moſt of them points of the higheſt importance, and many of them of the utmoſt difficulty, he very happily ſucceeded. The greateſt genius could have done no more. To call this *a little low policy*, is degrading both the means and the end. We may ſafely truſt the ancients upon this ſubject. The Romans were never ſo

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His meaſures were extremely popular: a very neceſſary expedient when ſo great a revolution was not firmly eſtabliſhed. His firſt ſtep was to correct, as much as poſſible, the avarice and rapacity of the provincial governors. Every province was to pay a certain ſum, and the governors of thoſe provinces had no power to raiſe any further ſupplies [g], without an expreſs order from the ſenate, or himſelf. The Solidus or Roman Aureus was ſometime afterwards made the common eſtimate,

happy, as under his government. Dion ſays of him; what can be ſaid of few princes in all ages of the world, that, during his reign, the Romans had all the advantages of a monarchy without ſlavery, and of a republic without ſedition. Dion. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 43.

[g] Dion. Caſſ. vol. i. lib. liii. p. 708. This was a reſolution worthy of a great prince: it was removing one of the moſt preſſing grievances in the former conſtitution. Cicero has left us an everlaſting monument of this profligate corruption in his accuſation of Verres. The provinces were averſe to the republican government, becauſe they were treated with ſo much rapine and oppreſſion as raiſed univerſal clamours. Tacitus, who was a thorough republican, and, upon that account, not very favourable to Auguſtus's character, allows this. Speaking of the public ſentiments upon that change of government, he adds, "neque provinciae illum rerum ſtatum abnuebant, ſuſpecto ſenatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et AVARITIAM MAGISTRATUUM; invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, poſtremo pecunia turbabantur." Ann. I. c. 2. Such indeed was the invariable tendency of that republic, after the reduction of Greece. Mithridates founded all his hopes of ſucceſs againſt the Romans upon this ſingle principle, that all Aſia was weary of their oppreſſions; "tantum ſe avida exſpectat Aſia, ut etiam vocibus vocet; adeo illis odium Romanorum incuſſit RAPACITAS PROCONSULUM, ſectio publicanorum, calumniae litium." Juſtin. lib. xxxviii. c. 7. Nor did the change of the government make any great alteration in the condition of the provinces, except under a few princes of diſtinguiſhed virtues. Procopius makes the ſame ſevere reflexion upon a governor's character. "Id unum ſtudens, ut ex attributis ſibi provinciis quaeſtum quam maximum faceret. Hac ille avaritia res Romanas afflixit." Hiſt. Gothor.

by which moſt of theſe payments were adjuſted: the collectors rolls were drawn up in this form: ſuch a province pays ſo many Solidi; and then the particular ſum allotted to each province or diſtrict in their ſtated proportion. This is one of thoſe facts, which may paſs current without any danger of being controverted; Salmaſius [*b*] and Gronovius both agree in it. The old rationale of the Byzantine Exchequer proves that this was their method of aſſeſſing. The uſe of that table was to ſhew how many ways there were of paying a Solidus in other money; and what *incrementum* was to be taken on every ſum, from one Solidus to a hundred. It was nothing more than a computation table for the clerks of the Exchequer. When this method began of ſtating all the public accounts by Solidi, is not certain. If we could depend upon the authority of that table, it began under Auguſtus, καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν παράδοσιν Αὐγούστου [*i*] Καίσαρος. But the tradition here mentioned muſt relate only to the method of eſtabliſhing the revenue, not the ſums paid, or the manner of collecting them. Theſe were different in different ages. Computing the revenue by Solidi was begun moſt probably before the elder Pliny's time; for he wonders why the

[*b*] "Sciendum eſt in tributis et capitationibus indicendis, non argenti, "non aeris factam eſſe mentionem, ſed aureorum, et auri pretium .... ſic enim "notatum erat in libellis et brevibus exactorum, poſſeſſorem illum debere ſo-"lidi partem, ... aut ſolidos duos, tres," &c. Not. in Hiſt. Auguſt. ſcriptor. vol. i. p. 962. et Gronov. de pecun. vet. p. 346. 379. This was the rule in the Byzantine empire; but when it began, and how far it extended in the Weſtern empire, is uncertain.

[*i*] De pecunia vet. p. 712.

Romans,

Romans, during the republic, rated all their tributes in ſilver, and not in gold. The reduction of Egypt and all the Eaſt brought great quantities of gold into the Roman treaſury. The account, which Suetonius [*k*] gives us, of Caligula's rolling over the floors of whole rooms covered with Aurei, ſhews what immenſe ſums were then paid in gold. When the Denarius was ſunk from ſeven to eight in the ounce, the public could not avail themſelves, as they had before, by eſtimating their revenues in ſilver; the benefit of that *incrementum* was quite loſt. But whenever this practice of reckoning by Solidi began, it certainly continued through all the revolutions of that empire to its final period.

NOR did it end there. The Goths [*l*] and Franks, when they had made themſelves maſters of the Roman provinces, followed the ſame plan. Their fines, tributes, and public contributions of all kinds were at firſt eſtimated in gold. The Saxons, upon their ſettlements in this country, were not able to ſet out in ſo ſplendid and opulent a manner. They introduced the ſame methods, but their payments were rated in a much lower proportion: the ſhilling, or Roman Sicilicus, being made the

[*k*] "Saepe inter immenſos aureorum acervos, patentiſſimo diffuſos loco, "et nudis pedibus ſpatiatus eſt, et toto corpore aliquamdiu volutatus." Suet. in Caligula, c. 42.

[*l*] "Quum pateat ad inſtar bigatorum, et denariorum veterum, aureos et "argenteos Gothorum nummos fuiſſe percuſſos." Spanheim De numiſmat. p. 72. ed. 4to. So Gronovius: "Franci, occupata Gallia, ad imitationem Ro-"mani ſolidi, et ipſi ſolidum aureum XL denariorum ſuorum percuſſerunt." De pecun. vet. p. 366. Vid. Freherum De re monetaria, &c. et Antonii Auguſtini dialog. VI, VII, VIII.

ſtandard of their computations. Gronovius [*m*] indeed has ſaid, that the Romans never had any ſuch coin, as a Sicilicus or a piece of two Denarii.

" Sicilicus apud Romanos ponderis numero aut divi-
" ſoris, nunquam nummi, fuit."

THOUGH he was perſuaded at the ſame time that Nummus is always uſed in Plautus for the Sicilicus or Didrachmus only; and perhaps with equal reaſon in both caſes. Without being attached to prejudices, no one would be inclined to think, that the Romans, who in almoſt all their money affairs copied the Greeks, ſhould never follow them in coining Didrachmi, which were ſo common in Greece: or that, amidſt the great variety of occaſional coins ſtruck for the Miſſilia of the magiſtrates, none of them ſhould ever fall upon this ancient and obvious proportion. The Greeks had almoſt as many ſorts of coins, as they had nummulary weights, at leaſt from the Obolus to the ounce. Thus the Obolus, Diobolus, Tetrobolus . . . . Drachma, Didrachmus, Tetradrachmus, Pentadrachmus, as appears

[*m*] De pecun. vet. p. 334. And again, " Didrachmus, qui Graecis num-
" mus, Romanis nullus unquam fuit." Ibid. p. 369. But if the Romans underſtood Plautus, as Gronovius did, they muſt be very well acquainted with this coin. He advances this as a clear point. " Conſtat inter eruditos Num-
" mi vocabulum apud Plautum, quaſi in Graeca ſcena loquentem, ubique fere
" poni pro didrachmo." Ibid. p. 106. This appears to be a miſtake. Nummus in Plautus, when gold is mentioned, ſignifies the Half-aureus; but when ſilver, or when Nummus is *abſolute poſitus*, it ſignifies the Drachma only. See the Engliſh preface to Monteſquieu's *Reflexions on the cauſes of the riſe and fall*, &c. 3d. edit. p. vi. and more on this ſubject in the Appendix to this chapter, N°. I.

by

by the coins now remaining. And is it not a little unreaſonable to conclude, that the Romans, inſtead of following the ſame practice, had no ſilver coins at all, but the Denarius and its parts, the Quinarius and Seſtertius? Does not the very language of the writers upon ancient weights oblige us to have different ſentiments? Epiphanius, who lived in the fourth century, muſt ſpeak of the Roman practice: He ſays,

" Argenteorum [*n*] multae formae diverſis tempori-
" ribus extiterunt."

THERE were by this account at different times many ſorts of ſilver coins among them. And again.

" Siclus [*o*], qui et Quadrans appellatur, quarta pars
" eſt unciae, ſtateris dimidia duas drachmas habens; nam
" uncia octo drachmas continet."

Siclus and Sicilicus, as the Gloſſes inform us, were the ſame thing. If Epiphanius had meant that Siclus was only a weight, he would ſcarce have ſpecified the value of it in ſilver. As a coin this was neceſſary, to ſhew what it paſſed for, and what proportion it bore to other coins.

BUT there is no occaſion to have recourſe to probabilities in this queſtion. St. Matthew's goſpel [*p*] may

[*n*] Ἀργυρίων δὲ πολλοὶ τύποι καλὰ καιρὲς γεγόνασι. Epiphan. De ponder. &c. vol. ii. p. 183.

[*o*] Σίκλος, ὃ λέγεται καὶ κοδράντης, τέταρτον μέρός ἐστι τῆς ἀγκύας, ἥμισυ δὲ τοῦ σταθῆρος, δύο δράχμας ἔχον. Id. ibid.

[*p*] Chap. xvii. 24. That the Jews were then tributary to the Romans appears, by that inſidious queſtion of the Phariſees, *whether it was lawful to give tribute to Caeſar*, and that falſe accuſation of the people, that J.

be

be allowed to give us ſufficient information of this fact. The collectors of the Roman tribute muſt underſtand the language of their office very well, and know that the Imperial revenues were uſually paid in their own money. When they came to Peter to aſk him, whether his maſter paid tribute, the queſtion was ſo particular, as to mention the very coins. Ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν ὐ τελεῖ τὰ δίδραχμα; *Does not your maſter pay the Didrachm?* They had never expreſſed themſelves in this manner, if the Didrachm had not been a common coin among them. But their laws [q] and hiſtorians (as was obſerved above) are certain evidence, that they had a great variety of the larger ſilver coins from the Didrachm to the Decargyrus, or piece of Ten-denarii, about one fifth heavier than our Crown piece. We ſometimes meet with them under different appellations. Thus the Alexandrine chronicle [r] calls the Didrachm, ἄργυρον ἑξάγραμμον, or coin of ſix ſcruples, which is the ſame thing. For there were 24 ſcruples in the ounce, and conſequently ſix in the Didrachm, or quarter of an ounce.

Chriſt forbad the paying of it. This diſcourſe with Peter was manifeſtly occaſioned by the demand of this tribute. Every other interpretation is extremely forced and unnatural. vid. Mr. Selden, De jure naturali et gentium. lib. vi. c. 18. I do not wonder that the expoſitors of the church of Rome run into different ſentiments; that this Didrachm was the Half-ſhekel then paid for the ſervice of the temple. Such an example as this was a deciſive anſwer to that favourite claim of theirs, the independency of the church.

[q] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. xxiii. p. 187.

[r] Chron. Alexandrinum ad ann. III Heraclii.

Gramma, as Priſcian ſays, was only another word for Scriptulum.

"Γράμμα [s] vocant, Scrip'lum noſtri dixere priores."

As money grew ſcarcer, and the circulation of all the larger ſilver coins was prohibited, moſt of them were taken into the mint, and melted down into the ſmaller ſpecies. But ſeveral of the Roman Tetradrachms [t] are now remaining; and, I do not queſtion, but, if the great collections of Roman coins were well examined, many of the Sicilici or Didrachms would be found among them. Montfaucon [u], whoſe views were only to produce ſpecimens of the antiquities, he was explaining, has exhibited two of theſe coins; one of them probably a conſular coin, having a *Janus imberbis*, crowned with laurel, and without a legend, on one ſide; on the reverſe, ROMA. The other was a coin of Nero's; on the reverſe the *lituus* and *ſimpulum*, with the legend. ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ. Theſe, though under a Greek name, were the Roman Sicilici.

"Drachmam [w] ſi gemines, erit is quem dicier audis
"Sicilicus."

UPON the whole, from this variety of evidence muſt we not conclude, that the Romans, inſtead of having

[s] Rhemnius Fannius, ut vulgo, ſed potius Priſcian. Graev. Antiqq. Rom. vol. xi. p. 1693.

[t] Joubert's Science des medailles, p. 277. "nonne numiſmata argentea, "quae vocant maxima, manibus noſtris quotidie teruntur?" Vaillant's Numiſmata Impp. in coloniis, par. i. p. 93.

[u] Antiquité expliquée, tom. iii. par. 1.

[w] Priſcian, ut ſupra. tom. xi. 1693.

no Sicilici, made as frequent uſe of them, as any of their larger coins [*x*].

IN diſmiſſing theſe enquiries about Roman money, I cannot but obſerve, that the fate of the Sicilicus has been ſomething odd; for its very exiſtence, not only among the Romans, but the Saxons, has been entirely given up. I think all our antiquaries have agreed, except Sir Andrew Fountaine [*y*], who ſpeaks with ſome diffidence and reſerve, that the Saxon ſhilling was only a denomination of money, and not a coin. Biſhop Fleetwood [*z*] ſays, "that as common as this word is in all books and "accounts, yet there never was (as appears) any piece "of ſilver of that denomination coined in England, till "the year 1504."

THIS, I believe, is all that can be ſaid for this opinion: No Saxon ſhillings have been found, and therefore none were ever coined.

[*x*] The cuſtom introduced by the medalliſts of diſpoſing their coins mechanically under the ſeveral claſſes of *maximi*, *medii*, and *minimi moduli*, has made this part of knowledge more imperfect. Placing them in ſuch a ſeries might do very well in braſs, where the metal was of no value; but in gold and ſilver they ſhould have been diſtinguiſhed according to their weight, as Staters, Double-aureus's, Tetraſtaters, Didrachms, Tetradrachms, &c. Vaillant, inſtead of ſaying Numiſmata maxima argentea, ſhould have told us what they were.

[*y*] Diſſertat. epiſtolaris in Theſaur. Hickeſian. vol. ii. p. 164.

[*z*] Chronicon pretioſum, p. 40. Biſhop Gibſon was in the ſame opinion. "It is certain (ſays he) that the Saxon ſhilling was meerly nominal, as our "Marks and Nobles; and that no larger pieces were ever coined than their "Pennies: and to put this matter beyond diſpute, though ſome of theſe "larger pieces were ſaid to be in Sir Andrew Fountaine's and Mr. Thoreſby's collections, they have, in their reſpective Muſeums, none larger than "the common ſort; one only excepted." Britan. 3d. edition CLXXVIII. I could wiſh that the weight of that *one* had been given us.

LET

LET us try this negative argument, and give it all the advantage, that is poſſible; not confining it to one ſpecies of money, or going back ſo far as the Saxon times. It is but very lately, that any coins of Richard I. have been diſcovered. Was all the written evidence from hiſtory, from records [*a*], of no validity, till theſe coins were found! It had been juſt as reaſonable to diſbelieve any other event, that happened under his government, of which no monuments are now remaining. Brompton's evidence is very clear and deciſive as to the fact. He informs us, that Richard I. regulated the weights and meaſures of the whole kingdom; and then adds, "unam monetam [*b*] per totam terram ad magnam po-"puli utilitatem ſtatuit, atque fecit."

IT does not appear that any of king John's Engliſh coins are preſerved; but many of thoſe coined in, or for the uſe of, Ireland. Will this induce us to believe, that he coined no Engliſh money?

WHO ever thought, till very lately, that Henry III. coined any gold at all? but now the thing is certain; one of thoſe coins is preſerved. But had not the records of that coinage been ſufficiently concluſive without the diſcovery of this ſingle coin? or, are thoſe few records of more authority, than the clear and united ſuffrage of the many old Saxon *laws*, *wills*, *grants*, *and public inſtruments* put together? The records [*c*] mention the

[*a*] Mr. North's Remarks on a ſuppoſed coin of Richard I.
[*b*] Brompton inter Decem ſcriptores, c. 1258.
[*c*] Tables of Engliſh money, p. 7.

half-pence and farthings of this prince; and is it any reaſonable objection to this evidence that none of them were ever yet ſeen?

OUR old hiſtorians [*d*] agree, that the Engliſh barons had, either by grant or uſurpation, for many years after the conqueſt, the privilege of coining their own money. Is there more than one [*e*] ſingle piece now remaining that appears to have been coined by any of them? Muſt the fact have been diſputed, and the credit of all theſe hiſtorians been intirely given up, if that *one* coin had been loſt?

IF ſuch numbers of coins therefore, ſo much later than the Saxon times, are not yet found, why ſhould we not imagine that the ſame thing might happen to the Saxon ſhillings; eſpecially if we reflect, that, if any of them had been diſcovered for near 500 [*f*] years after their coining, they had certainly been melted down, or new ſtamped. To ſtrike the coins of former princes with a new impreſſion was a common practice. Mr. Folkes [*g*] obſerves, that in ſome of the cabinets he had ſeen, there were a few pieces of Edw. I. whoſe weight was from 92 to 116 and 138 Troy grains. It is ſcarce poſſible to ſuppoſe, that the pieces ſo much above weight were cut by his moneyers for the groats of that reign: they were old

[*d*] Guliel. Neubrigenſ. hiſtoria, p. 75. ed. Hearne, et Selden in Eadmer. p. 217.

[*e*] View of the Engliſh ſilver coins, p. 1. one of Robert earl of Glouceſter's: there are likewiſe coins of one or two biſhops.

[*f*] Table of Engliſh ſilver coins, p. 42.

[*g*] Ibid. p. 8.

COINS

coins new minted: the two firſt were moſt probably Saxon ſhillings; for that ſhilling at 5 pence (ſuppoſing no diminution at all in the Tower-pound) would weigh 112½ Troy grains; and at 4 pence about 92 or 93 grains; for they would then ſtrike about 57 or 58 in the pound. Allowing ſomething of the ſame inequality in the weight of their ſhillings, that we find in their pennies, theſe are juſt ſuch coins as from the rude and careleſs execution of that age might reaſonably be expected.

OLD coins, until the beginning of the ſixteenth century, were conſidered only as treaſure-trove. The ſheriffs [*b*] of the ſeveral counties brought all that were found into the Exchequer. It was part of the king's revenue, and of their accounts. An action [*i*] lay againſt any perſon, who concealed the money that was found. We ſee this treaſure-trove frequently mentioned in the records:

"Vicecomes reddit computum pro multis particulis "inventis in terra .... pro auro invento .... pro de-"nariis &c. inventis."

IT was entered as part of the caſual revenue belonging to the crown. This cuſtom went a great way towards deſtroying the old coins. And beſides ſuch a long and gradual diminution, Mr. Folkes ſays, that very few of the old coins eſcaped being melted down for profit, during the baſe coinages in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. The larger the coins were, the greater induce-

[*b*] Madox's hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 191. 234.
[*i*] Glanvil, De legibus et conſuetud. Angliae, lib. xiv. c. 9.

ment there was to treat them as bullion, and melt them down. This was the caſe of the Roman Majorinae under the Byzantine emperors; very few of them are now remaining. But would it not be ridiculous to conclude, that they had no ſuch coins as Decargyri or pieces of Ten-denarii, though, among thoſe that are now left, very few of them weigh above four Denarii [k], the common Tetradrachm of the Greeks?

THIS ſame negative argument perſuaded us till very lately, that the Saxons had no gold coins at all: but it appears now to be little more than a meer prejudice [l]. Muſt not either our Saxon or Daniſh princes have much the faireſt claim to ſome of thoſe lately diſcovered? they are ſufficient to convince us, that, when their laws, and public inſtruments of conveyance, as wills, deeds, etc. ſpeak of gold coins, they ſpeak of ſuch, as had then a real exiſtence, and were part of the current money of the kingdom. Meer negative arguments therefore, when they are thrown into the ſcale alone, againſt many and great probabilities, are of little weight. If the very palaces of theſe princes, the towns where the money was coined, are ſome of them ſo intirely deſtroyed, that the very traces of them are not to be found, is it at all ſurpriſing, that the coins themſelves, thoſe leſſer monu-

[k] See Baudelot's Utilité des voyages, vol. ii. p. 238. ed. Rouen, 1727.

[l] Mr. Pegge's Diſſertations on ſome Anglo-Saxon remains, N°. III. V. Theſe gold coins, whatever prince they belong to, can be only Saxon. Mr. North's objections are too general. If he allows that the Saxons had ſo large a gold coin, as a Mark, what reaſon can there be to aſſert that they had none of a ſmaller ſize? But of this more in the following chapter.

ments

ments of their power, ſhould many of them undergo the ſame fate, and be loſt paſt all recovery.

BUT perhaps it will be ſaid, that, admitting this concluſion, we are but juſt where we were, in a ſtate of great uncertainty, unleſs the arguments on the other ſide have weight enough to determine our aſſent. As this queſtion may give ſome light into the ancient ſtate of the caſh in this kingdom, I ſhall produce the evidence as it now ſtands, and give it a fair hearing

To place it in a juſt light, we muſt begin with a perſon of the higheſt rank and authority in that age: If teſtimonies have any weight, this ſeems to come up to the very point in queſtion. Archbiſhop Aelfric [*m*] ſays expreſsly, that the Saxons had *three names for their money*, viz. *Mancuſes*, *Shillings*, and *Pennies*. He ſpeaks of them all alike; there is no ſort of appearance that the two firſt were nothing but money of account, and the laſt only a coin. The paragraph will not admit of this interpetration, without uſing much violence. The ſhilling was, by this repreſentation, as much a coin, as a penny; and when all circumſtances are conſidered, the language and cuſtoms of that age obſerved, they will remove any prejudices taken up againſt this account, and ſufficiently illuſtrate the author's meaning. For it is certain, that the Goths and Germans, &c. who ſubdued the Weſtern empire, when they made laws for the civil eſtabliſhment of their ſeveral kingdoms, rated

[*m*] Vid. Aelfrici Gram. Saxon. p. 52. at the end of Somner's Saxon dictionary.

and

and adjuſted all their fines and payments whatſoever by ſuch coins, as they found actually current in thoſe provinces. The Viſigoths [*n*] in Spain, and the Burgundians [*o*] in Gaul took the ſame method. There is now indeed this accidental difference in the evidence, that many of the Gothic Spaniſh coins are ſtill remaining; of the Burgundian none at all, that I have heard of. But will any one from thence conclude, that in one inſtance they were denominations of money only, in the other real coins? The laws of both theſe people ſpeak the ſame language, ſpeak of ſuch money, as was then in all appearance current among them. This was the practice in another part of Gaul. We learn from Meſſrs. Bouteroue and Le Blanc [*p*], that, during the reigns of their firſt princes, all the ſeveral ſorts of Solidi, the ſame in weight and fineneſs as thoſe of the Byzantine empire, were uſed in France, and that many of them are now preſerved.

THE language of their firſt laws, i. e. the Salic [*q*], agrees exactly with this account of their coins. The fines are there adjuſted by the Solidus and Tremiſſis, which appear, by thoſe now remaining, not to be denominations of money only, but real coins.

Is not this a ſtrong preſumption, that the laws and public inſtruments of our Saxon anceſtors muſt be underſtood

[*n*] Leges Wiſigoth. lib. II. i. 25. lib. IV. iv. 3. lib. VII. ii. 22. et iv. 4. ſee alſo Antonii Auguſtini dialogi.

[*o*] Praefat. ad leges Burgund. et tit. ii. 2. iv. 3. vi. 1.

[*p*] Traité Hiſtorique, &c. p. 11. 17. 22. 32.

[*q*] Leges Salicae, tit. ii. 5. iv. 3. v. 1.

derſtood in the ſame manner? muſt we not conclude, that the payments and fines there mentioned, ſo much leſs than thoſe of their neighbours upon the continent, were rated in their current coins? If they had taken denominations of money for this purpoſe, why had not the Solidus and its parts, the common eſtimate in all the other countries, which had been Roman provinces, been made the rule and ſtandard in this? but they were not. The Saxons complyed with the ſame plan, as far as their circumſtances would permit. There was not ſo much gold in this country as to begin with it in their mints, or give it a proper currency as their own money for ſome ages. The Romans had very remarkably impoveriſhed theſe provinces before they left them, draining them both of men and money. The Saxons therefore found nothing here to warrant or encourage ſuch a practice. They ſtruck nothing of more value in their mints, than a ſilver coin a little above the weight of our preſent ſhilling. Such a piece of money required no great affluence to circulate, or ſkill to coin; and was therefore very properly made the baſis of their accounts. There was at firſt no ſuch thing, as denominations of money, ariſing from coins not in uſe among them. Their pound was a real pound, and ſo was their ſhilling. Meer denominations of money always ſucceed realities: They ariſe either from diſtreſs or diſuſe; when the coins, that gave occaſion to thoſe valuations, are either for want of bullion not ſtruck, or by alteration of taſte or the exigencies of ſtate reduced into other more

conve-

convenient forms. The Angels and Nobles, ſtill remaining among us, are a ſufficient evidence of this truth.

ANOTHER reaſon for believing that the Saxons certainly coined ſhillings is the different value of their ſhilling at different times. This alone will go a great way towards deciding the queſtion. For had the Saxon ſhilling been only a nominal valuation of money, it had continued the ſame invariably, through all the periods and revolutions of their government, juſt as the *angel* and *noble* do among us. Whatever alterations may happen to the pound ſterling, as long as thoſe terms Angel and Noble are uſed, they will always bear the ſame proportion to it without any variation. It was ſo for ſome ages with the Solidus or Norman ſhilling. For when it was diſcontinued as a coin, when the Florens, Nobles &c. ſucceeded in the room of this ſhilling; yet its valuation continued; it was always 12 pence, the twentieth part of the pound ſterling; though the pound itſelf was ſo much altered, that almoſt two thirds of it were diminiſhed. If the Saxon ſhilling had been only a method of computing money, it had always kept the ſame proportion: but as it did not; as there is clear evidence, that it ſunk from five to four pence, or in tale from the fiftieth to the ſixtieth part of the Saxon pound, it was undoubtedly a coin.

THE Saxon Goſpels are admitted as ſufficient vouchers to prove, that there were ſuch coins as half-pence and farthings among the Saxons. Is not what now remains of their Old and New Teſtament much more concluſive,

as

as to ſhillings? All thoſe places in the Goſpel, which we tranſlate, inaccurately enough, *pieces of ſilver*, are in their verſion very properly rendered *ſhillings*. The tranſlators would ſcarce have done this, if there had been no ſuch coin as a ſhilling then in uſe. Thus the τριάκονλα ἀργύρια, *the thirty pieces of ſilver*, for which our Saviour was betrayed, are in the Saxon Goſpels *thirty ſhillings*. þa [r] behetон hiꝫ him þþittiꝫ ꝛcýllinꝫa. Iſaac Caſaubon, who employed all his great learning to as many uſeful purpoſes as any perſon of his age, has obſerved, that the price, which Judas had for betraying his maſter, was the price of a ſervant in the Jewiſh law, i. e. *thirty ſhekels of ſilver*; which, as the LXX tranſlate it, was τριάκονλα [s] ἀργυρίȣ δίδραχμα; or as the Saxons, þþittiꝫ ꝛcýllinꝫa ꝛeolꝼþeꝛ, *thirty ſilver ſhillings*. That proverbial expreſſion of theirs, "ne ꝛceatt, ne ꝛcylling," ſignifying *neither ſmall, nor great*; *neither little, nor much*; was formed, in all appearance, from the difference of their greateſt and ſmalleſt coins, the Sceatt being originally a farthing. This expreſſion would ſcarce have been ſo familiar, if the Saxons had never ſeen any ſuch thing, as a ſhilling among them. That it was uſed proverbially is certain: Abraham makes a ſolemn aſſeveration to the king of Sodom, that he would keep nothing of his, from *a thread to a ſhoe-latchet*, which, in one

[r] Matt. xxvi. 15. And ſo again Chap. xxvii. 3. et 5. anð [Iudaſ] bpohte þa þþittiꝫ ꝛcýllinꝫaſ to þæpa ꝛaceꝑða ealðꝑum . . . anð he apeaꝑp þa ꝛcillinꝫaſ in on ꝥ tempel, &c. *and Judas brought again the thirty ſhillings to the chiefprieſts and elders . . . . and he caſt down the ſhillings in the temple, &c.*

[s] Exod. xxi. 32.

of the Saxon verſions, is tranſlated with equal force and elegance παροιμιῶδες, ne ꝧceatt, ne ꝧcyllinꝫ. Thus in the *formulae jurandi* [*ſ*] in the Saxon laws, when a man forſwears a debt, the words are, ne ðeaꝛꝛ ic ne ꝧceatt, ne ꝧcyllinꝫ, *I owe him neither Sceatt, nor Shilling*, abſolutely nothing, either little or much. This argument will appear to more advantage in a ſimilar inſtance. *From a Noble to Nine-pence* [*t*] had never been an Engliſh proverb, if there had never ſeen any ſuch coins, as Nobles, from our mints. In the LXX δίδραχμον and Siclus are uſed, as ſynonymous terms; and the Half-ſhekel is called δραχμὴ [**t*]: and in what now remains of the Saxon Pentateuch the Hebrew Shekel is uniformly tranſlated *ſhilling* [*u*] It was exactly the weight of the old Didrachm, the forty eighth part of the pound. I know it is generally ſaid, that the *Alexandrine* Drachma was equal to two *Attic* Drachmae, and by this means their Didrachm was a Stater. But, as I have ſeen no authority for this aſſertion (for that paſſage in Feſtus [*w*], ſo

[*ſ*] Legg. Aethelſtani, p. 64. ed. Wilkins.

[*t*] Thus another proverbial expreſſion, *a nimble nine-pence*; becauſe that coin, whatever it was, paſſed from hand to hand ſo often: poſſibly it might be nothing more than a clipped ſhilling under that appellation.

[**t*] Ἔλαβε ἐνώτια χρυσᾶ ἀνὰ δραχμὴν ὁλκῆς· *the man took a golden ear-ring of half a Shekel weight.* בקע משקלו Gen. xxiv. 22

[*u*] Of this ſee more in Appendix N°. II.

[*w*] The words are, "Talentorum non unum genus; Atticum eſt VI millium "denarium; Alexandrinum, XII millium; Neapolitanum, VI denarium; Sy-"racuſanum, III." There were certainly ſeveral ſorts of talents. The groſs weight of mercantile goods was, among the Greeks and Alexandrians reckoned by talents. There was even a τάλαντον ξυλικόν. Wood was ſold by weight, as it is now in many parts of Europe, and ſome places in England. Feſtus does not ſay what ſort of talents theſe were, which were ſo different

often

often appealed to, does not belong to the nummulary pound) I cannot eaſily come into it; and muſt ſay, that there is no appearance of probability in its favour. The kings of Egypt, the ſucceſſors of Alexander, were Greeks; their coins [*x*], like Alexander's, many of which are now remaining, ſeem to have the very ſame weight and proportion, as the Attic. Whatſoever was done in the weights and meaſures of Alexandria was their doing. To imagine that theſe princes, without any motives of

in weight. He only takes the moſt obvious and eaſy method to ſhew that difference; for the weight of the Denarius was well known: any other method had been in many inſtances very indeterminate, in moſt quite uſeleſs. If he had ſaid, talents of ſo many pounds or ounces, the queſtion had ſtill returned, what was the weight of that pound or ounce. What are here called talents are ſome of them only ludicrous applications of that word to things of inconſiderable weight, even leſs than an ounce. There is no reaſon therefore to conclude, that the Alexandrine talent here mentioned, was the nummulary talent, any more, than that the Syracuſian and Neapolitan talents were ſo applied. I ſhould rather think, that the numbers, in ſo corrupt a book as Feſtus, were wrong in this inſtance; that, inſtead of *Alexandrinum* XII *millium*, ſhould be read X *millium*; meaning their old mercantile talent taken from a pound of twenty ounces. Gellius mentions this talent, lib. i. c. 8. Μυρίας δραχμὰς, ἢ τάλαντον: *denarium* X *mille*, *vel talentum*. Though the words ἢ τάλαντον may be, as Gronovius conjectures, nothing more than a gloſs, yet they ſhew that there was a talent of ten thouſand Denarii: and it already appears, that a talent of that weight was called the Alexandrine; but this of twelve thouſand Denarii is to be met with no where elſe, but in this place of Feſtus. This is no inconſiderable evidence, that this very paſſage, from which ſuch important concluſions have been drawn, ſhould be thus corrected, *Alexandrinum* X *millium*. See the account of the Alexandrine and Ptolemaic weights in the former chapter.

[*x*] All the Alexandrine gold and ſilver coins, which Monſieur Vaillant has exhibited in his Hiſtoria Ptolemaeorum, are of the ſame weight and proportion as the Attic. All the coins of the Ptolemies, that Mr. Greaves weighed, all that were in lord Pembroke's and Dr. Mead's cabinets prove the ſame thing; were of the ſame value, as the Attic.

advantage, and contrary to all courtly meaſures and maxims whatſoever, ſhould immediately double their nummulary weights and coins, and yet diſtribute this bounty and magnificence in a language that expreſſed but half its value, is utterly incredible. But be that as it will: the Saxons had very good authority for tranſlating the Hebrew Shekel by the Shilling; they followed ſuch tranſlators, as were themſelves Jews, and underſtood their own language perfectly well. But if theſe Jewiſh tranſlators had not been ſo ſkilful, ſuch a buſineſs, as this, required no great erudition. It was matter of fact under their own daily obſervation, in which they could not poſſibly be miſtaken.

As the Saxons tranſlated the Hebrew Shekel by the Shilling, ſo when they expreſſed this Shilling in Latin, it was not by Solidus, as has been the common miſtake of all the tranſlators ever ſince the Conqueſt; but in a very correct and proper manner either by Siclus or Argenteus. Thus, in an old deed [*y*] for exchanging lands, ſigned by Burgred king of Mercia, and Wulfred biſhop of Worceſter, the biſhop, beſides throwing in ſome other conſiderations to make up the equivalent, pays down in money "quadringentos ſiclos in argento "puro." The ſums mentioned in ſuch a conveyance muſt be ſome of the coins, or denominations of money, then in uſe among them; and this could be nothing elſe but the ſhilling. For thus the manuſcript Gloſſae

[*y*] Appendix to Smith's Bede, p. 770.

quoted

quoted by Dufreſne [z]. "Sicilicus, qui Latina lingua "corrupte Siclus dicitur." So Iſidore [a]; "Sicel, qui

[z] Dufreſne in voce. So Biſhop Hooper, "to this ſhilling of the Saxons, "the word Siclus, which is met with in the writers of the middle age, both "as a coin, and a weight, may probably belong." Ancient meaſures, p. 427.

[a] Iſidori origines, lib. xvi. c. 24. 1231. This way of explaining Sicel inclines me to think that the Romans were no ſtrangers to the word itſelf. Such foreign intruders, or ludicrous contractions, among the natives, may be found in every country. But a paſſage in Petronius Arbiter ſeems to lead us more directly to the ſame concluſion. It is this. "Sed praeter unum dipon-"dium, SICEL, lupinoſque, quibus deſtinaveramus mercari, nihil ad manum "erat." Ed. Burman. p. 50. I know that this paſſage has been corrected, as not intelligible, by ſeveral of the greateſt maſters in claſſical antiquity. Gronovius, improving upon the hints, which Scaliger had offered, would read it thus; "praeter unum dipondium, QUO CICER lupinoſque deſtinave-"ramus mercari." But this emendation tranſpoſes, as well as alters the words; turns *quibus* into *quo;* quite loſes the force of what is expreſſed by *mercari*, and gives a different turn to the whole ſentiment. Theſe adventurers were not diſpoſed, as Gronovius repreſents them, to buy a little pepper and a few herbs for a frugal ſupper; that was far from their thoughts; their intention was not *emere*, but *mercari;* to purchaſe ſome trifling articles to traffic with, and hawk about the ſtreets. In this ſcene of riot and extravagance, the humour is preſerved in the drollery of the language. When they examined their caſh, they had nothing left but *unum dipendium, ſicel, lupinoſque.* Dupondius is uſed as an expreſſion of poverty and contempt by the beſt authors. Tully, ſpeaking of a cryer's fees, ſays, "Si tuus ageretur dupondius, ſi in re "parvula, &c. Orat. pro Quintio," c. 16. The value of Sicel is well known: The only difficulty in this place ſeems to be the meaning of *lupinos*. The Romans uſed ſeveral ſorts of ſeeds for their ſmaller money-weights, as *lentes, ſiliquae, lupini.* The proportion they bore to each other in the ſcale, is thus repreſented by Priſcian.

"Semioboli duplum eſt obolus; quem pondere duplo
"Gramma vocant, ſcriptlum noſtri dixere priores.
"Semina ſex alii *ſiliquis* latitantia curvis
"Attribuunt ſcriptlo, *lentes* veraciter octo,
"Aut totidem ſpeltas numerant, triſteſque *lupinos*
"Bis duo."

The eſtimate was this; two Oboli or four Lupini made a ſcruple. The Lupinus therefore was in value the Semiobolus. We have ſeen, that the

"Latino

"Latino ſermone corrupte Siclus appellatur .... apud "Graecos et Latinos quarta pars unciae." Siclus was of the ſame weight and value, as the Sicilicus, the ſame word only much contracted [*b*]. Cujacius, whoſe opinions are generally of ſome weight, looked upon theſe, as ſynonymous terms; but Gronovius, to invalidate this authority, aſſerted, that Cujacius had confounded Siclus and Sicilicus with one another. This charge of confuſion was quite groundleſs. Cujacius needs no aſſiſtance to ſupport his ſentiments. Siclus and Sicilicus are inſeparable things, and not to be put aſunder.

THE Germans uſed the word Siclus in the ſame manner in their laws. "Si quis Sicli [*c*] unius aut duorum

Half-denarius was called the Siliqua, becauſe it's weight in gold bore a near proportion to that value in ſilver. And here the Lupinus may be uſed in the ſame manner, it's weight in ſilver importing ſuch a value in braſs, the farthing, or half obolus. The meaning therefore of the whole is, that they had nothing left but a two-penny piece, two Drachmae, and ſome farthings. The paragraph as it now ſtands wants no correction.

[*b*] Such contractions were not unuſual, when the Latin was ſpoken in much greater purity. Thus Plautus, Perſa III. i. ver. 67.

"Atque Attici omnes, nullum ſiclum [i. e. ſiculum] acceperis."

Martial, i. 12.

....."portantes calda miniſtros."

Id. iv. 37.

"Ex inſulis, fundiſque tricies ſoldum."

The Saxons contracted their Scyllinga in this manner, and ſometimes called it Scill. There is ſomewhat in the roughneſs of a northern pronunciation, or in the coldneſs of the climate, that diſpoſes the inhabitants to ſhut their lips ſooner, and throw the conſonants much cloſer together. The Greek and Latin *eleemoſyna* have for this reaſon gone through a variety of contractions in theſe countries; and though the virtue may have full as wide an extent among us, as ever it had in the warmer climates, yet the word is contracted into the monoſyllable *alms*. And ſo again, from *paludamentum*, by contraction, *plaid*.

[*c*] Annales Fuld. ad ann. 850. Et Goldaſtus, ad A. D. 1051....

"furtum

" furtum fecerit." In the dialogue concerning eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions written by Ecbright [*d*] archbiſhop of York about the middle of the eighth century, the penalties for receiving ſuch monks, as left their monaſteries without leave of their ſuperiors, were ſtated in the ſame manner. The convent that received them, was to pay " *triginta ſiclos*; quindecim vero epiſcopo loci, et " quindecim abbati, cujus monachum ſine nutu prioris " ſui ſuſceperat."

IN thoſe places of the Pentateuch, where the word Shekel is underſtood in Hebrew, it is very properly expreſſed in the Saxon verſion by ꝛcillinga. Thus Gen. xx. 16. ours ſtands thus: *Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand pieces of ſilver:* The Saxon: þuſend ꝛcillinga iꝛ ꝛoꝛgeaf on ꝛealfre þinum þnebeꝛ; *a thouſand* SHILLINGS *in ſilver.* In tranſlating the New Teſtament from the Greek, the gentlemen, to whom that office was aſſigned, paid too much regard to the vulgar Latin; and in tranſlating the Old Teſtament, as far as the Pentateuch at leaſt, too little to the LXX. The Saxons, though they had not the ſame advantage, or abilities, to compare theſe verſions, have, by ſome means or other, ſucceeded much better with regard to money. We cannot have ſuch an opinion of our anceſtors as to aſcribe this to their learning, though even that was not ſo inconſiderable as is commonly thought. We know that in the beginning of the eighth century, the ſtate of learning was as high, if not higher, in England than

[*d*] Dialog. per Ware, p. 98.

in

in any other part of Europe. Egbert and Bede were perhaps the beſt ſcholars of their age. Alcuin, who was ſent for from England to be preceptor to Charlemagne, was brought up with them, and regrets in a very wiſhful manner thoſe opportunities of improvement, which he had in this country. Thus in one of his letters:

"Date [e] mihi exquiſitioris eruditionis libellos, quales "in patria mea habui, per bonam et devotiſſimam ma- "giſtri mei Egberti archiepiſcopi induſtriam."

I SHOULD imagine, that when the Saxon verſion of the Pentateuch was made, they compared Jerom's vulgar Latin with ſome of the other Latin verſions then in being, which were only from the LXX. For we have no reaſon to think, that they made any great uſe of that verſion [f], though they were no ſtrangers to it. And indeed ever ſince it was more known, what is truly the LXX, the Pentateuch only, has never been ſufficiently regarded. We have a remarkable inſtance of it in the very verſe before us, which ſtands thus in our tranſlation: *And unto Sarah he ſaid, Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand* [g] *pieces of ſilver: Behold, he is to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that are with thee, and with all other: Thus was ſhe reproved.*

IF this is reproof, it is extremely delicate, and managed with ſo much tenderneſs, that there is not the

[e] Gul. Malmſbur. Hiſtor. p. 269.

[f] Hickes's general Preface, p. xi.

[g] The LXX therefore repreſent c. xx. ver. 14. thus: ἔλαβε δ' Αβιμέλεχ χίλια ἀργύρια . . . καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ Αβραάμ, as in ver. 16: and this is moſt probably right, though omitted in the preſent Hebrew text.

leaſt

leaſt appearance of diſpleaſure. Not a word of reproof in the whole ſentence. Beſides, this verſion miſtakes the characters, and pays the compliment to Abraham, which was intended for Sarah. But in the LXX it ſtands in a very different light.

Τῇ δὲ Σάῤῥᾳ εἶπεν, Ἰδὲ, δέδωκα χίλια δίδραχμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σε· ταῦτα ἔςαι σοι εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τὸ ϖρόσωπε σε, ἢ ϖάσαις ταῖς μεθ᾽ σε· ἢ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΑΛΗΘΕΥΣΟΝ. *And unto Sarah he ſaid, Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand Didrachms* [or ſhillings]. *Take them as an acknowledgment of the regard I had for thy perſon, and for all thoſe that are with thee: But in all things ſpeak the truth.*

HERE is reproof managed with a proper dignity and addreſs, and ſuch as became a prince. This agrees with the account given in the fifth verſe of this chapter, that Abimelech had been deceived, that he had taken Sarah in the innocence and integrity of his heart, not knowing that ſhe was Abraham's wife. The preſent Hebrew text muſt convince us, that this verſion of the LXX was perfectly right. The later Jews, to ſcreen the honour of their patriarch from ſuch a rebuke, have divided the laſt clauſe into two parts; and by this means made them ſcarce intelligible, or conſiſtent with one another; they read it thus. לכל אשר אתך ואת כל ונכחת Which we tranſlate, *Unto all that are with thee, and with all other.* But what can this, *with all other*, mean? Not to ſay where is the reproof, where is the ſenſe of this paſſage, as we repreſent it? How could Abraham, or the veil (for the interpreters are divided here, and

uncertain whether theſe words ſhould be applyed to Abraham, or the veil) *be a covering unto Sarah and to all that were with her*, AND WITH ALL OTHER? A myſterious veil indeed! But as the LXX render it, ἡ πάντα ἀλήθευσον, all is clear and conſiſtent, and the preſent attended with a proper admonition. This ſenſe agrees perfectly well with the preſent Hebrew text, without altering a ſingle letter. The *Vau* before *nocahhath* is only converſive, with an ellipſis of *ehi*, the verb. ſubſtantive, as is not unuſual; and והי נכחת would literally ſignify, *eſto veridica*, πάνϑα ἀλήθευσον, as they tranſlate it. נכח, as Buxtorf explains it, is *aequitas*, *rectum*; and perhaps this participle came from the radix of that word, of which no other inſtance is now remaining.

IT might be eaſy to produce ſeveral other inſtances of the great authority of this verſion: but I ſhall at preſent give only one more. It helps us to explain a paſſage in Homer; which, though it has been perpetually quoted, does not appear to have been underſtood for theſe laſt ſixteen hundred years. This is the celebrated deſcription of Neſtor's [*b*] cup.

Πὰρ δὲ δέπας περικαλλὲς, ὃ οἴκοθεν ἦγ' ὁ γεραιὸς
Χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πεπαρμένον, ἓξα δ' αὐτῷ
Τέσσαρ' ἔσαν, δοιαὶ δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶς ἔκαξον
Χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο, δύω δ' ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν.

How to explain πυθμὴν is the difficulty. If it ſignifies *a bottom*, the reader is at a loſs to know, whether the cup was a Cantharus, or a Scyphus; i. e. whether the cup was two vaſes joined together, ſomething like

[*b*] Iliad. Λ. ver. 631.

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an hour-glaſs, only cloſed in the middle, and open at both ends; the ſame either way: or whether the cup had really two bottoms; one upon which it ſtood, and the other inſerted at the narrow part of the vaſe, where the oval figure was moſt contracted. This laſt explication of it, as a Cantharus, has a long preſcription in its favour. Martial certainly underſtood the paſſage in that ſenſe. When the old virtuoſo was ſhewing his curioſities, he had the pleaſing imagination of producing this very cup, and ſaid:

"Hi [*i*] duo longaevo cenſentur Neſtore fundi;
"Pollice de Pylio trita columba nitet."

The verſion of our great Engliſh poet gives it a very different meaning:

"Next, her white hand a ſpacious goblet brings,
"A goblet ſacred to the Pylian kings
"From ancient times: emboſs'd with ſtuds of gold
"Four [*k*] feet ſupport it, and four handles hold.
"On each bright handle, bending o'er the brink,
"In ſculptur'd gold two turtles ſeem'd to drink."

Mr. Pope, not ſeeing the uſe of the *two* bottoms, has, with great dexterity, turned them into *four* feet. The tripods of the ancients were much celebrated, and a vaſe ſtanding upon four feet, though not ſo elegant, or ſo common, might anſwer this purpoſe very well. But, as Homer has ſaid nothing of theſe four feet, I ſhall leave them to ſhift for themſelves: how Mr. Pope came by them is very hard to ſay.

[*i*] Lib. viii. 6.

[*k*] The firſt Editions have *two feet*; but Mr. Pope, not pleaſed with this new and ſingular device, added two more.

ATHENAEUS [k] has done more honour to Neſtor's cup, than any of the ancient writers, now remaining.

[k] Deipnoſoph. l. xi. p. 490. ed. 1657. The ancient critics found it difficult to explain this paſſage: ſome of them wrote whole books upon the ſubject. Athenaeus gives us an abſtract of one, which was then undoubtedly in the greateſt eſteem, the work of Myrleanus Aſclepiades. He ſays, "That all the cups, tables, and tripods, &c. of the ancients were made round, "to imitate the figure of the ſun and moon: that Neſtor's cup was for this "reaſon in the ſame circular form. The ſilver ground reſembled the great "expanſe of the heavens, and the golden ſtuds were the ſtars. The very "ſtars upon the cup were thoſe of diſtinguiſhed note, the Pleiades; which "of all others were of the greateſt uſe in foretelling future events: their "riſing and ſetting ſhewed the ſpring and harveſt; the firſt appearance "and maturity of their fruits. Neſtor, ſo remarkable for his wiſdom, was "diſtinguiſhed by this character, even in the ornaments of his cup, by giving "the Pleiades a place in its decorations. Some indeed had been ſo weak "as to imagine, that Homer by πελειάδες meant birds; but he certainly meant "ſtars. For it was the buſineſs of the Pleiades to adminiſter Jupiter's "Ambroſia: it would be highly indecent and abſurd to think that birds "ſhould be honoured with ſuch an office; ἐ γὰρ τὰς ὄρνεις φέρειν τῷ Διὶ νομιξέμν- "ἄσεμνον γάρ." Then he gives ſeveral inſtances where πελειάδες was uſed inſtead of πλειάδες, to prove that it muſt be ſo in Homer, "The Pleiades, "before they were turned into ſtars, were the daughters of Atlas; and "therefore they were moſt probably placed upon Neſtor's cup in their real "form, as virgins adorned with ſtars. Homer indeed ſeems to ſay, that there "were two of theſe Pleiades on each handle of the cup; but that could "not poſſibly be his meaning: no: there was one only on each handle, "and two in the bottom of the cup, δύω δ' ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν; ſix in all appear- "ed. For though there were really ſeven Pleiades, yet one of them was "very ſeldom ſeen. As theſe ſeven ſtars were ſetting in the ocean, ſome "of the wandring rocks called *Planctae* ran foul upon one of them, and "daſhed it to pieces. Jupiter, to repair this loſs, created a new ſtar. The "memory of this very extraordinary event was finely and poetically preſerved "by the remarkable obſcurity of this new ſtar upon the cup. But if any "learned critic ſhould object that the Pleiades, whoſe chief influence was "over eatables, were not very properly repreſented on a cup, the anſwer "is very obvious. A cup receives aliments of all ſorts, as barley meal "and cheeſe wet, and mixed together, &c." This indelicate concluſion muſt give the reader no great opinion of the author's taſte.

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He comments upon the whole paſſage, and very learnedly explains the poet's meaning quite away. But to make amends for theſe miſtakes, he turns almoſt the whole cup into a conſtellation. His diſſertation is ſo ſingular and curious both for its taſte and manner, that the reader will excuſe my giving a ſpecimen of it at the bottom of the page.

EUSTATHIUS [*l*] in his long commentary has only ſerved up ſome fragments of Athenaeus over again; which, coming at ſecond hand, were not like to afford us a more agreeable entertainment. There are two places in the Odyſſey, where he explains πυθμένες in a different ſenſe, by *radices*. It is ſtrange that this did not lead him to the true meaning in this place: for the ſhoots, whether from the root or branches of a tree,

Such were the writers, who in the decline of the Roman empire were to inſtruct their young Patricians in all the politer ſtudies of Greece. What a wonderful proficiency muſt they make under ſuch inſtructors? For this profound critic turns all into mythology and myſtery. In this viſionary purſuit, he runs quite off from the poet's ſentiments, and the ſculptor's deſign, and loſes all the real beauties of both. This conduct was certainly productive of bad effects. Seeing in the ancients what was never there, and obſcuring all their fine natural ſentiments with a cloud of myſtery, was ſhewing them to great diſadvantage, and the ſure way to ruin that very learning they intended to advance.

There was no piece of furniture ſo much celebrated among the ancients, as Neſtor's cup. The Capuans pretended that they had the very original, and dedicated in their city to Diana with Homer's verſes engraved upon it. The old Virtuoſo in Martial was perſuaded, that it was among his collection of antiques. Nero had two cryſtal cups made in imitation of it. Dionyſius Thracius's ſcholars preſented him with ſilver to have a cup made in the ſame form. See Athenaeus, p. 491. Martial, ut ſupra. Sueton. in Nerone, c. 47.

[*l*] Vid. not. in locum.

ſetting

ſetting aſide the foliage, are not much different in form. The leſſer ſcholiaſts, as is uſual in difficulties, are concerned only how to get clear of them, without regarding the deſign of the author, or the beauty of the deſcription. They all take πυθμὴν for *a bottom*, and then leave us quite uncertain, as to the form of the cup. Δύω πυθμένες, ſays Didymus, ἤτοι, ὅτι διπλῆς ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ πυθμὴν· ἢ, ὅτι ἦν ἀμφίθετον· ὅπερ καὶ κυμβαλόν φασι τοῦτο, καὶ ἀμφικύπελλον. *quod et cymbalum vocant et poculum ex utraque parte concavum.*

NESTOR's cup was remarkable for its capacity, and excellent workmanſhip; but this laſt interpretation deſtroys in great meaſure both theſe characters: for if the cup was made ſo as to ſtand upon either of its ends, it certainly leſſened its contents, and could not add to its beauty. Dr. Clarke in his elegant edition of Homer adopts this explication, though quite foreign to the purpoſe. For πυθμὴν *here* ſignifies *a branch*. The cup had four handles; and, the poet ſays, that upon each of theſe handles two doves were emboſſed in gold; and then adds, δύω δ' ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν· i. e. *ſub columbis*, vel *columbarum pedibus, duo erant palmites.* The doves ſtood upon two tendrils [*m*] or branches of a vine ſpread-

[*m*] A very learned friend has now informed me that this ſenſe of the word πυθμὴν may be juſtify'd by more ancient, and claſſical authorities. Thus one of the oldeſt Greek poets next Homer:

— εἰ δὲ χρὴ τυχεῖν σωτηρίας,
Σμικρᾷ γένοιτ' ἂν σπέρμα τῷ μέγας πυθμήν.
Si vero oportet conſequi ſalutem,
Parvi ſeminis fiat magnus RAMUS.

And again: Οὔτ' ἀρχικός σοι πᾶς ὅδ' αὐανθεὶς πυθμὴν
Βωμοῖς ἀρήξει.
Neque RAMUS *hic imperialis a te totus exſiccatus*
Aris tuis ſuppetiabitur. Aeſchyl. Χοηφ. ver. 202, and 258.

The edd. ill render it *radix*.

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ing round the handles. The LXX preſerve this ſenſe of the word ϖυθμὴν. Gen. xl. 10. 12. ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ τρεῖς ϖυθμένες, *In the vine were three branches.* And ſo again ch. xli. 5. ἑπτὰ στάχυες ἀνέβαινον ἐν τῇ ϖυθμένι. *Seven ears of corn came up upon one ſtalk.* Taking Homer in this ſenſe, what a beautiful ornament has he placed round the handles of this feſtal cup? The doves embоſſed in gold upon the twining branches of the vine (the emblems of concord and ſocial joy) finiſh the whole deſcription with great propriety and elegance. If one may preſume to alter a few lines in Mr. Pope's verſion, the form and workmanſhip of the cup may certainly be repreſented to more advantage.

" Next, her white hand a ſpacious goblet brings,
" A goblet ſacred to the Pylian kings
" From eldeſt times: the maſſy ſculptur'd vaſe,
" Glitt'ring with golden ſtuds, four handles grace;
" And curling vines around each handle roll'd
" Support two turtle doves emboſs'd in gold."

IT is highly probable that Virgil underſtood Homer in this ſenſe: though his cups, ſuitable to his characters, are made of mean materials, fit for the ſhepherds he introduces, yet he gives them as many poetical ornaments as if they belonged to princes:

" Pocula ponam
" Fagina, coelatum divini opus Alcimedontis;
" Lenta quibus torno facili ſuperaddita vitis
" Diffuſos ederâ veſtit pallente corymbos." Eclog. iii. 37. 44.

So Oppian. lib. iv. ver. 541. Πυθμένα εἰλατίνε κρατερὸν δένα. Here Ritterſhuſius tranſlates, *fundi abiegni validum robur.* A verſion without the leaſt meaning, inſtead of *rami abiegni validum robur.* It is a little ſurpriſing that this ſenſe of the word ϖυθμὴν ſhould have been intirely loſt

THIS

THIS deſcription however is not without the very ſame difficulty, as the former. The notes [*o*], and verſions of this paſſage, have taken a great deal of pains to work up the Ivy and Vine together; but all to no purpoſe. The Vine has no place upon theſe cups. The poet is deſcribing the Ivy only, it's ſtem, foliage, and fruit. They miſtake the meaning of *vitis*, which is here nothing but the ῥυθμὴν, the *vimen*, or branch of the Ivy. The centurions rod was always called *vitis*; and for many ages of the Roman empire, when thoſe rods were cut for the officers in Germany, Gaul, or Britain, no one ſure can imagine that they were cut from the Vine; or that they ſent bundles of them from Italy all over the northern provinces, when any other twigs would do juſt as well. Virgil, in another place, adorns the handles of his cups in the very ſame manner as Homer's:

" Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,
" Et molli circum eſt anſas complexus acantho."

Here the handle of Neſtor's cup, except the doves, is exactly copied. The Acanthus, like the Vine, ſpreading round the whole. Not the poets only, but the hiſtorians, mention the ſhoots and foliage of the Vine, as one of the principal ornaments of the ancient plate. " Aurum " factum, et in eo folia, platanum, VITEMQUE [*p*]."

BUT to return to the proper ſubject of theſe papers; the ſame rule ſeems to be obſerved in the Saxon Goſpels,

among the moſt learned Greeks of the lower ages; and that our beſt modern Lexicographers ſhould take no notice of this claſſical uſe of it.

[*o*] The commentators in general (except Ruæus) and the ſeveral verſions have all miſtaken the ſenſe of *vitis* in this place. It is much that none of the tranſlators have profited by his explication.

[*p*] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. xxiii. c. 15. p. 614.

as

as in their verſion of the Pentateuch. Whenever the money was expreſſed by Denarii in the old Latin verſion, it was always tranſlated penins; if by Argenteus, ꝛcylinsa: this diſtinction was ſo far at leaſt very proper, that it expreſſed the two different coins in the original, by two of their own. For the Saxons certainly uſed Argentei in the ſame manner, as differing from Penningi. Thus in Archbiſhop Ecbriht's [q] Dialogue before mentioned:

"Laïci, qui ſacrilega ſe contagione miſcuerint velatis, "non eodem modo quo lex publica fornicarios punini "percenſuit; ſed duplicatâ triginta ſiclorum pecuniâ, "hoc eſt, ſexaginta argenteos volumus dare eccleſiae "adulterantes."

HERE Argenteos is plainly the ſame thing as Siclos: the fine is doubled from 30 to 60 ſhillings. Sir James Ware, and Dr. Hickes [r] after him, not attending carefully

[q] Edit. Ware, p. 99.

[r] "Quod ad valorem hujus nummi attinet, illum duobus denariis "argenteis valuiſſe idem Ecgbertus innuere videtur. At in charta "Aethelſwithae reginae, quam citat Edw. Cocus, in praefatione ante ſextam "partem commentariorum juris, quindecies centum SICLI, mille quingentis "ſolidis argenti et auri valuiſſe dicuntur. *Dabo Cuthwulpho . . . terram* "*quindecim manentium in loco, qui dicitur* Laking, *pro ejus obedientia, atque* "*pecunia pacabili, hoc eſt, mille quingentis ſolidis argenti et auri*, vel "quindecies centum SICLIS. Per hanc ergo chartam Siclus valebat "ſolido argenti et auri, hoc eſt, undecim ſolidis argenteis, ſi aurum apud illos "decuplo tantum valore argentum ſuperabat." Praefat. ad literaturam Septentrional. p. XXI, XXII. Theſe accounts, ſo monſtrouſly inconſiſtent with one another, made Dr. Hickes not know what to ſay about the value of the Siclus. Indeed very little was to be gathered from this barbarous verſion of Q. Aethelſwith's will, but the great ignorance of the tranſlator, who neither underſtood the original, nor the language he was tranſlating it into.

to the conſtruction of the paſſage, concluded from hence that the Siclus was only two-pence. It is eaſy to obſerve the ground and reaſon of this miſtake, viz. the long-prevailing prejudice, that the Saxons had only one ſilver coin, the penny: taking the penny for the Argenteus, they made the Siclus double that ſum. Mr. Johnſon [r], in giving us it's value, follows this eſtimate implicitly. To traverſe again the ſame fields of enquiry,

"Per quos magnus equos Arunci flexit alumnus,"

was, in his opinion, a fruitleſs purſuit. As Dr. Hickes, the great maſter of the Saxon learning, had not cleared up this point, he thought nothing was to be done with the Saxon money, and therefore ſaid very modeſtly, that he did not preſume to meddle with it. Indeed nothing is ſaid in that Dialogue, which expreſſly determines the value of this coin; but the Saxon laws ſhew us very plainly what it was. Ecbriht makes the corrupting or defiling of nuns the ſame thing as committing adultery; and the ſtated fine for this crime, as given in Alfred's [s] laws, was 60 ſhillings: hence it follows, that the Argentei, Sicli, and ꝛcẏllinga were all the ſame coins; and the natural conſtruction of this very paſſage, from the certain meaning of Siclus, teaches us to form the ſame concluſion.

As the Saxons uſed the Latin Argentei, without the ſubſtantive, to expreſs ſhillings, ſo their own adjective

[r] Mr. Johnſon's Anglo-Saxon canons, vol. I. ad A. D. DCCXXXIV. Egberti epiſtol. p. 98, 99.

[s] Leges Saxon. p. 37. § 11.

ꝛẏlꝛninga

ꝛylfꝼinga paſſed currently in the ſame manner. Thus Gen. xlv. 22,

And he ꝛealde Benjamin ꝛix ꝛcꝛud, ⁊ ꝼꝛeo hundꝛed ꝛilfꝼinga. *He gave Benjamin five changes of raiment, and three hundred ſilverings* [or ſhillings].

THIS agrees exactly with the Hebrew, where the word Shekel is omitted, and Cheſeph, or Argenteos, only in the text. No real coin could be more expreſſly mentioned, than the ſhilling is in the Saxon verſion of both teſtaments. When the original ſpeaks of their current money, the Saxon ſays, *ſhillings in full weight*. Thus Gen. xxiii. 16. *Abraham weighed to Ephron the ſilver, which he had named in the audience of the ſons of Heth, four hundred ſhekels of ſilver current money with the merchant*. The Saxon is ꝛeoꝛeꝛ hund ꝛcillinga ꝛeolfꝼeꝛ bę fullon ge-pe-pigҳte, *four hundred ſilver ſhillings*. So in Alfred's laws [*t*], "Solvat triginta ſolidos [i. e. ſiclos] argenteos." Would it be conſiſtent with the common uſe of language, or even with common ſenſe, to ſay, that you received five *ſilver ſhillings*, when the whole was paid in pence? Who ever talks of meer denominations of money in ſuch language; of marks, or nobles in full weight, when they are not in being? In king Alfred's [*u*] will all the ſmaller legacies are given away in ſhillings, "quinqua-"ginta ſolidos, (or, as it ſhould be, ſiclos) ad diſtribu-"endum inter pauperes, et quinquaginta ſolidos eccleſiae, "in qua corpus meum ſepelitur...." From the

[*t*] Leges Saxon. p. 30. § 21.
[*u*] Wiſe's Aſſer, p. 78.

language of this will, it is very evident, that it is not the original, but a tranſlation made after the Saxon times. For I may venture to ſay, that the Saxon ſhilling was never expreſſed by Solidus [*w*], till after the Norman ſettlements in England.

IT would be needleſs to carry this enquiry any further: Upon reviewing the whole, it appears, firſt, that the negative evidence, the finding none of theſe coins, is in this queſtion of no validity——that it was the univerſal practice of all the Gothic and German nations, who ſettled in the ſeveral provinces of the weſtern empire, to rate all their fines, tributes, etc. in ſuch coins, as were then actually current among them, and there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that the Saxons in this iſland followed the ſame method; becauſe they frequently mention the ſhilling in their verſions of the Old and New Teſtament; in their laws, wills, deeds, and all public inſtruments and conveyances whatſoever;——and ſince the coin itſelf was not large, but ſuch an one, as their

[*w*] Dr Hickes, paying too great a regard to barbarous and bad tranſlations of old Saxon charters thought it impoſſible to diſcover the valud of the Sicle, "nodum neque ſolvere ſciens, nec volens ſcindere." That ſtrange account of it in the tranſlation of Q. Aethelſwithe's will juſt mention'd, occaſion'd this difficulty; where, as it now ſtands, one Siclus is made equal to eleven Solidi. But the tranſlator's blunders appear in every part of that eſtimate. 1ſt. he miſtook the Saxon abbreviation of *or* for that of *and*: for the original, no doubt, implied, *pecunia pacabilis*, the ſum payable, *either* in gold or ſilver, not in *both*. 2dly, he makes the Solidus and Siclus ſynonymous terms, that 1500 Solidi and 1500 Sicli were the ſame thing: when 1500 Sicli, or Saxon ſhillings, were only about 75 *l.* ſterling, and 1500 Solidi juſt thrice as much, 225 lib.

moneyers

moneyers might eaſily execute, and their circumſtances admit: —— ſince they called it ꝛẏlꝛꝛingа abſolutely, and without the ſubſtantive, was there any way of expreſſing a real coin in a more explicite manner? Would meer ideal money have paſſed in accounts under the name of ſilverings, when it is certain that they had at that time real ſilver coins? But, above all, ſince archbiſhop Aelfric mentions it as one of their names for money; and as the value of it ſunk from five to four pence; are not all theſe conſiderations ſufficient to convince us, that the Saxon ſhilling was not a nominal valuation of money only, but a real coin? A coin which has moſt probably continued almoſt ever ſince the Saxon times; and is come down to us, though under a conſiderable diminution, and a new name. The Anglo-Normans called it the groat; it was the Tremiſſis of their ſhilling, and acquired this name, as the greateſt coin then known in England.

THE THRIMSA.

THE ſilver coin next in value to the ſhilling was the Thrimſa, which has unavoidably occaſioned a variety of conjectures; for theſe places in the Saxon laws, from whence the value of it muſt be taken, cannot poſſibly, as they now ſtand, be reconciled.

MR. Lambard [x], who gave us the firſt eſtimate of the Thrimſa, rates it much too high, and makes it

[x] Lambard's rerum et verborum explicatio, in leg. Saxon. voc. THRIMSA.

a three

a three ſhilling piece. Sir Henry Spelman [*y*] adopted this opinion, but with ſome diffidence. Biſhop Nicolſon [*z*] on the other hand leſſens its value, and was perſuaded, that it was only another name for their common coin; that the Thrimſa, Sceata, and Penny were all of them the ſame thing.

MR. Somner [*a*] from the certain import of the word, and the value given to the Thrimſa in the Saxon laws, concluded, that it was three pence. He had moſt probably cleared up this point with his uſual ſagacity, if a ſettled perſuaſion that the Saxon ſhilling was always five pence had not prevented it. For another paſſage, which was a full evidence in favour of this opinion, was by this means turned into an objection. I ſhall give the paragraph below.

MR. Selden [*b*], Dr. Brady [*c*], and Dr. Hickes [*d*] were all of them in the ſame ſentiments, that the Thrimſa was either the laſt Tremiſſis of the Franks and Germans, and conſequently four pence; or, was the third part of the Saxon ſhilling, i. e. three half pence, and one third of a half-penny in their money. Mr. Selden ſeems to approve the latter valuation, and Dr. Hickes for a good reaſon the former; becauſe he thought the Saxons would ſcarce ſtrike a coin with ſuch an inconvenient

[*y*] Spelmanni Gloſſarium in voce.
[*z*] Engliſh hiſtorical library, p. 44.
[*a*] Somner's Gloſſary in Decem ſcriptor. in voce.
[*b*] Titles of honour, Par. II. c. v. § 2. and Mr. Somner's gloſſary.
[*c*] Compleat hiſtory of England, p. 68, 119.
[*d*] Diſſertatio epiſtolaris, p. 111.

fraction.

fraction. Dr. Brady leaves the thing undetermined, and this was ſo far right, as there was no ſort of evidence for either of theſe eſtimates.

Biſhop Fleetwood [*e*], from the inconſiſtent accounts in the Saxon laws, thought nothing was to be done with the Thrimſa. To clear up this affair it will be neceſſary to have recourſe to the laws themſelves; and reconcile thoſe ſeemingly inconſiſtent paragraphs with one another.

MR. Somner [*f*] obſerved from the laws of Athelſtan, that the price of a Thane's life was by the Angli valued at 2000 Thrimſas, which by the Mercian eſtimate was 1200 ſhillings. Suppoſing that the ſame ſum was intended in both theſe valuations, (which, conſidering that theſe Thanes were of the ſame rank, ſubjects of the ſame prince, living only in different provinces of his kingdom, was a very reaſonable poſtulatum) the Thrimſa muſt be as 2000 is to 1200, when they both make the ſame ſum; and conſequently that it muſt be three parts in five of the Saxon ſhilling, and therefore three pence. This was reaſoning from very clear and unexceptionable premiſes: but one of the next paragraphs threw a difficulty in

[*e*] Chronicon pretioſum, p. 28.

[*f*] "Cum duo thrimſarum millia, e quibus, jure Anglorum, Thani capitis "aeſtimatio conſtat, 1200 ſolidis reſpondeant, quibus Mercii thainum aeſtimant, "ea ſaltem computatione, quâ (quinque denarii pro more Saxonum in ſolidum "computatis) 1200 ſolidi faciunt 25 libras, thrimſa, ſi monetae percuſſae "genus fuerit, mihi videatur trium denariorum nummus. in quo tamen "plane non acquieſco, eo quod, in lege Athelſtani de weris, ſic legam: Villani "wergildum eſt CCLXVI thrimſae, h. e. ducenti ſolidi Merciorum lege." Gloſſar. in voce.

his

his way, and prevented his coming to a full concluſion. It was there ſaid,

THAT the life of a peaſant was valued at 266 Thrimſas, which, according to the Mercian law, made 200 ſhillings.

HERE again the Mercians keep to their old way of reckoning by ſhillings; but the proportion being very different from the former, Mr. Somner ſuſpended his judgment, keeping to the firſt value of the ſhilling only in his method of computing. This eſtimate was later than the former, and owing to nothing elſe, but the difference between the old Saxon ſhilling at five pence, and the laſt at four. For 200 is to 266 exactly as three is to four, i. e. 266 three pences were equal to 200 four pences, wanting only two thirds of a three pence. This therefore, inſtead of being an objection, is a confirmation of the former eſtimate, and proves that the Thrimſa continued ſome time after the ſhilling was reduced, and is an unqueſtionable evidence of that reduction.

BUT the greateſt difficulty ſtill remains. One of theſe laws, ſays, that the price [g] of the king's life was, by the laws of the Angli, xxx thouſand Thrimſas; whereof xv thouſand were due to his family, and xv thouſand to the nation.

IF the numbers are right in the firſt inſtance, the two following are quite neceſſary; for this was the legal diſtribution of theſe fines. The whole ſum is what the

[g] Leg. Saxon. p. 71.

Saxons

Saxons called the fullpice, or the intire compenſation for the higheſt inſtance of high treaſon, the murder of a king. In two other paragraphs [*b*] of theſe laws this fine is computed in a different manner, where the reading is the ſame in both, and certainly right. It is there ſaid, that the *compenſatio ſimplex*, or ſingle fine due for the murder of a king, was 120 pounds, and that as much more was due to the nation, who are here conſidered as the only ſuperiors a prince could have. The whole ſum was 240 pounds. If therefore in the preſent corrupted paſſage, inſtead of xxx thouſand Thrimſas, we read xx thouſand, of which ten thouſand were paid to his family and ten more to the nation, we ſhall have the very ſame ſum which was ſpecify'd by the other laws: for xx thouſand Thrimſas were equal to three times as many pence or Sceattas, and made in the whole 250 pounds: this implied, that if the fine was paid *numero*, or by tale, it was 250; if by weight 240 pounds. For this difference was conſtantly obſerved in the Saxon and Anglo-

[*b*] "Sit regis ſimplex aeſtimatio capitis (Saxonice anpealo pepgylo) VI tha-
"norum aeſtimatio capitis juxta legem Merciorum, hoc eſt, xxx mille ſceat-
"tarum, hoc eſt, cxx librarum. Tanta eſt aeſtimatio capitis: et tantundem,
"aeſtimationis loco, regni nomine debetur: aeſtimatio capitis eſt cognatorum,
"mulcta vero populi Anglicani." Leg. Saxon. p. 64, 72. Here the fine for the king's murder is computed both ways, by pounds, and pence; which agree perfectly, except the uſual difference of the *incrementum* in paying by tale more than by weight. Biſhop Fleetwood endeavouring to reconcile the Thrimſa with this eſtimate, inſtead of cxx, would read CL. But the preſent reading is undoubtedly right. The king's Weregild, as publiſhed at firſt by Mr. Lambard, was much greater, i. e. VI *mille thainorum aeſtimationi aequa.* But this miſtake was obſerved, and corrected by Dr. Hickes, Diſſertat. epiſtolar. p. 111.

Norman payments; ſome allowance was made for the loſs of weight in their coins. The ſmall alteration of a ſingle numeral brings all theſe laws to an entire agreement; ſhews that the Thrimſa was always three pence; for none of theſe eſtimates will coincide or anſwer in any other view whatſoever.

This miſtake in all the copies of this law is of long ſtanding; it is as old as Brompton's verſion at leaſt. But whenever it began, it was owing moſt probably to the tranſcriber's ignorance, which induced him to correct his copy. He thought that the Sceatta and Thrymſa were the ſame coins, and either altered the numerals from xx to xxx thouſand, or Sceattarum into Thrymſarum: for in the very next page the law ſays [*i*], "aeſtimatio "ſimplex capitis regis eſt xxx millia ſceattarum."

[*i*] The fines for murder were called by the Saxons, either ꝑenꝛylꝺ, from ꝑep, *vir*; (for the Romans undoubtedly pronounced *vir* in the ſame manner, *wir*) and ꝛylꝺe, *ſolutio, pretium*; and ſometimes without the compound, *were*, or *wera* only: one part of it was due to the king for the loſs of a ſubject, and the other, to the relations of the perſon murder'd: if the perſon killed was a ſervant, or a vaſſal; they called it *manbote*; a word of the ſame import, from *man*, homo, and *bote*, compenſatio: but then no part of the fine went to the relations, it was divided equally betwixt the king, and the lord. The other fines were called in general by the Saxons ꝑıꝛeꝛ, and by the Danes Lahſliꝛeꝛ: diſtinguiſh'd from Weregilds, as the mulcts for leſſer offences. vid. Somner's Gloſſary on the Decem ſcriptores, et Spelman in voce. I believe ꝑıꝛe, or ꝑıꝛa was nothing more originally than *weight*, and implied, before the uſe of coins was known, the money paid by the ſcale for ſuch offences. But there were ſome particular caſes where the offenders lay wholly at the king's mercy, their whole eſtate was forfeited. Their puniſhment for deſerting the ſervice, as ſoldiers, was remarkably ſevere. "Ex his placitis "emendantur quaedam *wera*, quaedam *wita*, quaedam quae non poſſunt emen-"dari." Leg. Hen. I. p. 244..... Thus, "Si quis fugiat a domino vel "ſocio ſuo in expeditione navali vel terreſtri, perdat omne quod ſuum eſt,

THIS whole ſection *De capitis aeſtimatione* is manifeſtly thrown together from the laws of different reigns, to exhibit all theſe pecuniary eſtimates, as rated by Thrimſas, in one view. We meet with them no where elſe in the whole body of theſe laws, and they are placed here under Athelſtan's government. The perſon, who collected theſe laws, occaſioned many of theſe difficulties; not obſerving that ſome of the laws were made before, and others after, the ſhilling was reduced.

THE Thrimſa was certainly firſt coined in the reigns before Athelſtan, during their greater affluence in caſh, and deſigned purely for the convenience of exchange, as the propereſt diviſion that could be made in their money, without a fraction, between the ſhilling and the penny. But when the ſhilling was reduced, it was of little uſe, and by degrees entirely laid aſide. Dr. Hickes[k] obſerves, that this way of computing by Thrimſas was chiefly uſed in the more mercantile parts of this kingdom, among the Eaſt, and Weſt, and South Saxons; and poſſibly coined only among them: for it appears, in the inſtances before given, that the inland provinces, the Mercians, reckoned generally by the ſhilling.

THE Frank, or rather Anglo-Norman, ſhilling of twelve pence, the 20th part of the pound ſterling, is of a higher claſs and later uſage among us: it's deſcent and origin will be part of our enquiry in the next chapter.

"et ſuam ipſius vitam et ſi terram haereditariam habeat, ipſa in manus regis "tranſeat." Brompton. p. 931.

[k] Differtat. epiſtolar. p. 111.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

N°. I.

Obſervations on the uſe of the word Nummus *in* PLAUTUS [a].

IN order to do juſtice to the point in queſtion, it cannot be improper to offer two or three preliminaries, which are on all ſides univerſally admitted.

1. That Plautus uſes the Greek way of computing money, by *minæ*, *drachmæ*, *oboli*; the ſums, diviſions, and valuations are all Athenian. For he ſeems to lay down this as a rule,

"Hoc Poëtæ faciunt in Comœdiis,
"Omnes res geſtas eſſe Athenis autumant." Prol. Menaech.

2. *Nummus* was a word not known among the Athenians, but came to Rome from Sicily, and was uſed by the Romans as a term equivalent to the Greek νόμισμα, ſignifying *money* in general. And therefore when *nummus* is uſed indefinitely in Plautus, and applied to either gold or ſilver, it is highly reaſonable to think, that it means the moſt uſual coin of either ſort, which was underſtood in common converſation, and by which ſums of money were computed at Athens. This is a very probable concluſion, and ſuch as ſhould not, without expreſs evidence, be over-ruled. Let us ſee what that evidence is in the caſe before us.

It is plain, that Plautus uſes *nummus* for the *aureus*, but then *Philippeus*, or *aureus*, is always firſt mentioned: Thus,

"Sunt tibi intus aurei
"Trecenti nummi Philippei." Pœnulus, i. 1. 38.

And afterwards in the third Act,

"Hic trecentos nummos numeratos habet." iii. 2. 17.

Again,

"Quia centum nummis minus dicetur." iii. 4. 24.

[a] See above, p. 196.

But

But in both theſe places it means *aurum*; the ſenſe is determined by what goes before, or follows: As in the firſt inſtance,

"Nos inſpicere oportet iſtoc aurum." iii. 2. 10.

In the laſt,

"Cum auri ducentis nummis Philippeis." iii. 4. 22.

And ſo in many other places, where *aureis*, or *Philippeis*, is added, as,

"Qui mihi mille nummûm crederet
"Philippeûm." Trin. iv. 2. 112.
"Illo mille nummûm Philippo circumdücere." Ibid. 117.

But *nummus* in Plautus generally means a ſilver coin; it is often ſo expreſſed, as,

"Tamen nunquam hinc feres Argenti nummum." Aſin. ii. 4. 80.
"Dividere Argenti dixit nummos in viros." Aulul. i. 2. 30.
"Locare Argenti nemini nummum queo." Moſtell. iii. 1. 4.
"Nummum nuſquam reperire Argenti queo." Pſeudol. i. 3. 95.

And where neither *aurum* nor *argentum* is mentioned, it means ſilver only; ſo in the Perſa,

"Ut mihi des nummos ſexcentos." Perſ. i. 1. 37.
"Ut nummos ſexcentos mihi
"Dares utendos mutuos." i. 3. 37.
"Nummi ſexcenti hic erunt." iii. 3. 32.

And in the Rudens,

"Nummos trecentos — quadringentos — quingentos,
"Sexcentos — ſeptingentos — mille dabo nummos —
"Centum et mille." Rudens, v. 2. 36, &c.
"auctarium
"Adjicito, vel mille nummûm pluſquam poſcet."
Merc. ii. 4. 23.

In all theſe places it is moſt probable, that the ſums mentioned are *drachmae*; becauſe Labrax advances juſt ſo many *nummi* every time as came to a *mina*: and it is very well known (as Dr. Taylor has ſhewn by ſeveral inſtances, *Marm. Sandvicen.* p. 29.) that the Greeks, when they ſaid, διακοσίας, τριακοσίας, τετρακοσίας, πεντακοσίας, χιλίας, τετρακιλίας, μυρίας, &c. without any addition, always meant δραχμὰς, becauſe this was *pervulgatiſſima nummi ſpecies*: the addition of *nummus* could make no difference in this caſe; a common audience would certainly underſtand all theſe ſums of *drachmae*, when the

particular

particular coin was not ſpecified. A comic writer would ſcarce introduce a language entirely different from that univerſally received in the forms of doing buſineſs. Terence, who lived ſome years before Plautus died, never uſes *nummus* but in this ſenſe, as a *drachma* only.

But there is one paſſage in Plautus, which ſeems to put this out of all doubt. The ancients, both Greeks and Romans, weighed every thing of value by the *drachma* weight: and therefore when Plautus ſays,

"Inaureis da mihi
"Faciundas pondo duûm nummûm ſtalagmia." Menaech. iii. 3. 18.

the *nummus* here can mean nothing but a *drachma*. It would otherwiſe be unintelligible, and no direction to the goldſmith. This ſeems to admit of no other ſenſe. And all the other paſſages, where *nummus* is mentioned, fall in with this valuation, and have a greater force and clearneſs by admitting it; as,

"Nunquam hinc feres argenti nummum." Aſin. ii. 4. 80.
"Non eſt veriſimile, hominem pauperem
"Panxillum parvi facere, quin nummum petat." Aul. i. 2. 34.
"Eum ſi reddes mihi, praeterea unum nummum ne duis." Captiv. ii. 2. 81.
"Nummum nullum habes." Epid. iii. 1. 9.
"Ut uno nummo plus petas. Moſt. iii. 1. 123.
"Haud nummo amplius." Ibid. iii. 3. 16.
"Nummum nuſquam reperire argenti queo. Pſeud. i. 3. 65.

All theſe mean not a ſingle croſs, and are conſequently applicable to that lower ſpecies of ſilver, which was then commonly uſed. Nobody would think, that when a man ſaid he had not a ſingle ſhilling in his pocket, that he always meant he had not two.

But let us now conſider thoſe particular paſſages, from whence ſuch great men as Salmaſius and Gronovius draw this concluſion, that *nummus* in Plautus always ſignifies a *didrachma*: and they are theſe three,

1. Pſeud. iii. 2. 20.

"Illi drachmis iiſſent miſeri; me nemo poteſt
"Minoris quiſquam nummo, ut ſurgam, ſubigere."

Hence,

Hence, they ſay, it appears, that *nummus* in Plautus ſignifies a *didrachma*, becauſe the *nummus* ſeems to be of more value than the *drachma*, and, as there was no intermediate coin, probably twice that ſum. But the turn of this ſentence does not lye in the difference between *drachmis* and *nummus*, but between *iiſſent* and *ſurgam*. "Theſe fellows, ſays he, would have tramped off with you for a "*drachma*; but, for my part, I would not ſo much as *ſtir off my* "*ſeat* for a doit leſs." This, as it is moſt probably the true ſenſe, inſtead of ſhewing any difference, proves they were the ſame. And here I ſhould be for reading from the authority of Lambin's Mſ. not, as he did, *drachmiſſent*, but *drachmâ iiſſent*. The other, *viz. drachmis iiſſent* is more ambiguous, and does not expreſs ſo much contempt.

2. The next is, Trucul. ii. 7. 11.

"Nam jam de hoc obſonio, de mina una deminui
"Modo quinque nummos: mihi detraxi partem herculaneam."

Here the *quinque nummos* and the *pars herculanea* are ſuppoſed to be the ſame thing; and, therefore, if *quinque nummi* were equal to the tenth part of a pound, each *nummus* muſt be a *didrachma*. But what occaſion for this ſuppoſition? It is ſo far from being neceſſary, that it ſpoils all the ſpirit and humour of the paſſage, and makes a dull and uſeleſs tautology. It may be explained to more advantage very differently. "Out of this *mina* (the ſum given for buying "in proviſions for the family) I have already guttled up five "*drachmae*, and put twice as many into my pocket." This makes the ſpeech more in character, and the ſums different: *detraxi*, and *deminui*, do not ſeem to relate to the ſame thing.

3. The laſt is, Epid. i. 1. 52.

"Id adeo argentum, ab daniſta apud Thebas, ſumpſit foenore;
"In dies minaſque argenti ſingulas, nummis."—

Here Salmaſius ſays, that as the *foenus menſtruum* was two *drachmae* per month; ſo the *foenus diurnum* muſt be two *drachmae* a day: but why ſo? The *foenus menſtruum* at two *drachmae* a month, came to twenty-four *per cent. per ann.* The *foenus diurnum*, at two *drachmae* a day, came to above ſeven times *cent. per cent.* Sure this

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is being a ſlave to an hypotheſis with a witneſs! Half that favour was ſufficient: above three times *cent. per cent.* in a year would be enough to ſatisfy the moſt execrable uſurer; and, I think, might be admitted as a proof on the other ſide, that *nummus* could not poſſibly be *more* than a *drachma*. The ſimilar uſage of *nummus* in Plautus and Terence, is no inconſiderable argument in favour of this opinion: they lived almoſt at the ſame time, in the ſame country: the plan of their drama's were both Athenian, and muſt be ſuppoſed to allude to the ſame cuſtoms. From all this, I think, we may juſtly conclude, that *nummus* is never uſed in Plautus, but for the *aureus*, or the *drachma*, and has no other valuation whatſoever.

Nº. II.

Of the Jewish Money [*b*].

I Believe there is no part of the Jewiſh antiquities, which wants reviſing more than the value of their money. The eſtimate moſt commonly received is certainly much too high. I am ſenſible that biſhop Cumberland had great [*c*] authorities; and that the premiſes he built upon, had the moſt plauſible appearance; but ſuch however, as do not accord with the more ancient valuations. His opinion was that the original Jewiſh Shekel was half an ounce, and that this was proved, firſt, by the teſtimonies of Joſephus and Jerom; ſecondly, by the Shekels now remaining; and thirdly, becauſe this Shekel was the ſame weight, as the Attic Stater. But how is this to be reconciled with the value of the Jewiſh money, as it is given us throughout the whole Greek verſion of the Old Teſtament. The tranſlators of the Pentateuch, or even of the hiſtorical books, could not be ignorant of the true weight of the Shekel, and could have no inducement to make the riches and magnificence of their ancient kings appear leſs conſiderable than they really were. They univerſally tranſlate the Shekel, when it is mentioned, as money,

[*b*] See above, p. 210.

[*c*] Cumberland's Eſſay towards the recovery of the Jewiſh weights and meaſures, p. 103.

by

by the Didrachm, or quarter of an ounce. If the Shekel was the Stater, a coin ſo common among the Greeks, how comes it to paſs, that not one of theſe tranſlators ever call it ſo, or ſpeak of it under that proportion? To reconcile this evidence with that of the ſubſequent ages, it has been ſaid over and over again, and by perſons of the firſt claſs in learning, that the Alexandrine Didrachm was equal to the Attic Stater, or half ounce. When this is proved, there may be ſome reaſon to conclude, that the preſent eſtimate has a proper foundation. But in the mean time, as this is a point of ſome moment, as the value of all the ſums of money mentioned in the Old Teſtament depends upon it, it may be proper to take another method: not to reconcile Joſephus, Jerom, and the LXX, by a miſtaken account of the Alexandrine nummulary weights, but to maintain the difference between their eſtimates: to permit the LXX to decide this queſtion, and upon theſe principles to clear up the whole affair of the Jewiſh money. Firſt, By admitting, that the true original weight of the Shekel was, what the LXX repreſent it, a quarter of an ounce. Secondly, By granting, what the Jewiſh Rabbins affirm, and their coins now demonſtrate, that their money [*d*] received a conſiderable alteration after the Babyloniſh captivity. It is evident, by the firſt capitation tax for the ſervice of the tabernacle, that their firſt Shekel was only a quarter of an ounce: but after the time of the Maccabees, a new Shekel called the Shekel of the Sanctuary was introduced. Whatever this was owing to, whether policy or neceſſity, it enabled the

[*d*] V. Hooper's Enquiry, p. 209. There are other difficulties in this article of the *Jewiſh money*, ariſing from the relation of the *obolus* to the *gerah*, which perhaps we have not premiſes to remove. What the Alexandrine *obolus* was under the Ptolemies ſeems not ſufficiently explained. Heſychius, from whom we might expect the beſt information, ſays only ὀβολοὶ, *νεμία*. Suidas calls ἀσσάρια, ὀβολοὶ and then Heſychius informs us, that ἀσσάρια and *νεμία*, and by conſequence ὀβολοὶ, were the ſame coins. Hence poſſibly we may conclude, that, as ἀσσάριον in St. Matt. is uſed for the As, this Alexandrine *obolus* was of the ſame value as the original Roman *As*, ten to a Denarius, which agrees perfectly well with the proportion that the *gerah* bore to the ſhekel: Or if the ἀσσάριον was half the Attic ὀβολοὶ, as appears by the uſe of it in Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. it was the only coin by which the Hebrew *gerah* could be tranſlated. But, however, this is certain, that from the Drachma upwards, the Alexandrine and Attic coins were the ſame, and the language the ſame.

Jews to finiſh and adorn their temple, by doubling its revenues. This diſtinction had no place in the earlier times. The ſtandards of the Jewiſh weights and meaſures were kept in the temple; a practice that was common among the heathens, as well as the Jews. Hence by the *Shekel of the ſanctuary* nothing more was meant in the old Teſtament, than a *juſt and exact weight*. But the zeal and ſuperſtition that appeared among the Jews, after their return from Babylon, gave their government an eaſy opportunity of introducing this new Shekel under that character, and perſuading them that the Shekel granted for the uſe of the tabernacle was double the value of that in common uſe. By this means this additional contribution was readily ſubmitted to, looked upon as a thing ſacred and enjoined by their law. Hence the Tetradrachm was in all ſubſequent ages called the Shekel.

This gives a clear and conſiſtent view of the Jewiſh money: admitting theſe facts, the Jewiſh and Alexandrine coins, Jerom and the LXX, Joſephus and the Rabbins are perfectly reconciled.

It is almoſt two centuries ſince Staniſlaus Grſepſius, a learned Polander, publiſhed a treatiſe, *De multiplici ſiclo, et talento Hebraico*. The principal point there advanced was, that the Jews had two different Talents and Shekels in uſe among them at the ſame time: that the Shekel of the ſanctuary was twice the weight of the common Shekel, which was only a Didrachm, or quarter of an ounce. The practice, which has prevailed more or leſs among all nations, of altering the weight of their coins, and yet calling them by their old names, was not then ſo well underſtood. Making an original difference between the two Shekels was certainly a miſtake; but the other part of this poſition, that the *firſt* Jewiſh Shekel was only a Didrachm or quarter of an ounce, never met with that regard it deſerved. It was thought ridiculous to reaſon againſt facts. All the ancient Shekels, that have been diſcovered, were certainly half an ounce. Even Mr. Greaves was carried away by this prejudice, and thought that Villalpandus had ſufficiently anſwered all Grſepſius's arguments upon this ſubject. Villalpandus indeed had ſhewn, what every one has allowed, both

before

before and ſince his time, that there were Shekels of half an ounce. But this proves nothing for or againſt a more ancient practice. He appeals likewiſe, but to as little purpoſe, to the authority of the vulgar Latin, where Shekel was ſometimes tranſlated Stater. This verſion is repreſented as the moſt deciſive evidence, and even ſuperior to the Hebrew original. "Latinae vulgatae editionis "auctoritatem tenendam, et pro viribus tuendam eſſe profitemur. "Quamobrem LXX interpretum verſionem, immo et ipſam "HEBRAICAM lectionem ita explicandam, ut cum Latina con-"gruat." De apparatu urb. et templi, vol. iii. p. 396.

Such reaſoning as this would now be thought ridiculous, even in a Jeſuit, if that verſion had been, as he repreſents it, in his favour. But it is far otherwiſe: what he advances with ſo much confidence, has very little truth: For all the places in the Old Teſtament, where Shekel is mentioned, are in the vulgar Latin uniformly tranſlated Siclus, except three, or four, where it is Stater. But it appears from Jerom's Commentary on Ezekiel, c. iv. 10. that he had, in that verſe, altered the old original Siclus into Stater; and we may well preſume, that the few other alterations of that kind came likewiſe from the ſame hand. Jerom did this moſt probably to make the ancient accounts of the Jewiſh money agree with thoſe of his own age. But from the numerous inſtances of Siclus ſtill remaining in the vulgar Latin, and from Jerom's own confeſſion, Villalpandus ſhould have ſeen, that Shekel was originally and univerſally tranſlated Siclus in that verſion, that it agreed with the LXX, and confirmed its authority.

Hence it follows, that the Shekel of the Hebrews, the σίκλος of the Greeks, and the Sicilicus or Siclus of the Latins, were all of them the ſame thing, a quarter of an ounce, differing very little in weight; the name and eſtimate both coming moſt probably from the ſame original.

This book of Grſepſius's met with a very ſingular fate. It was at firſt much neglected, and then, about a century afterwards, publiſhed in Germany, as a very choice Mſ. found in one of their libraries. One Henricus Goutier Thulemarius reprinted it word

for word without taking the leaſt notice of it's author; and this literary pirate was in time regarded as the true proprietor. See Baudelot's Utilitè des voyages, vol. ii. p. 247. and Fabricius's Bibliotheca antiquaria, p. 27.

Morell, one of the beſt judges of ancient coins that ever was, allowed that all the Jewiſh Shekels which he had ſeen, were coined ſince the time of the Maccabees. I believe he might have ſaid, that the Jews never coined any money at all, till about the reign of Antiochus Sidetes: before that, their money was little laminae, or plates of ſilver, like the original Greek Drachmae; and therefore they ſpeak of them in Scripture, as [e] δεσμοὶ and ἔνδεσμαι ἀργυρίου, *bundles of money*, ſuch as might be tyed together. Hence their Drachma, or half Shekel was called Beka, ſignifying *the plate*, or Shekel divided into two parts, as by its form might eaſily be done: and Feſtus has obſerved, that the Roman Didrachm was called Sicilicus for the ſame reaſon, *quod ſemiunciam ſecet*.

[e] Gen. xlii. 27. 35. Prov. vii. 20.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The SAXON MANCUS; DANISH MARC *and* ORA; *and* ANGLO-NORMAN SHILLING. *The Proportion between* GOLD *and* SILVER *among the* ROMANS, FRANKS, *and* SAXONS. *The* NORMAN SHILLING *from the* CONQUEST *to the* 43d *of* ELIZABETH.

THE Saxon gold coins, or at leaſt ſuch denominations of money, as paſſed under that eſtimation, come next in order; but attended with much greater difficulties. As the Saxons generally made their larger payments by weight, and in another ſpecie, their coinages in gold were certainly but ſmall, and conſequently the paſſages that allude to them are few in compariſon, and ſome of them very ambiguous and obſcure. Hence it has been commonly thought, that the coins they ſpeak of were the produce of foreign mints; or that theſe names, in the language of that age, were only names for ideal money, which paſſed currently at a certain valuation, but in a lower form. Whether theſe prejudices, or opinions are well grounded or not, it will be difficult to produce ſuch vouchers, as will prove the contrary; unleſs we enlarge our views a little, and give a ſhort account of the ſeveral Aurei, that were current in Europe from the decline of the Roman empire in the Weſt to the Norman conqueſt. This will lead us to open our proper enquiry with more freedom, and with greater advantage; for moſt probably the regulations of the mint,

mint, in theſe different countries, may in that age mutually reflect ſome light upon one another. But this will oblige us to change our ground often, in order to find a way through theſe dark, varying, and remote mediums, which contribute not a little to the preſent obſcurity. I may perhaps take a larger compaſs, than is quite neceſſary for the point in queſtion; but as this will chiefly be upon claſſic ground, and of ſome uſe in eſtimating the value of ancient money, it will be no very diſagreeable excurſion

The gold coins that were current in Europe, for ſome ages before the Norman conqueſt, were of three ſorts, the old Byzantine and the firſt Frank *Solidus*; and their ſubdiviſions, the *Semiſſis* and *Tremiſſis*; the Italian and Saxon *Mancus*; and the laſt Frank *Solidus* of 12 pence. As ſome of theſe coins have not yet been diſcovered, the beſt, if not the only method that can be taken to aſcertain their weight and value will be the exchange, that was then in uſe. For the Goths and Franks made no innovations in this reſpect at their firſt ſettlements. They took the popular exchange of gold and ſilver juſt as they found it, as it had been eſtabliſhed by the Roman practice. The occaſional and neceſſary alterations in the value of gold and ſilver among the Romans is a point, as a celebrated writer [*a*] has obſerved, not ſufficiently attended to in their hiſtory: the remark is very juſt. It is a ſubject that may deſerve a more accurate diſcuſſion than I am able to give it, and was certainly

[*a*] Voltaire's General hiſtory and ſtate of Europe.

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one of thoſe in which his abilities [*b*] were not ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed. We have very imperfect accounts of the Roman exchange, either becauſe they were ſo well known in every age, or perhaps of ſo little conſequence to an uncommercial people, that their hiſtorians ſcarce thought them worth mentioning. Their exchange betwixt gold and ſilver aroſe ſometimes from ſuch cauſes as were accidental and extraordinary, and conſequently had no durable or commercial effects. Such was that, which Pliny mentions, at the firſt coining gold at Rome.

" Aureus [*c*] nummus poſt annum LXII percuſſus eſt, " quam argenteus; ita ut ſcrupulum valeret ſeſtertiis " vicenis: quod effecit in libras, ratione ſeſtertiorum qui " tunc erant, ſeſtertios DCCCC.

PERHAPS it is not very eaſy to determine what this proportion was. Budaeus makes it fifteen to one; Gronovius, either fifteen or twenty to one, according to the weight of the Denarius at that time. But both [*d*] theſe

[*b*] He makes Charlemagne's pound, which, as Le Blanc ſays, was heavier than the Roman, to conſiſt of a hundred and twenty four Deniers; ſuppoſes, that theſe Deniers weighed at an average about 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ Troy grains. The whole amount of 124 ſuch Deniers would be little more than ſeven Roman ounces and a half, above one third leſs than Charlemagne's pound. Voltaire's Gen. hiſt. Vol. I. p. 56, 57. He obſerves likewiſe, that there was nearly as much money in France during Charlemagne's reign, as there is at preſent. This calculation is much wider of the mark, than the former, Had there been no more in France in the time of Lewis XIV, than there was in Charlemagne's, how much would this have contributed to the peace and repoſe of Europe at that juncture?

[*c*] Hiſtor. Nat. l. XXXIII. c. xiii. p. 612. Ed. Harduin.

[*d*] Theſe are the eſtimates: Budaeus ſays, " Si ſcrupulum auri vicenos " ſeſtertios valuit ut ex Plinio didicimus, auri ad argentum ea fuit proportio,

calcula-

calculations are made upon wrong principles: Budaeus thought that the conſular Denarii were of the ſame weight as thoſe of the emperors in the ſecond and third centuries, eight in the ounce; and Gronovius was of the ſame opinion: Though, in this inſtance, he makes two eſtimates; in one, computing the Denarius at four ſcruples, in the other at three, i. e. making the Denarius of that age either ſix or eight in the ounce; but the laſt was his real ſentiment. The true weight of the Denarius was betwixt theſe two (a point which ſhall be diſcuſſed more at large in the Appendix to this Chapter), and conſequently

"quae eſt quindecim ad unum; cum viginti ſeſtertios quindecim argenti "ſcrupula valuerint, quot ſcilicet unum auri ſcrupulum valuit." Budaeus De aſſe, l. iii. p. 301. ed. 1695, inter Scriptores rei nummariae veteres.

Gronovius reaſons upon the ſame principles. "Teſtatur Plinius ſcriptu- "lum auri tum ſeſtertiis vicenis eſſe taxatum. Si denarius ejus aevi quatuor "ſcriptulorum fuit, enorme hoc pretium eſt auri prae argento, quippe bis "decuplum: nam ſeſtertium ea ratione ſcriptulum argenti habuiſſe neceſſe "eſt, quum quatuor ſeſtertiorum pondere eſſet denarius. At ſi denarium, "ut debemus, facimus trium ſcriptulorum, ſeſtertio dabimus ſcriptuli do- "drantem. Sic viceni ſeſtertii confecerint quindecim argenti ſcriptula; et "ita proportio auri ad argentum fuit quindecupla." It is much, that he ſhould never think of any medium. But he admits of no other Denarius, but that of three ſcruples .... "Nos non niſi unum [denarium] agnoſcimus "drachmae aequalem: ſi qui graviores fuerunt, neque diu id pondus ſervarunt, "neque quo tempore mutatum ſit, ullum veſtigium in antiquis exſtat; eorum "denique apud ſcriptores priſcos ἐ λόγος, ἐδ' ἀριθμός." De pec. vet. p. 141. 151. This is a little ambiguous; there never was a Denarius quite ſo heavy as the Greek Drachma: But the Denarius, which the Romans ſtruck at the firſt coinage of ſilver, was heavier than that of eight in in the ounce, and continued the ſame to the imperial times. Though it is certain that the Drachma and Denarius always paſſed currently for each other; yet it by no means follows, that they were *exactly* of the ſame weight. They were never reduced to the eighth part of the ounce, till ſome years after the Imperial government was eſtabliſhed.

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the proportion between gold and ſilver here aſſigned was about 17 to one. This exchange was nothing more than a lucrative, political regulation. The government was a conſiderable gainer by it. Gold coins from their own mints were never ſeen before; and therefore the public curioſity would be eaſily induced to take them at a price much above their true value. The government availed itſelf of this circumſtance, and made now a prodigious advantage in circulating the gold coins, as they had done before in reducing the braſs.

THIS was the higheſt valuation of gold, that we meet with at Rome, or, I believe, any where elſe. The loweſt ever known among them was, when Caeſar returned with the plunder and ſpoils of Gaul. It was then not ſo much as half the former eſtimate.

" Inde [*e*] factum eſt, ut auro abundaret, ternisque " millibus nummum promercale divideret."

THERE are two ways of computing this exchange either by the pound in weight, or in tale. Dr. Arbuthnot [*f*] choſe the former: by reckoning 84 Denarii to the pound, the number that was then ſtruck out of it at the mint, he makes the value of the gold here mentioned about nine times it's weight in ſilver. If the weight of the Roman pound had been the point in queſtion, this had been the right method: But in eſtimating the exchange of money it is evidently againſt the Roman practice, as will appear by ſeveral of the following inſtances.

[*e*] Sueton. in J. Caeſare, c. 54.
[*f*] Tables of ancient coins, p. 43.

They computed the value of the exchange by the pound in tale, the common currency: And therefore as 3000 Seſterces were 750 Denarii, the proportion between gold and ſilver was then reckoned at about ſeven and a half to one.

BUT this was an extraordinary caſe, and of no continuance. The fate of the republic was at this juncture brought to it's laſt criſis. All Caeſar's views were political and ambitious: They might ariſe in this inſtance either from intereſt, or oſtentation; from a real deſign of making himſelf popular, and the appearance of making the people rich: Or the want of fineneſs [g] in the gold might occaſion ſome abatement in it's value.

THE two eſtimates, which we often meet with in the claſſics were of much greater extent, and regulated the

[g] "Nullus ſolidum integri ponderis calumnioſa exprobrationis obtentu "recuſet exactor, excepto eo Gallico, cujus aurum minore aeſtimatione tax-"atur." Novell. Majorian. ad fin. Cod. Theod. tit. i. p. 53. Gronovius explains this paſſage in a different manner; that Majorianus authoriſed the officers of the revenue to refuſe the Gallic Solidus in payment, not for want of fineneſs, but weight. But the words will not bear this interpretation; the reaſon for rejecting it is, becauſe it was "aurum minoris aeſtimationis." He ſupports his opinion by ſaying, that, when the Roman Solidus weighed three ſcruples, the Solidus of the Franks weighed only two and one third. I know of no ſuch Roman Solidi. But be it ſo: how could it have any thing to do with an edict of Majorianus's, when the Franks had, in all appearance, no gold coins at all? If we believe Gregory of Tours, in an addreſs to one of theſe Frank princes, they had certainly no gold coins before Chlovis. Gronovius ſeems to confirm this opinion, when he ſays, *Francorum reges percuſſiſſe aureum nummum, antequam Galliam ſubegiſſent, et Trevericam monetam ſuae ditionis feciſſent, credibile non eſt.* Theſe were the fruits of Chlovis's victories. There is a coin or two in Bouteroue and Le Blanc aſſigned to ſome of the former princes, but without any reaſon ſufficient to convince us, that they were their coins.

exchange

exchange of gold and ſilver in all the politer parts of Europe for many ages. The firſt of theſe was the old Aſiatic [*b*] and Greek proportion of ten to one. This paſſed current among the Romans, as ſoon as they had any conſiderable intercourſe with Greece. We find it in the treaty which M. Fulvius made with the Aetolians, not above ſeventeen years after the firſt coining of gold at Rome. Among other particulars of that treaty Polybius [*i*] mentions this:

ΑΝΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ ΜΝΩΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ, ΧΡΥΣΙΟΥ ΜΝΑΝ ΔΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ.

LIVY in repreſenting this article does not fix the exchange by the weight, but gives the ſame proportion from their coins.

[*b*] Thus Xenophon ſtates the exchange in his time: ὑπισχνεῖμαι σοὶ δέκα τάλαντα .... ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Δαρείκους τριχιλίους. Cyrus promiſed Silanus the ſoothſayer ten talents, and he paid him in gold 3000 Darics. The Daric, was like the Greek Aureus, equal to two Drachmae, and conſequently three thouſand were a talent of gold, equal to ten talents of ſilver. The ſame exchange continued, as we learn from Menander, above a hundred years afterwards. He calls the talent of gold δεκατάλαντον, ὅτι τῇ ἀργυρίῳ δεκαπλάσιον ἦν. Pollux lib. ix. c. 76, 77. The Aetolian league, above a century later, proves the ſame thing. See Heſych. v. χρυσοῦς, and Suidas, v. δραχμὴ, for the ſame exchange, which continued near three hundred years at leaſt: not but there were other proportions. Herodotus, about twenty years after Xerxes had plundered Athens, when their trade was not very affluent, mentions the exchange as thirteen to one, lib. iii. 198. ed. Gronov. Plato in his Hipparchus makes it as twelve to one; if that dialogue is Plato's, which Aelian ſo long ago ſuſpected; and perhaps this exchange, ſo different from Xenophon's, may juſtly increaſe that ſuſpicion.

[*i*] Excerp. legat. c. xxviii. ed. Caſaub. p. 321.

" Pro argento [*k*], ſi aurum dare mallent, darent, con-
" venit; dum pro argenteis decem aureus unus valeret."

THERE is a little ambiguity in this account, becauſe the Aureus here mentioned is not ſaid to be the Denarius aureus, or Half-aureus. Hence Hotoman [*l*] raiſed a ſuſpicion, that the paſſage itſelf was not quite correct, that the true reading ſhould be nearer to the language of Polybius, and thus expreſſed, *Dum pro argenteis decem* una auri libri *valeret*. But Gronovius [*m*] has very juſtly ſhewn, that there is not the leaſt occaſion for any alteration; that the proportion is exactly the ſame as Polybius's in other words: And yet Gronovius [*n*] in the ſame chapter has made ſuch concluſions, as are utterly inconſiſtent with the authority of that paſſage, he had ſo well vindicated. For it appears from hence, that there was ſuch a coin as the Denarius aureus, otherwiſe the direct proportion of ten to one could not have been aſſigned by the Aureus at all; but the reading muſt have been, *dum pro argenteis* viginti *aureus unus valeret*.

IF there was ſuch a coin as the Half-aureus, equal in value to ten Denarii, then the Whole-aureus muſt be

[*k*] Liv. Hiſtor. lib. xxxviii. c. 11.

[*l*] Hotoman de re nummaria, p. 353.

[*m*] De pecun. vet. p. 108.

[*n*] " Itaque omnino ſtatuendum videtur, aureum Romanum, ex conſtituto, " pondere duorum denariorum et victoriati non multo minorem fuiſſe; ſemper " autem graviorem ſtatere Attico, quicquid avaritia et malae artes vel his " vel illis detererent." De pecun. vet. p. 109. An Aureus of this weight could never paſs in the decuple proportion with their ſilver coins. The managers of the Roman mints were not ſuch bad politicians, as to make their Aureus heavier than the Greek.

Didrach-

Didrachmalis; as Budaeus, Agricola, Hotoman, Scaliger, and Salmaſius, &c. have ſaid it was; it could not poſſibly have any other proportion. Gronovius treats Hotoman with ſome freedom, for ſuppoſing there were more ſorts of Aurei than one, and ſays, *Quid* [*o*] *infelicius? Species non fuit niſi una, quinque et viginti denariorum pretio; et quia non niſi una fuit, non niſi Aureus vocabatur.*

HERE it might be excuſable to return his own compliment, *Quid infelicius!* For almoſt every thing, that he has aſſerted in this paragraph, is wrong. This paſſage in Livy is a demonſtration that the Greek and Roman exchange was at this time the ſame thing, that the Whole-aureus was current for twenty Denarii, and not twenty-five.

WE learn from Pliny that the Roman Aureus was then exactly the ſame weight, as the Greek, which paſſed for twenty Drachmae: That there were at leaſt two ſorts of Aurei is certain: This fact is eſtabliſhed by ſo many paſſages in good authors, as Pliny [*p*], and Petronius Arbiter, that there is no rejecting their authority: But if this had not been ſufficient, Savot [*q*] might have directed Gronovius to more deciſive evidence, to many of the Half-aurei that are now remaining. It was for this rea-

[*o*] De pecun. vet. p. 238.

[*p*] Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxiii. c. 13. et lib. xxxiv. c. 17. So Petronius; *pro calculis albis, aureos argenteosque habebat denarios.... Jam ſcio unde acceperit denarios mille aureos.* The number mentioned, and the uſe they were applied to, ſhews they were very common coins. Petron. p. 129. 209. ed. Burman.

[*q*] Savot. apud Graev. Antiqq. Rom. Vol. xi. col. 1250.

ſon

ſon that the Aureus was called Solidus long before Conſtantine's, even before Severus Alexander's reign. The mention of Solidi in the Praetorian [r] and Aedilitian edicts, and in Apuleius, ſhews that this name was given to the Whole-aureus, to diſtinguiſh it from the Half: So little reaſon had Gronovius to ſay, *Conſtantinus Solidum pro aureo fecit* [ſ].

WE have no evidence of any alteration in this exchange till ſome ages afterwards: The next we meet with is twelve and a half to one. When this began is uncertain; but we find it, as high at leaſt as Galba's reign. Tacitus [s] informs us, that when Otho uſed to entertain that emperor at ſupper, he gave the cohort, which mounted guard that night, a hundred ſeſterces a man. Suetonius [t] relating the ſame fact, ſays, that Otho gave each of theſe ſoldiers an Aureus. Here a hundred Seſterces, and conſequently twenty-five Denarii were equal to an Aureus, and the proportion between gold and ſilver muſt be as twelve and a half to one.

WE may moſt probably date the origin of this exchange a good deal higher. The ravage of the laſt civil wars, and the interruption of all peaceable commerce

[r] "Qui adverſus ea fecerit, in eum ſolidorum decem in factum judicium "dabo." Edict. Praetor. Digeſt. l. ix. tit. iii. § 4. "Si adverſus ea factum "erit, et homo liber ex ea re perierit, ſolidi ducenti." Edict. Aedil. Digeſt. lib. xxi. tit. i. § 42. So Apuleius, "centumque aureos ſolidos offerens "pretium." Metam. l. x. p. 242. edit. Elmenhorſt.

[ſ] De pecun. vet. p. 343.

[s] "Quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti "viritim centenos nummos divideret." Hiſt. l. i. c. 24.

[t] "Quotiens coena principem exciperet, aureos excubanti cohorti viritim "dividebat." Suet. in Othone, c. 4.

with

with the Eaſt, muſt have raiſed the value of gold. This appears in ſome meaſure by a motion made in ſenate during Claudius's reign, to prevent advocates from taking fees in all cauſes whatſoever. The point was debated with great warmth and eloquence, and not without ſome perſonal, as well as popular, motives on both ſides. The emperor, though not willing to eſtabliſh a negative, and allow no fees at all, yet thought it neceſſary to fix and regulate the ſum: *That no advocate ſhould be allowed to take above ten thouſand Seſterces* [*u*] *at moſt.* This ſtated fee, as the younger Pliny [*w*] informs us, could not legally be paid, till the cauſe was over. It is called in the Digeſt *licita quantitas* [*x*], and there rated at an hundred Aurei, and conſequently the very ſame exchange as in the former inſtance. Martial alludes to it, as the common proportion in his time; though his way of expreſſing it makes it not very obvious:

[*u*] "Capiendis pecuniis poſuit modum uſque ad *dena ſeſtertia*, quem "egreſſi repetundarum tenerentur." Tac. An. l. xi. c. 7. Zonaras carries it as high as Auguſtus's reign.

[*w*] "Peractis tamen negotiis, permittebantur pecuniam duntaxat *decem* "*millium* dare....Suberat edicto [praetoris] ſenatusconſultum hoc: OMNES, "quicquid negotii haberent, jurare, priuſquam agerent, jubebantur, nihil "ſe ob advocationem cuiquam dediſſe, promiſiſſe, caviſſe." Epiſt. l. v. ep. 21. Sometimes the clients were examined in court upon this point. "Interro-"gati, an tunc gratis adfuiſſet [i. e. advocatus], reſponderunt, Sex millibus "nummûm: an rurſus aliquid dediſſent; dixerunt, Mille denarios." lib. v. ep. 4. A thouſand Denarii and ſix thouſand Seſterces made up the whole legal fee, i. e. ten thouſand Seſterces, or 80 pounds Sterling.

[*x*] "Licita tamen quantitas intelligitur pro ſingulis cauſis ad centum "aureos" Digeſt. lib. i. tit. 13. § 12.

Quod

"Quod conſtat [y] decies tibi non ſpatioſa ſupellex;
"Libra quod argenti millia quinque rapit;
" . . . . . .
"Haec animo credis magno te, Quincte, parare:
"Falleris: haec animus, Quincte, puſillus emit."

When we ſurvey the ſideboard's vaſt expenſe,
In that ſmall compaſs ſuch magnificence;
And value all the ſilver ſculptur'd round;
Five thouſand ſeſterces to every pound:
You think this ſhews a ſoul that's truly great;
Believe me, Quinctus, 'tis a vain deceit:
Your little minds can purchaſe ſumptuous plate.

Martial is rallying Quinctus upon the elegance and extravagance of his furniture; that it coſt eight thouſand pounds; that his plate was ſo elegantly wrought, and highly finiſhed, that it was as dear as gold, worth five thouſand ſeſterces a pound, or 1250 Denarii, and conſequently the ſame proportion as the former, twelve and a half to one.

THIS analogy between gold and ſilver continued at leaſt to Severus Alexander's reign, ſome years after the beginning of the third century. Dion Caſſius, who lived in that reign, ſays [z], that the Roman Aureus was

[y] Mart. l. iii. epig. 62. alluding to the exchange of the Aurei at that time, he calls 75 years, tres vitae aureos, i. e. 3 times 25 years.

"Ut nondum nimiâ piger ſenectâ,
"Sed vitae tribus aureis peractis,
"Lucos Elyſiae petam puellae.

It is an affected expreſſion, like λίτρα ἐτῶν, for ſeventy two years; libra occidua, for ſeventy two witneſſes.

[z] Χρυσοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς δυνάμενον, καλὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὀνομάζω. *Aureum vero, id numiſma quod viginti quinque denarios*

worth

worth five and twenty Denarii; a full evidence that the ſame exchange continued for two hundred years at leaſt without any alteration. Gronovius [*a*] indeed (as one error often multiplies into many) intirely rejects this duodecuple proportion; and aſſerts that the Roman Aureus was *always* of the ſame *weight* till Conſtantine's time, and *always* exchanged for twenty-five Denarii, and yet the proportion was but as ten to one.

I SHALL not undertake to explain all his reaſons for this aſſertion; I have already ſhewn that it is intirely wrong: But I muſt obſerve, that in this point he lays great ſtreſs upon the authority of Zonaras [*b*], who ſays, that among

valet, Romanorum more voco. Hiſt. Rom. Vol. I. lib. iv. p. 784. He gives us in another place the ſame proportion. When Marcus Antoninus returned to Rome after eight years abſence, the people petitioned for a donative of as many Aurei, as the years he had been abſent, ἵνα δὴ καὶ χρυσοῦς τοσούτους εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον λάβωσι.... ἕ ἀνὰ διακοσίας δραχμὰς αὐτοῖς κατένειμεν. *Hiſt. Rom.* Vol. II. p. 1196. Two hundred Drachmae a man, for an abſence of eight years, was rating the Aureus they petitioned for at 25 Drachmae. An amazing largeſs! I could wiſh that the hiſtorian had mentioned the whole ſum; it would have given great light into the ſtate of the city, and ſhewn how many people then received donatives.

[*a*] "Multa diſputavimus dudum, quare nec aureum Romanum didrachmum ex inſtituto et lege monetae, nec proportionem inter aurum et argentum, potiſſimo reipublicae et Caeſarum tempore, quindecuplam aut duodecuplam, quae decupla erat, ſtatuere poſſimus..... Fundamentum hujus conſtitutionis eſt, quod imbibiſſe ſummum virum et alibi diximus, proportionem inter aurum et argentum fuiſſe duodecuplam." De pecun. vet. p. 183, 174.

[*b*] Παρὰ Ρωμαίοις αἱ εἴκοσι ἕ πέντε δραχμαὶ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα ἕν· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἴκοσι δραχμῶν, ὡς Δίων φασὶ, τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀλλάττεται νόμισμα. *Valent autem apud Romanos viginti quinque drachmae unum aureum, apud Graecos autem vicenis drachmis aureus permutatur.* Zonar. tom. I. p. 408. Zonaras had obſerved it, as a ſtriking inſtance of charity and policy in Auguſtus, that he kept by

the Romans twenty-five Denarii were equal to an Aureus; and among the Greeks, as Dion Caſſius informs us, twenty: And what they ſay, was true: Such was the exchange both in Greece and Rome; but not at the ſame time: Neither Dion nor Zonaras have ſaid this. Dr. Arbuthnot, who fell into this miſtake by depending too much upon Gronovius's authority, took it for granted, that theſe different proportions took place in each of theſe countries at the ſame time, and concludes from hence, that the Greek and Roman Aurei were either not of the ſame weight, or fineneſs: For that muſt be a direct impoſſibility "becauſe [*c*], the ſilver would be ex-"ported from one place, and the gold from the other, "until the balance was juſtly ſettled;" and then adds, "that there are but two ways of ſolving this difficulty, "by ſuppoſing the Roman Aureus either *finer* or *hea-*"*vier* than the Attic. Agricola and ſome others had "taken the former; and Gronovius, I think, for good "reaſons the latter."

BUT there was a third way, and that very eaſily diſcovered, which removes all this difficulty. The accounts,

him in his privy purſe the ſum of χιλίας ἑπτακοσίας μυριάδας δραχμῶν, *quindecies centenas myriadas drachmarum*, i. e. 480,000 *l.* Sterling, to lend among diſtreſſed citizens for three years without intereſt. It was the cuſtom in Zonaras's time to compute all great ſums in gold; and therefore, to give his readers the ſatisfaction of knowing what this ſum was, he makes this general obſervation, that the Greeks reckoned 20 Drachmae to the Aureus, the Romans 25. The firſt was the proportion whilſt the power and independency of the Greek ſtates continued; but under the Roman emperors, if not ſooner, it roſe higher, to twelve and a half to one.

[*c*] Tables of ancient coins, p. 44.

which

which Dion and Zonaras give, were the practice of the Greeks and Romans in different ages, according as the exchange between gold and ſilver altered, which has often varied, and muſt do ſo hereafter more or leſs in every country; as the quantity of either of theſe metals increaſes or leſſens by a greater produce or conſumption: This effect is in common to them with all other merchandizes. But it is much that Gronovius ſhould give into this account merely upon the authority of Zonaras, an author of the twelfth century, when Livy and Polybius were againſt it. When it was left to the option of the Greeks to pay either in ſilver or gold, they were not ſo weak as to allow an Aureus for every twenty Denarii, if the Aureus was then really worth twentyfive.

WHETHER this proportion of twelve and a half to one continued from Severus Alexander down to Conſtantine, in that period of confuſion, when ſeditious armies were perpetually ſetting up new emperors, and contending tyrants attacking and depoſing one another, does not appear by any thing that I have ſeen. The coins were, generally ſpeaking, wretchedly executed and debaſed during that interval, and the weight of the Aurei continually decreaſing, as appears by thoſe that are now remaining.

CONSTANTINE, who came to the empire juſt ſaved from ruin by the abilities of a few preceding princes, found, as might be expected, many diſorders to rectify. Among theſe, the bad ſtate of their coinage was one, to which he ſoon gave a particular attention [*d*]. This was a very

[*d*] Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit xxii. l. unic.

wiſe and popular ſtep. He brought the weight and fineneſs of the Aurei to a certain ſtandard, and their coins kept up to it for many ages afterwards, even to the diſſolution of that empire, excepting a few inſtances, when the public diſtreſs induced their princes to take the impolitic meaſures of enfeebling or debaſing their coins. We have but few writers in this period; no poets or hiſtorians that give any information upon this ſubject; yet what we have, though not conveyed in ſo polite a manner, is certainly of as great authority: It comes from the Roman laws themſelves, or from very ancient gloſſes upon them. It does not expreſſly appear, that Conſtantine altered the weight of the Aureus before the year 325: But ſome of the public grievances ariſing from the bad ſtate, and inequality of their coins were redreſſed before that time. For we meet with ſeveral of his edicts [*e*], which imply that there had been new regulations in the mint: the reduction of the Aurei to ſix in the ounce was moſt probably one of them: The law, directing the manner of their Exchequer payments, ſays,

"Siquis [*f*] ſolidos appendere voluit, auri cocti ſex "ſolidos quaternorum ſcrupulorum, noſtris vultibus figu-

[*e*] Cod. Theod. de ponderatoribus, de falſa moneta, &c.

[*f*] Cod. Theod. Tom. IV. p. 563. Gothofred and Bouteroue contend for the old reading, but for ſuch reaſons as are by no means ſatisfactory. The words of the law are evidently againſt ſuch conjectures, which orders the fineneſs of the metal, *aurum coctum*, as well as the weight of the coins. In an edict about money we muſt conclude, that the orders were to make the coins according to the weights, and not to leſſen the weights, even when

"ratos,

" ratos, adpendat pro ſingulis unciis; XII pro duobus.
" eadem ratione ſervanda, ſi quis materiam inferat, ut
" ſolidos dediſſe videatur."

THAT this is the true reading of this law has been proved long ago; and there was no great difficulty in proving it [g]: For if there were four ſcruples in every Aureus, there muſt conſequently be ſix Aurei to the ounce, and ſeventy-two to the pound. This appears to be the true ſtate of theſe alterations by the coins now remaining. The Aurei of the Byzantine empire are not conſiſtent with any other aliquot proportion whatſoever.

THIS law of Conſtantine gives us the weight of the Aureus; but the value, which it paſſed for in ſilver, is ſtill wanting. This muſt be taken from other authorities. One of the gloſſes upon the Baſilica [b] tells us, that fourteen Milliarenſes were at that time equal to a Solidus. I have already ſhewn [i] that Gronovius's conjectures upon this paſſage are quite groundleſs, that it admits of no alteration, and that the Denarius was now called Milliarenſis upon this account. The Solidus at ſix in the ounce, or ſeventy-two in the pound, weighed about ſeventy-three Troy grains; and fourteen Denarii of eight in the ounce would weigh 766 of theſe grains, and conſequently the

it was thought expedient to enfeeble the coins. The Roman pound, and its ſubdiviſions, continued very nearly the ſame from firſt to laſt; and the very coin, directed by this edict, to the concluſion of that empire. Iſidore ſays, " Stater medietas unciae, appendens aureos tres,"

p. 1231.

[g] By Pancirolus, Savot, Gronovius, &c.

[b] Vid. ſupra, chap. iii. p. 184.

[i] Ibid.

propor-

proportion that was then current between gold and ſilver was about ten and a half to one. This was bringing back the exchange nearer to it's ancient eſtimate, and making it almoſt as low as it had been during the republic. A very conſiderable alteration; though nothing more, than the natural effect of Conſtantine's new ſituation and government. He had eſtabliſhed himſelf in a full and unrivaled ſecurity; had fixed the ſeat of his empire juſt upon the confines of Aſia, the only great magazine of gold in thoſe ages. The trade from Alexandria on one ſide, and from the Euxine on the other, flowed in ſuch an abundance into his new capital, as was never known before, and of courſe made a much larger and freer circulation of gold among all his ſubjects. This was a circumſtance taken notice of by the writers of that age, that were no friends to Conſtantine. The anonymous author at the end of the Notitia ſays:

"Conſtantini [*k*] temporibus profuſa largitio: AURUM "pro aere, quod antea magni pretii habebatur, vilibus "commerciis aſſignavit . . . And a little afterwards, "Ex "hac *auri* copia privatae potentium repletae domus, &c."

He ſeems to inſinuate that this abundance was owing to the plunder of all the heathen temples. But we ſhould have heard of this charge, if there had been any juſt grounds for it from other hands. Zoſimus, who takes pleaſure in reporting every thing, that would leſſen Conſtantine's character, ſays nothing of it; and accounts for

[*k*] Notitia dignitatum Imp. Rom. ed. Labbe, 170.

this

this great increaſe of riches and revenue [*l*] from other cauſes. Had it been true, Julian would never have paſſed it over in ſilence, or ſpared his uncle's memory in committing, what he would have thought, a moſt unpardonable ſacrilege. Theſe riches were not owing to rapine, but to prudence; to the wiſe and ſteddy meaſures of the new eſtabliſhment.

THIS proportion however between gold and ſilver did not continue long. The very diviſion of the empire between the ſons of Conſtantine had bad effects. It was immediately ſucceeded by ruinous civil wars. This encouraged the German nations upon the Weſtern frontiers to invade the Roman provinces, and leſſen their power. In the Eaſt, the long and unſucceſsful wars with Perſia in the following reigns exhauſted the riches of that empire, and were deſtructive to it's trade. Hence it was, that the exchange ſoon afterwards ran much higher. Gold became much dearer, than ever it was known to be before. At the concluſion of this century, we meet with a great alteration in it's value. A law, made by Arcadius and Honorius A. D. 397, ſhews the difference.

"Jubemus [*m*], ut pro argenti ſumma, quam quisque
"theſauris fuerit inlaturus, inferendi auri accipiat facul-

[*l*] Οὕτω δὲ τῷ εἰσφορὰν ἀπήγαγε χρυσίᾳ δὲ ἀργύρῳ πᾶσι τοῖς ἁπανταχῇ γῆς μετιοῦσι τὰς ΕΜΠΟΡΙΑΣ, δὲ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ΠΑΝΩΝΙΑΝ προτιθεῖσι, μέχρι καὶ τῶν εὐτελεςάτων. *Idem et auri argentique collationem impoſuit omnibus ubique terrarum mercaturam exercentibus; et in oppidis officinas, ubi aliquid vendant, habentibus.* Zoſim. p. 115. edit. Oxon. This account reſolves it into the increaſe of trade.

[*m*] Cod. l. x. tit. lxxvi. This new exchange might probably take place ſooner, before A. D. 360. For when the army declared Julian Auguſtus, the

"tatem;

" tatem; ita ut pro ſingulis argenti libris quinos ſolidos " inferat."

THE information given us in this edict is juſt the reverſe of what we had in the former law of Conſtantine's. Here the difference of the exchange only is ſpecified, as the weight of the Solidus was in the former: And to give this law it's proper effect nothing more was neceſſary. The Solidus continued at the ſame weight under all theſe reigns. We are ſure it was ſo in Valentinian's reign, not many years before the publication of this new edict. He gives the officers of the mint expreſs directions to keep the Solidus to it's former weight.

" Quotieſcunque [*n*] certa ſolidorum ſumma pro tituli " quantitate debetur, et auri maſſa tranſmittitur, in ſep- " tuaginta duo ſolidos libra feratur accepta."

THERE is no appearance [*o*] from the coins now remaining, that any of theſe Byzantine emperors made any

donative, which he promiſed, was " Quinos omnibus aureos, argentique ſin- " gula pondo." Ammian. Marcellin. p. 264. ed. Gronov. This is the ſame proportion, two pound to a man, half in ſilver, and half in gold. i. e. five aurei to the pound.

[*n*] Cod. Theod. Tom. IV. p. 546.

[*o*] An edict of Theodoſius junior and Valentinian ſhews that the Aureus was then kept up to the ſame weight; it is there called Exagium. " De ponderibus quoque ut fraus omnis amputetur, a nobis aguntur exagia, " quae ſub interminatione ſuperius comprehenſa ſine fraude debet cuſtodiri." Novell. Cod. Theod. p. 13. Bouteroue has exhibited one of theſe weights, made by order of Honorius, Arcadius's brother, very fair and finely preſerved, but a little impaired in its weight. Hence the Solidus itſelf was often called Exagium, or, in the Latin form, Sextula. Vid. Iſidor. Orig. l. xiv. c. 24. p. 1231. But to remove all uncertainties about the weight of the Byzantine Solidus, Zonaras ſays it was never leſſened under that empire, till the reign of Nicephorus Phocas; and that diminution of no great continuance.

durable

durable alteration in their gold coins: It is expreſſly ſaid they did not; and it is certain that if any legal alteration had been made before Juſtinian's time, this edict had never been inſerted in the code, as the ſtanding ordinance and regulation for the mint. But though the Solidus continued of the ſame weight, gold was increaſing much in value. A letter of Symmachus's addreſſed to Theodoſius, the father of Arcadius, ſets this matter in a full light.

GRATIAN had upon this account allowed the body-corporate of money-changers ſomething more for the exchange of ſilver or braſs into Solidi, than they had a right to demand before. Symmachus introduces their petition upon this principle, and ſays, that Gratian had done all that equity could require at that juncture: But the allowance was now too little: The times were altered: Gold was become much ſcarcer than uſual. But as Symmachus repreſents this caſe very ſtrongly, I ſhall give it in his own words.

" Huic [p] hominum generi, taxationis exiguae vili-
" tate nutante, DIVUS frater numinis veſtri tantum pro

[p] Symmachi epiſt. lib. x. ep. 42. The gentlemen of this corporation had a great variety of names, as Collectarii, Nummularii, Menſarii, Argentarii, Argenti probatores, Trapezitae, Collybiſtae, Zygoſtatae, &c; their buſineſs was changing money; either ſupplying perſons, who were making payments into the Exchequer, with Gold for ſmall money; or exchanging Solidi into theſe ſmaller coins, ἀναλύειν αὐτὰ εἰς βραχύταλα, for the convenience of domeſtic uſes, and lower traffic. Symmachus mentions only the firſt ſort of exchange, as more uſeful to the court; and therefore calls them in this petition, *Collectariorum corpus vendendis ſolidis*..... But they had another office, that made them of more conſequence to the government. When

 " ſingulis

" ſingulis ſolidis ſtatuit conferendum, quantum aequitas
" iſtius temporis poſtulabat, D. Imperator. Sed paul-
" latim, AURI ENORMITATE creſcente, vis remedii divalis

money brought into the Exchequer was refuſed by the clerks, one of theſe money-changers was uſually called in to ſettle its value. This was directed by an edict of the emperor Julian. *Quotiens de qualitate ſolidorum orta fuit dubitatio; placet, quem ſermo Graecus Zygoſtaten appellat, per ſingulas civitates conſtitutum, qui pro ſuâ fide atque induſtria neque fallat, neque fallatur, contentionem dirimere.* Cod. lib. x. tit. lxxi. Upon this account the members of this corporation were under the immediate care and direction of the Praefectus urbis, *qui curare debebit, ut nummularii probe ſe agant circa omne negotium ſuum.* Dig. lib. i. tit. xii. § 9. Were we to judge by the manners and cuſtoms of our own age, we ſhould ſcarce think it neceſſary to eſtabliſh a body corporate for this purpoſe. But the caſe was very different under that government. The great variety of coins, both as to their weight and alloy, made this a buſineſs not eaſily diſpatched by private hands, who muſt be ſtrangers to the value of a coin, perhaps much adulterated, which they had never ſeen before. Theſe money-changers were therefore allowed a legal profit in their buſineſs, which was different, as appears by this letter of Symmachus, at different times. What that profit was, we learn in ſome meaſure from the edict *De pretio ſolidi*, before mentioned. The law ſays, *Etiam illud in perpetuum volumus contineri, ne unquam infra ſeptem millia nummorum ſolidus diſtrahatur, emptus a collectario ſeptem millibus ducentis.* By this account, they were allowed a profit of near three per cent. or as 200 in 7000. They got almoſt as much by changing money, as our government pays for the public intereſt. But the moſt ſurpriſing thing that we learn from this law is the value, which the Solidus paſſed for in thoie ſmall coins. It is granted by the ableſt commentators upon this law, that 6000 of theſe diminutive bits of money were the common change for a Solidus, and that it roſe ſometimes to 7200; though the value of it at that time was not quite ſo much as 12*s.* 6*d.* Sterling. I have weighed ſome of theſe braſs coins, which were not above the fifth part of a farthing, and muſt paſs in value for about the tenth. What a melancholy proof of the wretched poverty of the ſubjects under the dominion of thoſe haughty princes! Vid. Salmaſ. ad Hiſt. Aug. Script. vol. I. p. 962. et Gronov. De pec. vet. p. 364. The Jews, who are now the great brokers of the world, were always very indulgent to this profeſſion: they ſuffered it to be carried on in the temple, and had there τράπεζαι τῶν κολλυβιστῶν or κερμαλιστῶν,

" infracta

" infracta eſt. Et cum in foro venalium rerum *majore*
" ſumma ſolidus cenſeatur, nummulariis pretia *minora*
" penduntur. Petunt igitur, &c."

THIS plainly ſhews, that the value of gold was much increaſed ſince Conſtantine's time. What the current exchange was appears in the Juſtinian code, where five Solidi are allowed to be paid into the Exchequer for a pound of ſilver, or a hundred Denarii; and conſequently twenty Denarii then paſſed for a Solidus, which went only for fourteen under Conſtantine's government. The proportion then eſtabliſhed was, as Gronovius [*q*] very properly ſtates it, ſomething above fourteen to one, i. e. about one fifth more. But there is no occaſion to conſider the fraction: In ſtating the popular exchange of ancient money ſuch minute eſtimates were ſeldom regarded. Nor is it at all ſurpriſing that the value of gold and ſilver ſhould alter ſo much in little more than half a century. Things were upon a very different foot in Conſtantine's reign. He was in peace with all the Eaſtern princes: They did him public honours, ſent embaſſadors to his court, either to propoſe new alliances, or to continue and confirm the former treaties. Very few of his ſucceſſors were ſuch able politicians, as to ſee the miſchief of a rupture with theſe princes, or how much their intereſts were affected by obſtructing the moſt valuable branch of trade which enriched their dominions. But we have ſeen much greater changes in the value of

[*q*] " Sic aurum, ex proportione ad argentum decupla, crevit eo, ut una
" pars auri quatuordecim et amplius commutaretur paribus argenti partibus."
De pec. vet. p. 343.

ſilver within the compaſs of one reign, and owing to the very ſame cauſes, the obſtructing of trade. Lewis [r] the XIV. during Q. Anne's wars, made the ſame Mark of ſilver, which had been current for 26 Livres, paſs for forty, above a third more. . . . The ſtandard of the imperial gold coins was never ſo uniform and exact, as under the Byzantine emperors. The weight of the Solidus continued the ſame, and the exchange between gold and ſilver was at twenty Denarii to a Solidus, from the middle of the fourth century, till after Juſtinian's reign: It took in the whole extent of both their codes.

I HAVE now carried theſe obſervations as far as I intended. During the continuance of this exchange, ſeveral of the northern nations, the Goths, Franks, and Saxons poſſeſſed themſelves of the moſt conſiderable provinces of the weſtern empire; and Juſtinian, after all his victories, was ſcarce able to ſupport the remains of it even in Italy itſelf. The pound of ſilver had always paſſed for a hundred Denarii or Milliarenſes, and two hundred Quinarii or Ceratia; and when the Denarii were reduced to eight in the ounce, the little difference between weight and tale was not worth eſtimating. Theſe new conquerors at their firſt ſettlements had not the leaſt inducement to alter the currency of the exchange that was then eſtabliſhed. They had been long before very well acquainted with the Roman money, they knew that twenty Milliarenſes or Denarii, and forty Half-denarii or Ceratia, paſſed for a Solidus, their principal

[r] Voltaire's Lewis XIV. Vol. II. p. 125.

gold

gold coin. At their firſt eſtabliſhments they continued the ſame practice. Pleaſed (as Mr. Camden [s] long ago obſerved) with the politer manners of that people, they began to imitate their polity, and improve their own forms of government from that original. In this view they ſometimes adopted, and ſometimes tranſlated, their honorary titles, offices, &c. into their own language; and followed them as exactly in ſtriking their coins. Their names and value were often intirely Roman. The conduct of the Franks is in this reſpect a moſt obvious and ſtriking inſtance. Amidſt a great variety of the ſmaller Aurei ſtruck during the reigns of their firſt princes, from Chlovis downwards, three or four Solidi and Semiſſes are now remaining in the king of France's cabinet [t], fair and well preſerv'd. Their names, their

[s] Camden's Britannia, 3d edit. col. CCXVI. Thus the Duces and Comites of the Romans were literally called Dukes and Counts by the Franks: the Duces limitanei tranſlated into Marck-graves; Praefectus palatio into Seneſchalck: — Praefectus equitum, Mareſchalck; — Nobiliſſimus, the title of their heir apparent in the lower empire, was by the Saxons rendered Aetheling, from æþel, noble; Senator, Alderman; Aerarium, ceapꝛceamole, or the money-benches. Thus in the Goſpels, the Phariſees are called ꝛunðeꝛhælȝan, the ſeparate holy: Scribes, Boceꝛeꝛ, or Bookmen: the Synagogue, ȝeꝛeꝛꝛæðenne, the aſſembly for reading, &c.

[t] "Je croy que les François s' eſtant rendus maiſtres de la ville de "Treves, où il y avoit une fabrique de monoyes pour les Romains, com- "mencerent à ſuivre leur police, et à regler leur fabrication, ... "Quils fabriquoient leurs Sols, les Demis, ou Triers d' or." Bouteroüe's Recherches curieuſes, &c. p. 175. "Cette conformitè me perſuade, "que les François imiterent les Romains dans les fabrications de leur "Monnoies ..... Leur ſol d' or et le nôſtre peſoient egallement 85

weights.

weights, their impreſſions are indiſputable proofs of their original. Some of them exactly the ſame weight, as the Byzantine Solidi of that age, others a little more worn, or diminiſhed in their weight: but all of them actually ſtruck upon Roman dyes or matrices with their legends altered. It might perhaps have been ſuggeſted, that theſe larger coins were ſtruck occaſionally, and like medals upon ſome extraordinary event, either as compliments to ſome of the Byzantine emperors, or as particular marks of honour to the prince, who ſtruck them. But it is evident, from the original Frank code, the Salic law, that all theſe ſeveral Solidi were their cuſtomary and legal coins. I ſhall mention one or two inſtances to ſet this matter in a clearer light.

" Si quis [*u*] ſervum alienum flagellaverit, ut in qua-
" draginta noctibus operari non potuerit, XL denariis,
" qui faciunt ſolidum unum, et trianti (l. triente) uno,
" quod eſt tertia pars ſolidi, culpabilis judicetur."

HERE the eſtimate and proportion of the Roman Solidus and Tremiſſis is exactly obſerved. In another paſſage, not quite ſo correct, the value of this Tremiſſis is more particularly ſpecifyed.

" Si quis admiſſarium [*w*] alienum ſine conſenſu do-
" mini ſpadaverit ..... per unumquodque jumentum,

" grains $\frac{1}{3}$ de grain. Les Demiſols, et les Triers de ſols à proportion.....
" Ils purent meſme ſe ſervir de leurs ouvriers, et leur machines." Le Blanc's introduction au traité hiſtorique des Monnoies de France, p. 1, 2.

[*u*] Leges Salicae, tit. xlvii. § 4.

[*w*] Ibid. tit. xl. § 13. A hundred paſſages in theſe Laws prove

" quod

" quod ille continere conſueverit, trien (l. trientem) com-
" ponat, quod eſt tertia pars ſolidi, i. e. XII. (l. XIII.)
" denarii, et tertia pars unius denarii."

ALL theſe roving conquerors took the ſame meaſures about their money. The Viſigoths, who ſettled at firſt in another part of Gaul, certainly made uſe of the ſame Aurei. This appears by their laws:

" Solidum [x] aureum integri ponderis, cujuſcunque
" monetae ſit, ſi adulterinus non fuerit, nullus auſus ſit
" recuſare."

So far the Roman law was ſtrictly obſerved: but what follows, altered the Roman practice, and forbad any thing to be taken for the exchange:

" Nec pro ejus commutatione aliquid monetae requi-
" rere, propter hoc quod minus forte penſaverit . . . . . .
" Id quoque et de tremiſſe ſervandum."

HERE the ſeveral parts of the Solidus, *cujuscunque monetae ſint*, whether from the Roman mints or their own, and even a little diminiſhed in their weight, have the ſame circulation.

THE Burgundians are another inſtance, who ſettled in the ſame country upon the moſt amicable terms along with the provincial Gauls. The ſame privileges and penalties were extended to the magiſtrates of both nations; whoſe ignorance or negligence in their judicial capacity was made puniſhable by a very remarkable law:

the ſame thing. Thus tit. ii. § 5. *quadraginta denarii, qui ſolidum faciunt.*

[x] Leg. Wiſigoth. p. 155.

" Si

"Si quis [y] ſane judicum, tam *Barbarus* quam *Ro-*
"*manus*, per ſimplicitatem vel negligentiam praeventus,
"non ea quae leges continent, judicavit, et a corruptione
"alienus eſt, xxx ſolidos Romanos ſe noverit inlatu-
"rum, &c."

WHAT theſe Solidi Romani were can be no queſtion. All theſe nations, Franks, Goths, and Burgundians, called theſe gold coins, Solidi or Sols; and the ſilver, Denarii or Deniers: The only difference between the Roman way of reckoning, and theirs was this; they made the *Half-denarius*, or *Ceratium* their common ſilver coin, and ſo inſtead of twenty Denarii, reckoned forty to the Solidus. But as ſilver grew ſcarcer, and the exchange altered, they leſſened the weight of theſe Deniers, and inſtead of 200 ſtruck 240 in the pound. Though they ſet out at firſt with all the ſeveral ſorts of the Roman Aurei, the Tremiſſis, which was from the beginning their moſt common gold coin, was ſunk a little in its eſtimate, and became at laſt the only Solidus that was made the baſis of their accounts.

THE laws of all nations, in their firſt ſettlements at leaſt, eſtimate all their ſums of money, either by ſuch nummulary weights, or ſuch coins, as were then certainly in uſe among them. Making payments, or fixing penalties in ſuch denominations of money, as were not then in being, was a thing utterly unknown: theſe are the effects of time, when, by revolutions in the ſtate, or diſtreſs in the finances, the government is obliged to

[y] Praefat. ad leges Burgund. p. 267.

take

take new meaſures, and alter their coins. The Salic laws eſtimate every ſingle fine in ſuch coins, as were then actually current in France, as appears by the ſeveral ſorts of them now remaining; and we ſhall ſoon have reaſon to believe that our Saxon princes followed the ſame practice.

IT has indeed been the general opinion that our Saxon kings coined no gold at all. But in a late controverſy [z] between two learned members of the Antiquary ſociety, it was agreed on both ſides, that the Saxons had their gold coins: They differed only upon another point, to whom, or to what claſs, the gold coins lately diſcovered in England were to be aſcribed. There were certainly many reaſons for this mutual conceſſion, and not one argument to be urged againſt it, except the non-appearance of ſuch coins: An argument, which, if generally admitted, would make ſtrange work with the ſenſe and credit of ancient writers, when they ſpeak of money.

THE Saxon remains furniſh us with a great variety of proofs, that they had gold enough in England for the purpoſe of ſtriking coins, if uſing it for almoſt every other public and ornamental purpoſe whatſoever will be admitted as any proof at all. I ſhall mention ſome of them.

THE PURCHASE MONEY for eſtates was frequently paid in Mancuſes. A biſhop of Rocheſter [a] gave a hun-

[z] Mr. Pegge's Diſſertation on ſome Anglo-Saxon remains, and Mr. North's Remarks.

[a] "Epiſcopus emit librum et terram a rege mid hund tpelftigan "Manceſan golder, þþittigan pundum." Hearne's Text. Roffenſis, p. 115.

dred and twenty Mancuſes for lands purchaſed of the crown. A biſhop of Durham in A. D. 876. ſells an eſtate for the ſame ſum, a hundred and twenty Mancuſes, *auri puriſſimi.* Prince Ethelſtan [*c*] gave for his eſtate at Weſton two hundred and fifty Mancuſes by *weight*: For his lands at Eadburgbury two hundred Mancuſes by weight, and five pounds of ſilver. Theſe Mancuſes muſt ſurely be gold coins, whatever country they belonged to originally. Can we believe that meer ideal money was ever ordered to be paid by *weight?* Or that theſe payments were made in ſilver, from which they are ſo ſpecifically diſtinguiſhed? The practice of our anceſtors muſt be agreeable to their language, and their ideas of ſuch payments as clear and diſtinct as ours. It is evident, that their larger ſums were often paid in gold, as well as ſilver. Thus, when Ethelred about A. D. 1002. purchaſed an inglorious peace of the Danes, the laws [*d*]

et ibid. p. 117, 121. "emptum octuaginta mancuſis auri puriſſimi." Vid. Monaſt. var. loc. et Hickes, Theſaur. Vol. II. p. 263. n. 84.

[*c*] Þe ıſ bogte mıð þmoðe halfe hunð mancuſen golder gerıgte...ſlonðer, þe ıc bogte mıð cuam hunð mancuſe golder gerıghte, ⁊ mıð fıf punð ſelupeſ. Somner's Gavelkind, p. 201. 197.

[*d*] Leg. Saxon. p. 105. Dr. Wilkins, who was a very careleſs tranſlator, never ſucceeded worſe than in this paſſage. The very reverſe of the verſion, which he has given, is right. cpa ⁊ cpentıg ðuſenð punda golder ⁊ ſılfer mon gerealde ðæm here [of Engla lanð] pıð fpıðe; which he tranſlates, XXII *millia librarum auri et argenti data ſunt exercitui Anglico pro pace.* It ſhould be, *dederunt homines Angliæ exercitui illi* [i. e. Danorum] XXII *millia auri et argenti pro pace.* Thus Brompton relates it: *data fuerunt ab Anglia.* And thus the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worceſter, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, &c. repreſent it; and their authority would induce us

ſay,

ſay, that twenty-two thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver were paid for it.

LEGACIES were often given in theſe coins. Thus in Abba's will [e], To every maſs-prieſt of Kent a Mancus, to every other eccleſiaſtic a penny. Birtrick [f] leaves many great legacies in Mancuſes; ſixty to Chriſt-church Canterbury, thirty to the archbiſhop, and thirty to the convent, and to the monaſtery of St. Auſtin thirty, &c. &c. In Wynflæde's [g] will, a Mancus of gold is given to every Eccleſiaſtic; to Leofpyfe a Mancus, to Fuzele a Mancus, &c. If it appears by the former inſtances, that the Mancuſes were gold coins, is it not as evident from this common practice of leaving ſpecific legacies in Mancuſes, that they were Engliſh coins likewiſe? During the long and frequent currency of the Portugal gold in this kingdom I never heard that any legacies were left in Moidores, or ſix and thirty ſhilling pieces. Tho' the great advances in the ſeveral branches of learning and ſcience muſt have improved the knowledge of theſe latter ages, yet, in the common buſineſs of life, the underſtanding of our Saxon anceſtors may juſtly claim the ſame regard and credit as our own.

THE OFFERINGS and preſents made to the churches and monaſteries of that age, the chalices, patens, vaſes, crucifixes made of gold, or ornamented with it, are ano-

to correct the Saxon laws, as to the ſum; which, they all agree, was XXIV thouſand pounds.

[e] Hickes, Diſſertat. epiſtolar. p. 33.

[f] Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 544. edit. 1656.

[g] Hickes, Praefatio generalis ad Theſaur. p. xxii.

ther evidence that gold was not very ſcarce among them. Queen Elgiva [*b*], the wife of Ethelred, preſented the church of Canterbury with a chalice and paten of fine gold, thirteen marks in value. Queen Emma [*i*], a great benefactreſs to the church of Wincheſter, gave them many ornaments in gold.

THE WEIGHT AND VALUE of their coronets, collars, bracelets, and bends, i. e. half circles [*k*] of gold to dreſs the hair upon, or put over it, was almoſt always eſtimated in Mancuſes. Aethelflede [*l*], widow of duke Athelſtan, bequeathed four coronets in her will, that

[*b*] "Elgiva regina dedit eccleſiae [Chriſti Cant.] calicem aureum cum "patina aurea, in quo ſunt XIII marcae de auro puro." Monaſt. vol. I. p. 2. And elſewhere, *dona aurea*. This preſent was conſiderable for that age, weighing above two pounds and a half, if we eſtimate by the Daniſh Marc, which was moſt probably then in uſe.

[*i*] Monaſt. ut ſupra, p. 33.

[*k*] anes benoeg on ðrentigum mancuſſum; and again, anes benoes on ðrittigum mancuſſum golder. Wulfar's will, in Hickes, Differt. epiſtolar. p. 54. Thus in Byrhtric's will, healfne bænd gyldenne. Ibid. p. 51. and Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, p. 543, 544. Mr. Lambarde's tranſlation of theſe words ſeems much more exact than what Dr. Hickes has given us from the Textus Roffenſis. Mr. Lambarde ſays *a half-bend gilt*, the literal verſion: The Textus, *dimidiam vittam capitis auream*. Half a riband, let it be ever ſo rich, was but an odd legacy. But healfe in the original does not expreſs the quantity, but the form; that it was a half-circle, either of ſilver gilt or of gold, as thoſe in Wulfar's will certainly were. This is a remarkable inſtance how much the Saxon ladies imitated the Roman dreſs. See Montfaucon, Antiqq. expl. tom. III. part i. plate XXIV, XXV. and the coins of ſeveral empreſſes, as Marciana, Sabina, Severina, Salonina, &c. He ſuppoſes the Latin name of this ornament was Calantica. But query? The Calantica ſeems to have been made of lighter materials.

[*l*] "quatuor corollas, quae bis centum mancuſas auri pendent." Vid. Hickes, Notes on Wotton's Conſpectus, p. 18. They were ſometimes much heavier: "duae corollae, quae duas libras pendent." Ibid. p. 31.

weighed

weighed 200 Mancuſes. A biſhop of Worceſter preſented one of the Mercian princes with two bracelets, which weighed forty-five Mancuſes [*m*]. Byrtrick [*n*] leaves to the church of Rocheſter a collar of forty Mancuſes; and to a lady a bracelet of thirty Mancuſes of gold. And perhaps it was to purchaſe ſome of theſe female ornaments, that, in a marriage contract, we meet with a pound of gold payable to the bride [*o*]. It was uſual among the politeſt nations for the goldſmiths to eſtimate the weight of jewels by the current coins. Thus, in Plautus,

" Inaureis [*p*] da mihi
" Faciundas pondo duum nummum ſtalagmia."

The directions here given were to make each of theſe ear-rings a Drachma in weight. This was long before the Drachma was reduced to the eighth part of the ounce. It is certain, that, where the Drachmae were the goldſmiths weights, they were likewiſe the common coins: And is not the fact almoſt as evident in this caſe, that where the Mancuſes were the uſual goldſmiths weights, they had certainly ſuch coins. The coins of any other country would never have been made, for very obvious reaſons, the ſtandard of the Saxon weights.

So much gold perpetually paſſing among them in all the forms of elegance and buſineſs; as it was wrought into

[*m*] "Duas bradiolas aureas fabrefactas, quae penſarent XLV mancuſas. Hemingius, de terris eccl. Wigorn. p. 86. 437.

[*n*] Lambarde's Perambulation, and Hickes, Diſſertatio epiſtolar. ut ſupra.

[*o*] Somner's Gavelkind, p. 195.

[*p*] Plauti Menaechmi, Act. III. ſc. iii. 17. Nummus in Plautus, when gold is not mentioned, always ſignifies the Drachma. See above, Appendix to Chap. III.

into plate, coronets, collars, bracelets, half circles of gold for the hair, even the handles of books, and every ornamental purpoſe whatſoever, can we ſuppoſe it poſſible, that they ſhould never apply it to the moſt uſeful of all purpoſes, the ſtriking of coins? Could their princes have any other way of employing it more to their own, or the nation's honour? This had been done in almoſt all the Gothic ſettlements, ever ſince the ſubverſion of the Roman government; and this evidence muſt convince us, that our monarchs, now grown more conſiderable, and ranking higher in Europe, followed their example. There was certainly no more difficulty in coining a Mancus than a penny. Towards the middle of the ninth century, our artiſts in England were not much inferior to the beſt in Europe. Alfred eſpecially is diſtinguiſhed for his great ſkill and taſte in works of elegance; one ſpecimen [q] of his gold-enamel is accidentally preſerved.

[q] Hickes, Theſaurus, vol. I. p. 142. and Wotton's Conſpectus, p. 18. Alfred is much and juſtly celebrated for his ſkill and taſte in the finer arts. But ſome of theſe accounts, as they now ſtand, ſet the ſplendor and magnificence of this reign rather too high. Thus Aſſer ſays: "Quid loquar de civitatibus et urbibus renovandis, et aliis, ubi nunquam "fuerunt, conſtruendis? De aedificiis AUREIS et ARGENTEIS incomparabili- "ter, illo edocente, fabricatis?" Aſſer, ed. Wiſe, p. 58. Would it not be wrong to ſuppoſe that ſuch an opulent monarch had no gold coins at all? But I never heard of gold or ſilver houſes, unleſs it were in the Arabian or Monkiſh tales; for the Monks were in the marvellous not much inferior to the Mahometans. Matthew of Weſtminſter tells us, that pope Sylveſter II, by his great ſkill in the occult ſciences, diſcovered in the Campus Martius, at Rome, a palace of Auguſtus Caeſar, under ground, all of gold.

THUS

THUS ſtands the evidence in general, ariſing from a great variety of facts, which prove that the uſe of gold was frequent and familiar among the Saxons. But this evidence will riſe upon us, and receive a greater illuſtration from the value of the Mancus, as rated in their laws, and the application there made of it in their public treaties. For, if the Saxons had their gold coins, it is moſt probable that they mention the value of them; and by that means we may poſſibly diſcover whence they were ori-

" Ibi terram ſolitis incantationibus aperiens latum ingredientibus introitum " patefecit. Conſpexerunt ingens palatium, aureos habens parietes, aurea " lacunaria, aurea univerſa. Viderunt milites aureos aureis teſſeris animum " oblectantes, &c." p. 1097.

The iſſue of the ſtory is almoſt as wonderful as the diſcovery, that the pope ſhould have the ſkill to find ſuch a treaſure at Rome, and not be at all the richer for it, not able to carry off a ſingle Aureus for his own uſe. If he attempted it, all theſe metallic guards were immediately in motion, to prevent his eſcape. He was juſt in the caſe of Midas, miſerably rich,

" divesque miſerque

" Effugere optat opes, et quas modo voverat, odit."

It had been more in character, if the hiſtorian had ſaid, this was Nero's palace, rather than Auguſtus's, who was remarkable for occonomy. Nero had a houſe enriched and ornamented with ſuch a profuſion of gold and jewels, that it was called *domus aurea*, one of the vaineſt and moſt extravagant pieces of ancient architecture, that we hear of. The hiſtorian had reaſon to ſay of this laviſh prince, and that was ſaying a great deal, *non in alia re diritiaſſe quam in aedificando.* Suet. in Nerone, cap. 31. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. c. 42. As all the editors of Aſſer, and the compilers of Alfred's life at Oxford have let this account of his gold and ſilver houſes paſs without any animadverſion, and as this miſtake appears to be of long ſtanding, Florence of Worceſter having copied it without altering a ſingle word, it is time it ſhould be corrected. Inſtead of AEDIFICIIS AUREIS et ARGENTEIS, there can be no doubt, but we ought to read OPIFICIIS *aureis et argenteis incomparabiliter, eo edocente, fabricatis.* For this was certainly part of Alfred's character: AURIFICES et *artifices ſuos omnes edocere.* Aſſer ibid. et Flor. Wigorn. p. 538.

ginally

ginally taken. The cuſtomary, if not the only, name for theſe coins among the Saxons was the Mancus or Mancs. But this appellation was not peculiar to the Saxons, nor of Saxon original. They adopted the uſe of the word, as well as the coin. The name and value of their Mancus, though not intirely Roman, came, like their ſhilling, from Italy. It was formed from the Latin *manu-cuſus*; juſt as *manu-ductus*, *manu-miſſus*, *manu-ſcriptus*, and more of that claſs. It occurs in the Latin gloſſes, which Eccard [*r*] publiſhed out of the Florentine library. The writers of the middle age ſometimes uſe the word indiſcriminately, for any gold coin whatſoever. Not being very well acquainted with the value of ancient coins, they gave them the moſt reſpectable names, that were given to the ſpecies then current among them. Thus Iſo [*s*] Magiſter calls the Philippei or Solidi of thoſe emperors, Mancuſi; though this was much below their real value, being ſtruck before the Solidus was reduced to the Byzantine ſtandard, and by princes, who were remarkable for not diminiſhing their coins. One of the firſt places, that we certainly meet with an authentic mention of theſe Mancuſi is in the papal biographer [*t*] Anaſtaſius. Maſtulus, a Primicerius of the church of St. Peter's in Rome, leaves an eſtate to charitable uſes, to be diſpoſed of at the pope's diſcretion, i. e. Hadrian I. The executors gave the pope for that purpoſe a portion of the church of St. Leucia *cum fundis et caſalibus, et in auro* SOLIDOS MANCOSOS *numero du-*

[*r*] Vid. apud Argelati de nummis Italiae, Vol. I. p. 114.
[*s*] "Iſoni Magiſtro Philippei vocantur Mancuſi." Id. ut ſupra, p. 117.
[*t*] Vid. Anaſtaſ. in vita Hadriani I. &c.

centos.

centos. Hadrian came to the pontificate in A. D. 772, during the reign of the laſt of the Lombard kings in Italy. The grants and edicts of the Frank emperors, who ſucceeded them, prove that theſe Mancoſi were coins in common uſe.

SOLIDOS, in this paſſage, means nothing more than Aureos, to ſhew that they were gold. Hludovicus Secundus, who began his reign about the middle of the following century, confirms and enforces a decree made by an archbiſhop of Milan with this penalty:

"Siquis [*u*] hoc hagere temptaverit, et noſtrum pri-
"vilegium violare temptaverit, noverit ſe poena damnan-
"dum mille Mancoſis auri."

ONE of his ſucceſſors, in another edict, ſhews us, what was the value of theſe Mancoſes. The emperor Henry II. confirming all the eſtates and privileges belonging to the abbey of St. Zeno in Verona, and ſecuring an annual penſion due from it to the biſhop, gives him this alternative:

"Sed neque [*w*] Epiſcopus aliquid ab iis exquirat, ſeu
"aliquam moleſtiam inferat, niſi tantum, quod ANNI-
"QUITUS conſtitutum eſt, in feſtivitate Sti. Zenonis, aut
"mancuſos XX, aut ſolidos L, cum clericis ſuis accipiat."

THE emperor fixes the penſion due from the convent to the biſhop according to the *ancient* practice (which cannot be ſuppoſed leſs than one or two centuries), and eſtimates the value of this payment in each of the two

[*u*] Muratori apud Argelati de nummis Italiae, Vol. I. p. 114.
[*w*] Id. ibid. p. 118.

 ſorts

ſorts of Aurei then current in his dominions, the Italian Mancuſes, and the Frank Sols. The very ſame eſtimate occurs in our own laws, where the Frank Sols and Saxon Mancuſes were certainly compared:

"Overſeuneſſe [*x*] regis eſt in cauſis communibus xx "mancae; quae faciant L ſolidi."

THIS proves the equality of the Saxon and Italian Mancuſes by the moſt unexceptionable evidence, the laws and edicts of both theſe countries. The Frank Solidi had for ſome ages before paſſed at twelve pence; and if *fifty* Solidi of twelve pence were equal to *twenty* Mancuſes, each Mancus muſt be two Solidi and a half, or thirty pence. This was by all accounts the exact value of the firſt Saxon Mancus. In one paſſage of their laws an ox is valued at a Mancus [*y*], in another at [*z*] thirty pence. And therefore Brompton, in his verſion of the former law, ſays, *una* [*a*] *manca*, i. e. XXX Denarii. Their manner of proceeding in judicial cauſes was fixed by the laws at the ſame eſtimate: if a perſon [*b*] refuſed to ſubmit to the rules or deciſion of a court, the fine was ſometimes rated in Mancuſes. If the property or point in queſtion was above the value of four [*c*] Mancuſes, or half a pound, the defendant muſt have twelve

[*x*] Leg. Saxon. p. 250. Brompton et Somner, Overherneſſa. In the laws of Edward the elder, this fine is eſtimated at 120 ſhillings, which were equal to 20 Mancuſes. Bromp. c. 836.

[*y*] Leg. Saxon. p. 66.

[*z*] Id. p. 129.

[*a*] Brompton apud Decem ſcriptores, p. 854.

[*b*] Leg. Saxon. ut ſupra, p. 250.

[*c*] Ibid. p. 47.

compur-

compurgators. The Saxon legiſlators of that age would no more have fixed the price of an ox (the property of every churl in the kingdom) at ſuch an eſtimate as a Mancus, if it had been only a foreign coin, than our legiſlators would now at ſo many Louisd'ors. In ſuch inſtances as theſe, which more immediately concerned almoſt the loweſt rank of inhabitants, to make the laws ſpeak the language of another country, and adjuſt their legal fines and petty controverſies by the value of ſuch coins as were never uttered from their own mints, muſt have been a very unaccountable abſurdity.

THIS appears likewiſe by another very great authority appealed to before. Archbiſhop Aelfric, ſpecifying the ſeveral ſorts of money in England, ſays, ꝼıꝼ penez̃a [c] ȝemaciaþ ænne ſcillinȝ, ⁊ xxx penez̃a ænne mancs; *five pennies make a ſhilling, and thirty pennies a Mancs.* The archbiſhop, as appears by the broken remains of the former paragraph, had obſerved that the Romans had a great variety of names for their coins, but the Engliſh had uſually *only three.* The Romans applied all their nummulary language to ſuch real coins, as were ſtruck within that empire: and muſt not the Engliſh appellations be underſtood in the ſame manner? Is there any other way of making tolerable ſenſe of this paſſage, but by admitting that the Mancus was an Engliſh coin? To take it in any other view, makes the paragraph contradict itſelf;

[c] Somner's Lex. Saxon ad finem Aelfrici Gram. Saxon. p. 52. All that remains of that imperfect paragraph is this, On leoden ſpꝑæce mænigꝼealde ..... ȝetel; ac on Enȝliſe nis nan þæꝑa ȝepunelic buton þꝑin anum.

for a pound is certainly as much money of account as a Mancus or a Shilling. If the archbiſhop had not confined the obſervation to his own country, he would have enlarged his catalogue by the Byzantine Aurei and the Frank Sols. The value of the Mancus gives a very eaſy method of aſcertaining its weight. The exchange, long before the Mancus made its appearance as an Engliſh coin, was much altered in the Weſtern parts of Europe, and fixed at twelve [*d*] to one: And from theſe premiſes, the value of the Mancus, the current exchange, and the proportion which the Mancus bore to the firſt Frank Solidus, the weight of it may, within a grain or two, be eaſily deduced. Thirty Saxon pennies (not eſtimating in their inaccurate coinages the fraction of a grain) would be about 660 Troy grains; the twelfth part of which number is 55. The proportion between the Saxon Mancus and the firſt Frank Solidus was as three to four; the one rated at forty, the other at thirty, pence. The Mancus therefore was about one fourth part leſs than that Solidus, which, as Mr. Greaves has ſtated the Roman pound, weighed, 73 Troy grains: Deduct the fourth part of ſeventy-three, and the remainder will

[*d*] An edict of Charles the Bald A. D. 864, a little before Alfred's reign, fixes the exchange at twelve to one: *Ut in omni regno noſtro non amplius vendatur libra auri puriſſime cocti, niſi* DUODECIM *libris argenti de novis et meris denariis.* Baluzii Capit. regum Francorum in edicto Piſtenſi, c. xxiv. Vol. II. p. 185. But this exchange was much older; it muſt take place as early as the firſt reduction of their legal Solidus to twelve pence, and twenty of theſe Solidi to the pound. Dr. Hickes reckons the exchange much too low, in ſtating it only as ten to one. For this is the proportion he aſſigns *Mancuſa auri decies valebat mancuſam argenti.* Differt. epiſtol. p. 109.

be

be 54 $\frac{3}{4}$, or, without the fraction, 55, the very ſame weight as in the former eſtimate. The concurrent evidence of theſe two eſtimates, which are alone ſufficient to determine the weight of the Mancus very nearly, will receive a conſiderable addition by comparing them with a numerous ſet of coins of the ſame claſs, which differ only in name from it: But of this below.

WHEN the Saxons began to coin gold is very uncertain, and perhaps not to be diſcovered by the moſt diligent reſearches. We have no Saxon laws remaining between Ina and Alfred, which are the moſt authentic evidence of facts, becauſe they have received the ſanction of public authority. And during that long and dark interval, we have very little light from hiſtory, which, next to the laws themſelves, gives the moſt ſatisfactory information: For hiſtorians could have no inducement to repreſent the current coins of the kingdom different from what they truly were; and no credit, if they attempted it. The firſt authentic account of the currency of theſe coins in England, that I have met with, ariſes from our connexions with the ſee of Rome. About the concluſion of the eighth century, Cenwulf [*e*] king of Mercia ſent an embaſſy to Leo III. requeſting that the juriſdiction of the metropolitical ſee of Canterbury, which his predeceſſor Offa had preſumed to violate, might be reſtored, and ſettled by his authority. This embaſſy was attended with a preſent of 120 Mancuſes, which the pope, out of

[*e*] Malmſbury, De geſtis regum. Et Parkeri Hiſtoria Archiep. Cant. ed. Drake, p. 97.

a pure

a pure regard for the king's ſalvation, received very courteouſly. There are indeed ſome appearances among the doubtful remains of that age, that the Mancus was current in England long before Cenwulf's reign. But all the *Latin* deeds, grants, and conveyances, which we meet with under the different periods of the Saxon government, are to be read with great caution, and require the whole *ars diplomatica* to diſtinguiſh the fictitious from the genuine inſtruments. We are much obliged to the care and courteſy of thoſe gentlemen, who, from the public repoſitories, not always ſo eaſy of acceſs, have publiſhed large collections of theſe ancient charters. But the obligation had been much greater, if they had entered into a more critical examination of theſe remains, and ſhewn what marks of ſuſpicion, fraud, or authenticity, and conſequently what credit, belonged to them. Many of them are undoubtedly forgeries, as Dr. Hickes [*f*] and Mr. Wanley have obſerved; but *pious frauds*, drawn up with no bad intention, but purely to ſecure the eſtates, then veſted in the monaſteries or churches, from the violent rapacity of Norman conquerors. The Saxon grants were often made without any writing at all, by giving livery and ſeiſin before witneſſes; but the Normans, allowing no claim to paſs without written evidence, the monks were ſometimes ſet to work in framing theſe titles. Dr. Hickes [*g*] has made a very liberal conceſſion, and given up one whole claſs, as *ſplendide men-*

[*f*] Theſaur. ling. Septent. et Wanleii Catal. hiſtorico-criticus lib. vet. ſeptentrionalium.

[*g*] Hickes, ut ſupra, in Praefat. general. p. xxxv.

daces,

daces, i. e. all thoſe inſtruments where the ſubſcriber marks are ornamented either with vermilion or gold: and perhaps the very mentioning of gold coins in theſe deeds till towards the cloſe of the eighth century, as well as the affixing of golden croſſes, may create ſome ſuſpicions. The firſt of them, that has fallen under my obſervation, is found among the archives of the church of Chicheſter, and is certainly ſpurious. Its many inconſiſtencies cannot eſcape the notice of the moſt negligent reader. I ſhall exhibit [*b*] it below. There are other inſtruments of

[*b*] Charta dicta Nothgidae de iiſdem tributariis datis S. Wilfrido.

"Ego Nothgide famula Chriſti praefatam terram illam, quae michi "per manus conſanguineorum meorum in propriam poteſtatem [*deeſt forſan*, venit] trado Wilfrido epiſcopo reverendiſſimo, hoc eſt, XXXIII. "tributariorum; meque ei monacham facio, praeſtante Domino, devota mente paratam peregrinari coram Deo omnipotenti.

"Ego Offa rex Merciorum illam donationem, quae in alia parte hujus "paginulae pleniſſime ſcripta tenetur, cum meis fideliſſimis teſtibus firmiter firmo. Ego Offa rex ſanctae crucis ſignum impono ✠ cum aliis "teſtibus.

"✠ Ego Edelwulf gratia Dei occidentalium Saxonum rex, quae donavi "cum ſigno crucis Chriſti propria manu impono, et ab omni regali "ſervitio, et omni ſecularium cauſarum abſoluta ſervitute. Si hoc quis "minuere vel mutare praeſumpſerit, noſcat ſe ante tribunal Chriſti rationem redditurum, niſi prius ſatisfactione emendaverit.

"✠ Ego Eolwulf rex Merciorum hanc praefatam terram ſecundum petitionem Renired epiſcopi, et ejus placabili [*deeſt forſan* pecunia] id eſt, numero centum mancuſſae, ab omnibus curis ſecularibus in eccleſiaſticam "libertatem pardonabo, cum meis fidelibus teſtibus, et illis rogantibus, et "conſentientibus. ✠ Eadbricth epiſcopus. ✠ Renired epiſcopus. ✠ Sired "dux. ✠ Wulfrid dux. Acta ſunt haec in villa, quae dicitur Deaniton." Dugdale's Monaſt. Vol. III. p. 116, e Cod. Mſ. in regiſtro ep. Ciceſtrenſis, cui titulus, *Carte regum, epiſcoporum, et ducum Saxonicorum, de terris donatis*, &c. Liber olim magiſtri Willi Reed ep. Ciceſtrenſis, A. D. 1369.

What a number of objections lie againſt the credit of this ſhort conveyance? It appears by a counterpart to this deed, mentioned in the very

this

this kind at the beginning of the ninth century, which mention eſtates purchaſed, and paid for in Mancuſes: In this reſpect they agree very well with the language of the age, though in others they are not free from ſome of theſe unwelcome ſuſpicions. Three of them are purchaſes made by archbiſhop Wulfric from the Mercian and Kentiſh princes; which are already accuſed of keeping bad company. Mr. Wanley [*i*], ſays, of the whole collection, in which they occur, *haud pauca falſa, fictitia, et corrupta inveniuntur.* He does not indeed ſtigmatize theſe three [*k*] particular conveyances; but it is plain, that the language of them all is Norman; the land men-

firſt clauſe, that it was dated A. D. 692: Offa, the firſt ſubſcriber to this donation, came to the crown above half a century after the date of theſe premiſes. Was there ever any ſuch king as Edelwulf among the Weſt-Saxons; or as Eolwulf among the Mercians? Or even as Nothelm, who is ſaid in the former grant to be the brother of this lady, the great founder of the epiſcopal church at Selſea, and king of Suſſex? There is no ſuch name among all the South-Saxon princes. Beſides, if ſuch a prince ever exiſted, he could not be the founder of this church. Bede, a contemporary hiſtorian of the greateſt authority, ſays, that the grant of Selſey was made by Edilwalch, the laſt of the S. Saxon kings. Lib. iv. c. 13. Eddius, the author of Wilfrid's life in the eighth century, ſays the ſame thing. And, without obſerving any more of theſe inconſiſtencies, was there ever any ſuch biſhop as Renired in the whole Saxon catalogue? Is it poſſible to look upon ſuch records as theſe, as any real evidence of the facts they mention? This may ſerve as a ſpecimen, to ſhew what mean workmen were ſometimes employed in this office. But it muſt be allowed, that many of them that are really forgeries, were drawn up by abler hands; though the very worſt of them were perhaps ſufficient to ſecure their poſſeſſions againſt the Normans, who in general knew ſo little of the Saxon hiſtory, that they were capable of being deluded by the groſſeſt impoſitions.

[*i*] Mr. Wanley's catalogue, p. 258, 262, &c.

[*k*] Id. ibid. 258. N°. 10. 262. N°. 82.

tioned

tioned is *terra totidem aratrorum*, not *hydarum*, as is more uſual in the Saxon forms. Beſides, annexing the year of the indiction along with the year of our Lord has no favourable appearance. If this means the Caeſarean or Conſtantinian indiction [*l*], biſhop Beverege, ſays, that among us, *nuſquam, ni fallor, uſitata.* If the papal indiction, did it begin quite ſo early? It is certain that neither Cenwulf's nor Leo's letters of the ſame age, and none of the Saxon wills, even of later date, ever mention it. But the laſt of theſe three conveyances lies under more obvious objections: It is an inſtrument [*m*] of bargain and ſale between archbiſhop Wulfric and Ceolwulf, who is there called *rex Merciorum vel Cantuariorum*, A. D. 822. The two principal things here aſſerted, as facts, are neither of them true; Ceolwulf was neither king of Mercia nor of Kent at that time. His ſhort reign of two years was remarkable only for its weakneſs and misfortunes. He was deprived [*n*] of the kingdom of Mercia A. D. 821. by the Danes, and no prince ever held another kingdom in vaſſalage, who was not able to defend his own. Baldred was at that time king of Kent, who was attacked the next year by a detachment [*o*] of the Weſt-Saxon troops under prince Athelwulf, and entirely ſubdued. But, though theſe grants may be forgeries, yet, during the reign of this very prince, we have unqueſtionable evidence of the currency of Mancuſes in England. Aſſer Menevenſis ſays, that [*p*] Æthelwulf

[*l*] Vid. Chronol. l. ii. c. 5. [*m*] Wanley's catal. p. 263. N°. LXXXVIII.
[*n*] Chron. Sax. p. 70. et Ethelwerd, l. iii. c. 2. [*o*] Ethelwerd, ut ſupra.
[*p*] "Romae quoque omni magnam pro animâ ſuâ pecuniam, i. e. trecentas "mancuſas portari praecepit," Aſſer edit. Wiſe 13.

ſent yearly to Rome 300 Mancuſes. His devotion, according to the humour of that age, induced him to viſit Rome. He ſent young Alfred thither, with a great retinue of Saxon nobility, to form the firſt ſteps of his education in that city, which was undoubtedly at that time the politeſt part of Europe. The remains of ancient arts and elegance, which Alfred ſaw there, made very ſtrong impreſſions. There he acquired a taſte for thoſe improvements, which he afterwards attempted in England. His genius had certainly done great things, if the evil genius of that age had permitted him to exert it. But, under all the difficulties he encountered, he enlarged the commerce [q], and increaſed the caſh of the kingdom: theſe Mancuſes, during his reign, ſeem to have had a more national and frequent currency, other-

[q] His improvements in trade and navigation were excellent. He was the firſt perſon, who built gallies, or larger ſhips, in England. The hiſtorians are very particular in deſcribing them; that they were much better ſailors, leſs liable to overſet, and twice as large as any built before his time. Chron. Sax. p. 48. Hoveden, p. 400.

If the account given of his embaſſy into India may be depended on, his views in trade were very extenſive; and I ſee no ſort of reaſon to reject it, if we only take India in a little larger ſenſe. It paſſes current with two hiſtorians, who were never charged either with an abundance of credulity, or want of penetration. One of them ſays, that Alfred lent ſhips and money to undertakers, who went as far as Alexandria in Egypt, and from thence extended their commerce to the Perſian Gulf. Voltaire's Gen. Hiſtory, vol. I. p. 103. Hume, vol. I. p. 68, 69. Malmesbury, p. 44.

How much the caſh of the kingdom was increaſed appears by the Saxon Weregilds, The churl's, or twyhind's, was in Ina's time xxx ſhillings, in Alfred's cc. v. Leg. Sax. p. 25. 47. eſtimated by the ſame ſhilling.

Malmesbury deſcribes a church, which he built at Athelney, ſomething like the Pantheon at Rome; perhaps an humble imitation of it: *Eccleſiam .....novo aedificandi genere compactam.....quatuor cancellis opere ſphaerico in circuitu ductis.* De geſtis pontif. p. 255.

wiſe

wiſe he had never made them, as was before obſerved, one of the popular eſtimates in his laws. His very munificent preſents were rated by the ſame value. He gave one copy of his own tranſlation of pope Gregory's Paſtoral [*r*], which he called the *Heardſman's book*, to every cathedral church in his kingdom; and along with it an Aeſtel [*s*], or handle to the volume, worth 50 Mancuſes (the work, no doubt, and materials both included), with this ſolemn injunction; *Ego praecipio in Dei nomine, ne quis de libris hunc* AESTEL *tollat, neque librum de templo.* His ſon Edward, in order to finiſh the monaſtery, which his father had begun at Wincheſter, was obliged to purchaſe ſome ground of the old convent, at the exorbitant price of a Mancus for every foot: *Ad unumquemque pedem mancam* [*t*] *auri pondere publico penſitavit.* What Malmeſbury tranſlates *pondere publico* was probably in the original be hurtingef gepihte, and meant, that a moſt ſcrupulous payment was exacted, coins of the due legal weight, the ſame as his father's. Soon after this reign, the ravages of the Danes diſtreſſed the kingdom extremely, and exhauſted it's caſh; but, notwithſtanding theſe oppreſſions, theſe Mancuſes, in ſome form or other,

[*r*] Wiſe's Aſſer, p. 90. ex Alfredi praefatione ad Paſtorale.

[*s*] Aeſtel is here tranſlated *ſtylus*, i. e. *graphium, ſive ſtylus ſcriptorius.* But ſuch an inſtrument could ſcarce be of that value. Malmesbury calls it *pugillares*, as if the preſent conſiſted of a tablet and ſtyle both. But Mr. Hearne has ſhewn, with great probability, that Aeſtel here means only the umbilicus, or handle to the ſtick, on which the volume was rolled, which uſed to be richly ornamented. v. Hearne's diſſertation xxi. in Vol. III. of Leland's Itinerary. The word *ſtele* is ſtill uſed in many parts of England for a handle.

[*t*] Malmſbury, De geſtis reg. p. 46. Paying money by weight is a ſufficient proof that it was no nominal eſtimate.

continued till towards the concluſion of the Saxon government. The heriots of the nobility are chiefly eſtimated by this ſtandard in Canute's laws.

THE origin of this coin is juſt as uncertain as the time of its introduction among the Saxons. Its firſt appearance was undoubtedly in Italy. Rubeus [*u*], in his hiſtory of Ravenna, ſays, it was firſt ſtruck during the exarchate, when the principal cities of Italy were ſubject to governours of their own chooſing, with the title of dukes, and was thence called the Ducat. Perhaps, when that country was under the more abſolute and enlarged government of the Lombard kings, or the Frank emperors, who immediately ſucceeded them, the name of Ducat, not ſo ſuitable to the rank and authority of theſe princes, was changed into Mancus; and then appropriated to this ſpecies of coin only. But whatſoever occaſioned this alteration of a name, the Ducat and Mancus were, in weight and value, the very ſame coins. We have already ſeen that the Saxon Mancus, current for thirty pence, was the eighth part of their pound, and that it was one quarter leſs than the firſt Frank Solidus, which paſſed for forty of theſe pence.

THE Byzantine Solidus of that age, which was copied by the Franks at their firſt ſettlement, was ſix in the ounce, and conſequently a coin one quarter leſs muſt be eight in the ounce, exactly the very ſame as the Drachma, or Milliarenſis, then current in that empire. Hence there is ſome reaſon to conclude in favour of Rubeus's opinion,

[*u*] Hieronymi Rubei hiſtoria Ravennatis, p. 177. edit. 1589.

that

that the Mancus, or Ducat, was ſtruck originally in Roman dies, being an aliquot part of their pound, and coinciding ſo preciſely with their ſilver coins. For the weight of the Milliarenſis was, at eight in the ounce, fifty four Troy grains and three quarters. The weight even of all the modern Ducats [*w*], whatever country they belong to, is fifty three Troy grains, with the fraction of a grain more or leſs in different countries; a ſtrong preſumption of their Roman original, and a demonſtration that the Ducat and the Mancus were but different names for the ſame coin. No wonder then that this coin ſhould be adopted in England during the Saxon times, when it made its way into ſo many different kingdoms, and was by degrees eſtabliſhed, not only almoſt all over Europe, but in Aſia and Africa likewiſe. Indeed, as its currency was enlarged, it aſſumed ſeveral other names, according to the taſte and language of different countries. Thus at Venice, and in Barbary, it was called the *Chequeen* [*x*]; at Conſtantinople, the *Sultani*; in Egypt, the *Sheriff*; in Italy, Spain, Germany, Hungary, and Holland, it kept, or re-aſſumed, its original name, the *Ducat* [*y*]. The

[*w*] See Dr. Arbuthnot's Table of the aſſays, weights, and value, of all the modern Ducats; and Mr. Greaves's Table, at the end of his Denarius.

[*x*] The etymologiſts are not agreed about the origin of the word *Chequeen*, or *Sequin*. The Italians derive it from *Zecca*, which ſignifies a mint; but the Dean of Exeter, with much greater probability, makes it of an eaſtern original, from the Arabic *Scheikh*; and then it ſignifies the very ſame thing as *Sultani*.

[*y*] "Ducatus a ducibus ſic dictus." Heniſch. De aſſe, p. 207. *Sultani*, as Menage informs us, ſignifies Imperial; and *Scheriff*, Princely or Noble. The very ſame taſte prevailed in almoſt all the names that were given to our

very

very legend upon the reverſe of one of the Dutch Ducats, AD LEGEM IMPERII, is a plain intimation, from whence they were introduced into that country. All theſe names, though of different languages, imply the ſame thing; viz. the rank and dignity of the perſon, whoſe authority gave them their proper figure and circulation. They were afterwards called Florens [z], but whether from the city of that name, or from their impreſſion, is uncertain; but moſt probably the latter. All theſe coins [a], though ſtruck in ſo many different countries, did not differ from one another above a grain or two at moſt; which certainly proves that they were all intended for the ſame currency, copied in the weight from one another, and ſtruck originally for the greater eaſe and advantage of exchange and commerce in all theſe countries.

THE further progreſs of this coin, and the ſhort occaſional reception of it even in the Byzantine empire, firſt gold coins after the Conqueſt; as, the Noble, Rial, Sovereign, or Double-rial. Thus in Italy, about A. D. 1222, they ſtruck Double-ducats, and called them Auguſtales:

" Ut quilibet nummus aureus (ſpeaking of theſe coins) recipiatur, et ap-
" pendatur pro *quarta* parte unciae .... ſub poena .... etc." as the Imperial edict directed. Muratori, apud Argelati, De nummis Italiae, p. 112.

If the Double-ducats were a *quarter* of an ounce, it is certain that the Ducats and Mancuſes muſt be the ſame coins.

[z] This is the caſe of the Floren: it appears by its weight to be only another name of the ſame coin: *Libra auri*, XCVI *floreni*: *uncia auri*, VIII *floreni*. Exactly the ſame proportion as the Ducats. Muratori, ut ſupra, p. 109.

" Populus Florentinus coepit percutere nummos aureos, quos Florenos (alii
" Ducatus) appellarunt, ea de cauſa, quod in altera parte nummi Lilium in-
" ſcriptum fuerat, et in altera effigies S^ti Johannis Baptiſtae." Id. ib. p. 130. I have weighed one of theſe old Florens, which had not loſt above 3 or 4 grains of its weight.

[a] See Dr. Arbuthnot's and Mr. Greaves's Tables, ut ſupra.

appears

appears from a paſſage in Zonaras, which I ſhall take the liberty of producing as it wants to be corrected and explained. Zonaras ſays that Nicephorus Phocas, during the diſtreſs of his finances, leſſened their gold coins: the words are:

Μέχρι [b] γὰρ ἐκείνου παντὸς νομίσματος ἐξαγίου σαθμὸν ἕλκοντος ἐκεῖνος τὸ TETAPTHPON ἐπενόησε, κολοβώσας αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν σαθμὸν, κ. τ. λ. *Nam cum uſque ad eum unuſquisque ſolidus exagium penderet, ille* TETARTERUM *excogitavit, ſolidi pondus imminuens*, &c.

THE Solidus was fixed at the ſixth part of the ounce by Conſtantine, and continued at that weight ever afterwards, till Phocas made this alteration [c]; but what the alteration was is not quite ſo clear from the preſent reading. It will be right to take Dufreſne's obſervations upon this paſſage, in order to come at it's true meaning:

" Tradunt [d] Scylitzes et Zonaras Nicephorum Pho-
" cam Imperatorem monetas ſuas pondere imminuiſſe; et
" cum ad ea uſque tempora nummus [i. e. aureus] exa-
" gium penderet, τεταρτηρὸν inveniſſe. Ex quibus redac-
" tum ſolidi pondus ad quartam partem quidam; quomodo
" Quartarios vocat Lampridius: alii ſolidum quarta legi-
" timi ponderis parte imminutum eſſe volunt. Cui poſ-

[b] Zonaras, tom. II. edit. Veneta. p. 159.

[c] An alteration of no long continuance; for the Byzantine aureus was reſtored again to its former weight, which laſted to the concluſion of that empire.

[d] Dufreſne, De nummis Conſtantinopolitanis, p. 57.

" tremae

"tremae ſententiae favere videntur tabulae Conſtantino-
"poli ſcriptae A. D. 1064."

WITHOUT entering into any examination of the authority of theſe tables, which, conſidering they were drawn up not long after the fact here mentioned, muſt be very good; it will be better to reſt the point in queſtion upon ſuch evidence, as will bring it to a ſhorter iſſue. The point is, whether Nicephorus Phocas reduced the Byzantine Solidus one fourth part of its value, or three parts in four; and ſo left only one fourth part remaining. That Solidus was never brought ſo low as one fourth part of it's value; this had reduced it almoſt to nothing, and made it but a little heavier than a ſilver two-pence. The Frank Solidus, the loweſt of all at laſt that was ever coined, was much above this proportion: But, however, it muſt be allowed, that this does not appear from the preſent reading in Zonaras. Τεταρτηρος can ſignify nothing elſe but *Quartarius*; and was very probably formed from that Latin original. Inſtead therefore of TETAPTHPON, I ſhould not ſcruple to ſay, that we ought to read TETAPTHTON ἐπενόησε. This expreſſes the proper diminution. Τήτη, as Heſychius expounds it, is ἔνδεια, σέρησις, a leſſening, a privation; and τητάω is *privo*. This eaſy alteration of a ſingle letter corrects the abſurdity of the preſent reading. Phocas, when the Imperial Exchequer was no longer able to furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies, inſtead of the old Solidus, introduced the Ducat, or Mancus, which had been long current in Italy. The change of one letter for another was perhaps in the tran-

ſcriber

ſcriber a voluntary miſtake. One of the Byzantine *ſilver* coins was called τεταρτηρὸς, a quarter of the Solidus, in value three Milliarenſes, or about one ſhilling and nine pence of our money. This, as a more familiar word, was admitted into the text, though quite foreign to the purpoſe: for the coin, which Zonaras ſpeaks of, was gold; a diminution of the legal Solidus. Phocas, when his finances were failing, had recourſe to this expedient; he introduced the next moſt valuable Aureus then in Europe, inſtead of their own.

UPON the whole, the weight and value of the Mancus, by its intire coincidence with a numerous ſet of coins of the ſame claſs, and its proportion to others that are well known, turns out with as much clearneſs, as could well be expected in ſo remote a ſubject, when no remains of it have been yet diſcovered. But, under this diſadvantage, it is juſt upon the ſame foot, as all the other Italian Ducats or Mancuſes of that age. For is any *one* of them now remaining, as old as the Saxon times? I never heard of any: And muſt all theſe coins be given up upon that account, as imaginary things, as meer money of account, which never had any real exiſtence? Is not the evidence of ſo many laws, edicts, and hiſtorians, utterly inconſiſtent with ſuch concluſions?

THE value of the Daniſh *Mark* and *Ora*, the ſubject of our next enquiry, as they were never carried into any extenſive commerce, muſt be taken from premiſes much more confined. The word MARK had its origin from the Goths, and was ſpread all over Europe by the ſettle-

ments which they eſtabliſhed. Our Saxon anceſtors uſed the word, juſt as we do at preſent, for a particular *ſign* or *mark* of diſtinction, affixed to any thing whatſoever. Hence it came to ſignify the limits or boundaries of a country, which were uſually diſtinguiſhed by ſome natural, or artificial marks, to ſhew how far the property or juriſdiction of their chiefs, or communities, extended. Fr. Junius [*e*] conjectured, that the word was formed from the laſt ſyllable of the Greek τέκ-μαρ; which is highly probable, as τέκμαρ had both theſe ſignifications of a *mark* and a *limit*. And this laſt, as he obſerves from Ariſtotle, was of very ancient uſage: Τὸ γὰρ ΤΕΚΜΑΡ ἢ ΠΕΡΑΣ τὸν αὐτόν ἐςι καὶὰ τὴν ἀρχαῖαν γλῶτ]αν. The Northern nations often dropped part of a word, and pronounced the remainder roughly, which gives this conjecture of Junius's all the appearance of truth.

THE primary ſenſe of the word *mark*, as a limit, has a manifeſt connexion with the application which was afterwards made of it, as a weight; and ſhews that the Saxons, beſides their weights and meaſures, brought along with them *other* cuſtoms of thoſe people, from whom they were originally deſcended: I am, therefore, not willing to let it paſs without a few obſervations.

IN the infancy of ſtates, and firſt aſſignments of property, it was uſual to fix Termini of one kind or other upon the limits of provinces, and the diviſions of particular ſettlements and eſtates. Both poets [*f*] and hiſto-

[*e*] Vide Gloſſar. in voc. et Ariſtotelis Rhet. lib. i.
[*f*] Homer. Il. Φ. 405. Virg. Aen. xii. 896.

rians

rians are vouchers for the high antiquity of this practice. We find there that huge craggy ſtones were often placed as the landmarks of a country. As the arts improved, pillars were erected: Strabo [*g*] obſerves, that this more refined taſte was very ancient, and gives ſeveral inſtances of it in different countries. The Greeks were very exact in this reſpect. In the Iſthmus of Corinth, the diſtricts of Attica and Megaris were diſtinguiſhed by a pillar. From the Greeks, as from a common ſtock, this cuſtom ſpread among the anceſtors of the Goths, the Thracians. Xenophon [*h*] obſerves, that the petty governments of thoſe princes were terminated towards the Euxine ſea by pillars, that each of them might enjoy the peaceable diſtribution of that plunder, which aroſe from the frequent wrecks upon their coaſts. From them it was continued through all the Gothic ſettlements in Europe. In the barbarous Latin of the middle ages, *Terminus* [*i*] and *Marca* are ſynonymous terms; and thus it occurs in the Alaman and Bavarian laws.

THE ſame uſe of the word Mark went through all Germany. We meet with it in Charlemagne's regulations:

[*g*] Ἐθὼ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὑπῆρξε τὸ τίθεσθ τοιάτας ὅρας. Vol. I. p. 252. Jacob and Laban's pillar is almoſt as ancient as property itſelf.

[*h*] Anabaſ. ed. Hutchinſon. p. 571. The learned editor, taking this ſentiment in a different light, propoſes an alteration of the text, and would read, στήλας ἐρεισάμενοι. But the preſent reading is right: στήλας ὁριζάμενοι is not, *ſtelis per intervalla collocatis;* but *columnis in ſingulorum finibus collocatis.*

[*i*] Leges Bajuvar. tit. xiii. c. 9. Leges Alaman. § 46, 47. Annales ad A. D. 861.

" Expulit duces, quibus cuſtodia commiſſa erat Pan-
" nonici limitis, et Carantani, atque per ſuos *Marcham*
" ordinavit."

THE Saxons [*k*] diſtinguiſhed the limits of the provinces in this country in the ſame manner. Their laws for purſuing robbers out of one county into another ſay:

" Habeant ambo praepoſiturae placitum quaeſtionis
" hujus in communi, ſive ſit a ſeptentrionali *Marca*, ſive
" auſtrali."

THESE Termini were looked upon as things ſacred, and treated with great veneration:

" Termine [*l*], ſive lapis, ſive es depoſtus in agro
" Stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes."

The terms [*m*], or buſts, and half trunks of Mercury's ſtatues were uſed for this purpoſe among the Greeks; but the Roman Deus Terminalis was Jupiter: Numa's law with regard to theſe Termini is drawn up in the ſame ſpirit with that of Moſes:

QVEI TERMINVM [*n*] EXARASSIT, IPSVS ET BOVES SACREI SVNTO:

[*k*] Leg. Saxon. p. 68. et Brompton, p. 854. the words, ꝼꝛa be noꝛðan meaꝛce, ꝼꝛa be ꝼuðan.

[*l*] Ovid. Faſtor. Lib. ii. 641.

[*m*] Vid. Spon's Recherches curieuſes, p. 107. Mercury ſeems to have the name Ἑρμῆς aſſigned to him, as preſiding over the limits of provinces and eſtates, as warden of the marches. For is it not moſt probable, that the Greek and Latin Ἑρμῆς and *Termes* or *Terminus* had the ſame original? Hence the ſtatues of other Deities made in this form, with a buſt upon a ſquare pillar, were looked upon as Hermetic ſtatues, though none of Mercury's attributes were upon them. Thus we have *Hermathena*, *Hermapollo*, *Hermeracles*, *Hermoſiris*, *Hermanubis*, &c. &c.

[*n*] Scaliger in Feſtum, v. TERMINUS.

Curſed

Curſed [*o*] *be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark.*

THIS was looked upon as an inſolent violation of the laws; an infringement of the property of communities, as well as private men, and therefore ſeverely puniſhed. One of the Agrarian laws ſays,

"Limites decumanique [*p*], ut fiant, terminique ſtatu-
"antur, curato. Quique termini hac lege ſtatuti erunt,
"ne quis eorum quem ejicito, neve commoveto ſciens
"dolo malo: ſiquis adverſus ea fecerit, is in terminos ſin-
"gulos quos ejecerit, locove moverit ſciens dolo malo,
"HS. XXV in publicum eorum, quorum infra fines is ager
"erit, dare damnas [*q*] eſto."

FIXING, as well as preſerving the limits of a country, was looked upon as a matter of great conſequence. When the boundaries between the Genoeſe [*r*] and Veturii were ſettled by a commiſſion from Rome, it was not thought below the dignity of a Roman ſenate (tho' they were then giving laws to all Europe) to ratify and confirm this ſentence. The Termini erected upon theſe occaſions were by the Romans called *Tituli* [*s*]; becauſe

[*o*] Deut. xxvii. 17.

[*p*] Rei agrariae Script. p. 339.

[*q*] The fine here impoſed was conſiderable, 200 pound. J. Caeſar reduced it to 50 Aurei, which were in his time about 50 guineas. Nerva made it death in ſome caſes; Hadrian, baniſhment. At laſt the law ſtood thus: "Qui terminos effodiunt vel exarant, arboreſve terminales ſubvertunt, "ſiquidem *Servi* ſua ſponte faciunt, in metallum damnabuntur: *Humiliores*, in "opus publicum; *Honeſtiores*, in inſulam, amiſſa tertia parte bonorum, "relegabuntur." Digeſt. l. XLVIII. tit. xxi. Et Rei agrariae ſcript. p. 346.

[*r*] Gruter's Inſcriptions, Vol. I. p. CCIV.

[*s*] Theſe ſtones were called Tituli, even when there was no writing upon them. *Non enim omnis titulus inſcriptionibus eſt indutus.* Rei agrar.

the

the names of the city, or perſons to whom that territory belonged, were generally inſcribed upon them: And hence it is, that thoſe evidences and records, by which eſtates are granted and conveyed, are to this day called *Titles*. The elegant and learned Dr. Batteley, whoſe fine taſte as an Antiquary was no mean part of his character, has obſerved that the old *Lapis* [*t*] *tituli* in Kent was one of theſe remains. He differed indeed from great authorities in aſſigning its ſituation, and fixed it in the ſouth-weſt corner of that county, where the provinces of Kent and Suſſex are divided. It is probable, that this *Lapis tituli* was not erected till after Trajan's or Hadrian's reign. For Julius Frontinus [*u*] ſays, that theſe

ſcrip. p. 146.—In this caſe, the deſign of erecting them was well known, as boundaries of a country, which were always diſtinguiſhed by ſome natural or artificial marks—Thus βυνὸς in Greek ſignified *a hill, a heap, an altar* (i. e. a ſquare heap of ſtones), *a valley, a ditch*; and from this ſignification of βυνὸς came our Engliſh word *bounds*.

[*t*] Antiqq. Rutupinae, p. 13. againſt the opinions of Camden, Uſher, Stillingfleet, and Somner. Hence moſt probably it was, that the pariſh of Guilford, and great part of Winchelſea, &c. contiguous to this part of Kent, and lying on that ſide the river Rother, were always reckoned as part of Suſſex; becauſe they were without this Kentiſh Lapis tituli, or Terminus.

[*u*] This fact is mentioned by Frontinus De coloniis in more places than one; and yet, by the incorrectneſs of the copies, not one of them is right. What is ſaid of Hadrian ſtands thus: *Nam poſtea, juſſu imperatoris Hadriani, [eorum] vice* numero *limitum termini poſiti ſunt lapidei.* p. 116. And again, *Nam poſtea, juſſu imperatoris Hadriani, vice numerorum limitum termini ſunt poſiti,* p. 139. *Eorum* was an addition of Goeſius's to make ſome ſenſe of the paſſage. Inſtead of *numero* in the firſt paragraph, and *numerorum* in the laſt, read *ligneorum*, and both are right: For that this was Hadrian's alteration [*juſſu Imperatoris Hadriani, vice ligneorum limitum, termini poſiti ſunt lapidei*] appears from the paragraph juſt preceding: *Limites maritimi appellantur, ubi non ſunt termini lapidei, ſed lignei.* Trajan's edict was, *Agri terminis la-*

artificial

artificial Termini were ordered to be made of ſtone only by the edicts of theſe princes; which in this weſtern part of the empire, before that time, conſiſted of various materials. Trajan's ordinance extended no further than the inland limits of each province: Hadrian ordered the ſame ſort of Termini upon the ſea coaſts. Dr. Stukely [*v*] has engraved one of theſe Lapides tituli belonging to Crowland abbey, an obeliſk with this inſcription,

AIO HANC PERAM GVTHLACVS HABET SIBI METAM.

MEARC, from ſignifying the boundaries of a country, came by degrees, among almoſt all the Gothic clans, to ſignify the country itſelf. Thus we have the marquiſates of Ancona, Treviſa, Final, Miſnia, Anſpach, Bradenburgh, and Auſtria [*w*]. The two laſt were anciently reckoned the eaſtern and weſtern marches of the empire. And hence the kingdom of Denmark had it's name. In the privileges granted to the church of Hamburg by the emperor Otho, the hiſtorian uſes *Marcha* and *Regnum* as equivalent terms:

pideis ſunt aſſignati; or perhaps, as it ſhould be read, *agris termini lapidei ſunt aſſignati*. It was probably for this reaſon, that Frontinus called theſe new *tituli*, p. 130. *lapides Graecales*; not becauſe their inſcriptions were in Greek; but becauſe they were of ſtone, after the manner of the Greeks. Frontinus obſerves, that, in the way between Rome and Oſtia, the Termini, which had been originally *ſtipites oleagini*, were removed, and *lapides Graecales* placed in their ſtead. Here Rigaltius would read, *gregales*; but what that means I know not.

[*v*] Itinerar. curioſ. plate p. 11.

[*w*] "Ille [Frederichus] traditis duobus vexillis Marchiam orientalem, "ſive Auſtriam, cum comitatibus ad eam pertinentibus reddidit. Deinde ex "eadem Marchia cum praedictis comitatibus, quas tres dicunt, judicio prin-"cipum Ducatum fecit." Seld. Tit. of Hon. p. 279. ex Othone Friſingenſi.

"Et

" Et quicquid proprietatis in *marca* vel *regno* [*x*] Da-
" norum ad eccleſias in honorem Dei conſtructas perti-
" nere videtur."

THE ſecondary ſenſe of the word *Mark*, as applied to money, has the ſame idea annexed to it. It ſignified, as the German [*y*] antiquaries and etymologiſts obſerve, LIMITATA *pecuniae ſummula*, a *limited ſum*, or quantity, a *final term*, by which all their accounts and payments were made up and adjuſted. And in this reſpect, tho' the name was peculiar to ſome of the German clans, yet every nation, under ſome denomination or other, had it's Mark. Thus the Mina, or nominal pound of a 100 Drachmae, the Libra, or nominal *Seſtertium pondo*, were the Greek and Roman Marks, the fixed ſtandards to which all their nummulary computations were reduced. All our accounts paſs in the ſame manner, by a nominal pound ſterling, or twenty ſhillings. The Daniſh Mark was uſed as the final term for adjuſting their payments. But the ſingularity of this weight or eſtimate, and the little connexion which the Danes then had with the more civilized parts of Europe, render their methods of computation leſs capable of being illuſtrated by any correſpondent cuſtoms; and conſequently more uncertain and obſcure. This has occaſioned a great variety of conjec-

[*x*] Vid. Privilegia eccleſiae Hammenburg apud Lindenbrogii Scriptor. rerum Germanicarum, p. 150.

[*y*] " Marca ..... quaſi dicas limitata pecuniae ſummula." Martinii Lexicon in voce. " Marcam vocant, quaſi limitem; quòd ſit terminus menſurae pon-
" derum inter aurifices et metallarios." Heniſchius De aſſe, p. 103. Vide etiam Somneri Gloſſarium in Decem ſcriptores.

tures

tures upon both theſe eſtimates, which, after all, have left it quite undetermined what was their true value, how long they were in uſe here, and whether they were weights only, or both weights and coins.

SIR Henry Spelman [*z*], who took it for granted that the Mark was a ſilver coin, muſt imagine that our Saxon and Daniſh princes had a very ſurpriſing taſte in working their mints; that, when the caſh of this country was ſo inconſiderable in reſpect of what it now is, they ſhould be able to ſtrike and circulate ſuch coins, as were at leaſt one third part larger than our preſent Crown pieces.

MR. Camden [*a*], Mr. Somner [*b*], Dr. Hickes, &c. were of a different opinion, and concluded, perhaps for that very reaſon, that there never was any ſuch ſilver coin as a Mark; that the word, when applied to that ſpecies, ſignified nothing more than a particular weight, or ſum paid in tale of that value. But as to gold, they were (except Dr. Hickes) of other ſentiments: They

[*z*] "Antique, cum ponderoſiores cudebantur nummi, duobus ſolidis et ſex "denariis aeſtimata fuit [Marca]: hoc eſt idem quod Mancuſa et Manca." The Gothic princes were remarkable for a different practice, for the ſmallneſs of their coins. The ſize of the gold and ſilver coins in every country depends greatly upon the quantity of money or bullion current in it.

[*a*] Remains, p. 201.

[*b*] Gloſſar. in Decem ſcriptores, voce MANCUSA. So Dr. Hickes. Μεαηc, *ſeu* mapc, *apud Anglo-Saxones idem argenti pondus ac Mancus ſignificabat.* Diſſert. epiſt. p. 109. Dr. Watts, in his gloſſary to Matthew Paris, more expreſsly, *Saxones noſtri has* Marcas Mancuſas *vocabant, et cudebantur de auro.* The Oxford editors of Alfred's life, *Mancuſae vero, ſive Marcae auri,* p. 6. note. Bp. Nicolſon's Hiſtorical library, p. 44, *Manca, Mancuſa,* or *Marca;* and laſt of all, Mr. Wiſe, in his Catalogue of Bodleian coins, *Mancuſa ſeu Marca.* Num. Bodleiani, p. 229.

agreed, that the Mancus and Mearc were the ſame thing. Biſhop Fleetwood ſays, *that the next denomination* [*c*] *of money that we meet with is the Mark—I cannot find any mention made of ſuch piece of gold ſince the Norman conqueſt, though there probably was among the Saxons.* What Mr. Camden had ſaid long before was much to the ſame purpoſe. *Mancus* [*d*], *which ſome think to have been all one with the Mark; for that Manca and Mancuſa are tranſlated in ancient books by* MARCA. *Manca was a ſquare piece of gold, commonly valued at thirty pence.* Mr. Somner's account [*e*] is not at all different; *Mancuſa, quod in Legg. Hen.* I. *ſaepe Manca, al. Marca:* And afterwards, upon a maturer [*f*] conſideration, Mearc, *ſignum, nota; item terminus; item nummus.* Dr. Hickes ſays, *Mancuſa* [*g*] *vel Marca auri decies valebat Marcam argenti,* and conſequently could not be a coin. But how much ſoever they might differ in other reſpects, they all agreed that the Mancus and Mark [*h*] were the ſame thing.

[*c*] Chronicon pretioſum, p. 37, 38.

[*d*] Remains, ut ſupra.

[*e*] Gloſſar. in Decem ſcriptores, in voce.

[*f*] Saxon Dictionary.

[*g*] Diſſertat. epiſtol. ut ſupra.

[*h*] Aſſer, as was before obſerved, ſays that Æthewulf ſent every year to Rome *trecentas Mancuſas.* Malmſbury, mentioning the ſame donation, calls them Marks, *omni anno trecentas auri Marcas Romam miſit.* p. 41. The Mſ. and printed copies of the laws of Hen. I, uſe *Marca* and *Mancuſa* as equivalent; thus c. 69. in the edition biſhop Fleetwood refers to, *debent reddi ſecundum legem* xxx s. *ad manbotam; idem hodie* v. Marcae. Chron. pretioſ. p. 36, 37. What is here mentioned as Marks muſt be the Saxon Mancus; becauſe thirty ſhillings and five Mancuſes were the ſame ſum. And this, as Dr. Wilkins has obſerved, is the reading of the London Mſ.

Carried

Carried away by the current of theſe great authorities, I had followed implicitly, and continued in the ſame miſtake, if it had not been for the friendly admonition of the very worthy dean of Exeter. He convinced me that it was an error, and will, I hope, excuſe the liberty I take in making this public acknowledgment. All that can be ſaid in favour of that univerſally prevailing opinion is, that it was of long ſtanding, and by this preſcription had acquired an undiſputed poſſeſſion, which by Dr. Milles's more acute and deciſive examination muſt be given up at laſt.

THE Ora, though not ſo intirely miſtaken, occaſioned full as many difficulties. The origin of the word was more uncertain, and the value of it placed in ſuch a variety of eſtimates as could not be eaſily reconciled. For a variety of premiſes without any apparent connexion ſerves rather to divide our ſentiments, than to bring them to any uniform concluſion.

MR. Lambarde [*i*], who took the Ora for a braſs coin, gave it a valuation that is no way conſiſtent with

In Alfred's will, as it ſtands in the old Latin verſion, the principal legacies were in Marks, *cuilibet armigerorum meorum centum Marcas; archiepiſcopo centum Marcas.* It is plain that the tranſlator of this will took *Mancuſae* and *Marcae* for equivalent terms; for Mancuſes were, as appears by the laws and hiſtorians, the common nummulary language of that reign. *Marca* was in ancient books, as Mr. Camden obſerved, the tranſlation of *Mancuſa.* Thus Caius, De antiqq. Cantab. Acad. quoting an old Mſ. of Hide-abbey, *Hidenſes commentarii* Mancuſſam *interpretantur* Marcam. Vid. Spelman voc. MANCUSA. This Spelman himſelf mentions, as the common verſion of *Mancuſa; Mancuſa et Marca pro eodem tunc temporis accipiebantur.* Vid. Gloſſar. voc. ROMESCOT.

[*i*] "Ego in vetuſtiſſimo codice legi ex xv Oris conſtare libram; cui

any thing that either our ancient laws or records have ſaid of it.

MR. Camden [*k*], with a freedom and openneſs of mind equal to his other great abilities, very honeſtly confeſſed, that he knew not what to make of it. What a benefit had it been to learning, if the great claſs of commentators had taken this method, and, inſtead of explaining what they did not underſtand, had been content to point out the difficulty without miſleading the reader? How much learned lumber had been ſpared, and how many errors prevented, by ſuch an ingenuous humility?

SIR Henry Spelman [*l*] collected the different eſtimates, which were made of the Ora, with great exactneſs: This, as a Gloſſographer, was the chief point he had in view. He left the readers to apply theſe eſtimates, as they had occaſion.

MR. Somner's [*m*] opinion was, that we never had any ſuch piece of money as an Ora; that it always ſignified an ounce; of which there were two ſorts, the one of ſixteen, the other of twenty pence. Suppoſing this conjecture right, ſtill without a further explication we are juſt where we were. For unleſs theſe two different

" tamen opinioni haud facile aſſentior; quippe qui Oram ex nomine Aeream " fuiſſe conjicio, adeoque tanti non valuiſſe exiſtimo." Lamb. gloſſ. Sax. in voce. Whereſoever Mr. Lambarde had this account, it was right; fifteen Orae made the mercantile pound.

[*k*] " Quod vel quale nummi genus Ora illa fuerit, mihi plane ignotum." Camden in Belgis, p. 186.

[*l*] Gloſſar. in voce.

[*m*] " Ora autem, i. e. ut dixi, uncia in re nummaria, duplex reperitur, " major ſcil. et minor; haec XVI continens denarios, illa viginti." Gloſſar. in Decem ſcriptores, in voce.

ounces

ounces were parts of different pounds then in uſe, I do not ſee what great purpoſe is ſerved by this diſtinction. Biſhop Hooper [*n*] therefore thought that Mr. Somner's opinion would be much more intelligible, if this difference was ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt not in the ounces themſelves, but in the weight of the coins. And conſidering the great inequality of the Saxon coins now remaining, there was ſomething very plauſible in this conjecture.

DR. Hickes was uncertain, whether the Ora was a coin, or only money of account. In this uncertainty, he goes over to Iceland to make diſcoveries about our antiquities; and returns, as uſual, without ſucceſs. For the reſult of his enquiries is only this,

"Ora, ſive Aereus [*o*] argenteus, quamvis in rerum "taxatione apud Iſlandos valebat unciam argenti et duel-"lam, duntaxat tamen pendebat unciam; adeoque viginti "penningos veteres Anglo-Saxonum et Anglo-Norman-"norum, i. e. ſexaginta noſtros penningos, ſive nummum "percuſſum, quem vocamus A CROWN, pondere et va-"lore aequabat."

WHAT Aereus argenteus means, I know not: But it ſeems the Ora went in Iceland (if it was really the ſame Ora) for one third more than it was worth here. But that there ſhould be, in that age and country, a ſilver coin equal to one of our Crown pieces is very incredible. Dr. Hickes takes it for granted that there were different ſorts of Oras; but upon the whole he leaves the point quite undetermined, as biſhop Fleetwood did afterwards;

[*n*] Ancient weights and meaſures, p. 446.
[*o*] Diſſertat. epiſtolar. p. 111.

who

who ſo far inclines to Dr. Hickes's opinion, as to conclude that the Ora [*p*] was rather a denomination of money than a coin.

SUCH are the ſentiments of our antiquaries upon this ſubject. But, as Dr. Hickes has obſerved, very much to our preſent purpoſe, that this way of reckoning money by Marks and Oras was never known in England, till after the Daniſh ſettlements, it will be neceſſary to ſee what were the old nummulary eſtimates among the principal Gothic ſtates upon the Baltic.

THE Weſtro-gothic laws, ſuppoſed to be as ancient as their firſt ſettlements, inform us, that their way of computing money was by MARKS and ORAS. Though this code may not be of that great antiquity, which the editor imagined, yet many of theſe regulations were cuſtoms of ancient ſtanding, and taken, as the laws themſelves ſay, *ex veteri lege*. The cuſtom of eſtimating ſums of money, and the proportion which theſe eſtimates bore to one another, muſt be of that number. Hence we learn, that in their accounts the Ora and Solidus were ſynonymous terms:

"Siquis [*q*] caedat quercum glandiferam abſque venia, "multabitur ſex ſolidis, aut oris."

THAT the Ora was the eighth part of the Mark:

"Si [*r*] preſbyter eat in paroeciam .... et ſacra ibi "adminiſtrat, reus eſt III marcarum; duodecim ſoli-

[*p*] Chronicon. pretioſ. p. 34.
[*q*] Leg. Weſtrogoth. p. 37. c. ii. and p. 65.
[*r*] Ibid. c. xii. p. 6. and c. v. p. 3.

dorum,

dorum, epiſcopo; duodecim ſolidorum, preſbytero illius loci.

THIS explication of the Ora as a Solidus, agrees perfectly well with what Dolmerus (as quoted [s] by Dufreſne) ſays, in his commentary upon the Norwegian laws; *Ora, vernacule Aura.* That the word aroſe from a corruption of *Aureus*; and conſequently the eighth part of their Mark coincided with ſome of the Solidi then current among them. What that Solidus was will be eaſily ſhewn by comparing the valuations of the Mark and Ora, which we meet with in the Saxon laws. But in order to this it will be neceſſary to obſerve upon what terms the Danes firſt ſettled in England. Alfred, diſpoſed to civilize a people, whom he was not able to ſubdue, perſuaded them to become chriſtians, and then eſtabliſhed all their civil rights and immunities upon the ſame footing with thoſe of his own ſubjects. All the fines for breaches of the peace or violation of any law were fixed in the ſame proportion, and the lives of Engliſhmen and Danes rated at the ſame value; *nos admittimus*, as the law ſays, *aeque charum* [t] *Anglum et Danum.* Upon this principle, the value of their nummulary eſtimates, though given in the language of each country, may eaſily be adjuſted.

IN ſeveral of theſe laws, buying, ſelling, and travelling on a Sunday, were prohibited by ſevere penalties. In one

[s] Gloſſary, voce ORA.
[t] Ɛꝼen ðýne. Leg. Sax. p. 43.

of

of Alfred's [*u*], the penalty to an Engliſhman, beſides forfeiting the goods, was thirty ſhillings, to a Dane twelve Orae. Thirty ſhillings was undoubtedly at that time an hundred and fifty pence. But if we take the Daniſh Ora at the eſtimates either of twenty or ſixteen pence, it will be a much greater ſum: ſuch a valuation as is manifeſtly inconſiſtent with their mutual engagements, the very foundations that were juſt laid for their future harmony and peace. But if we admit that the Daniſh Ora was the ſame as the Frank Solidus of that age, it anſwers the very ſpirit and intention of theſe laws. Twelve Orae in this proportion are 144 pence. Or if we ſuppoſe that the exchange was a little higher among the Danes, at twelve and one half, this makes it exactly the ſame ſum as the Engliſh fine, thirty ſhillings or 150 pence.

THE ſame thing appears in ſeveral of theſe laws. A Saxon [*w*] prieſt refuſing baptiſm to infants or adults paid his Wite, which was thirty ſhillings, to a Dane twelve, the ſame proportion as before.

THE Danes, even in their provincial ſynods, fix all their pecuniary penalties in Oras, which, if rated at twenty or ſixteen pence, are much higher than ever they

[*u*] "Siquis die dominica mercari praeſumat perdat mercaturam, et XII "oras apud Danos, et XXX ſolidos (i. e. ȝcill) apud Anglos." Leg. Sax. p. 52. Brompton, p. 830.

[*w*] "Si preſbyter baptiſmum deneget ei, cui neceſſe ſit, reddat Witam "cum Anglis, et cum Danis Lah-ſlite, i. e. XII oras." Leg. Sax. et Brompton, ut ſupra. *Plena Wyte*, is ſaid to be, in the laws of Hen. I. c. 40, *quinque Mancae*, or XXX ſhillings. So Mr Somner explains both theſe words. *Lahſlite*, XII Orae: *Wite*, XXX ſolidi (i. e. ȝcyll). Thus in other inſtances, vid. Leg. Sax. p. 51, 99, &c.

were

were known to be among the Saxons for the ſame offence. And unleſs it be admitted to paſs, in all theſe inſtances, as the Frank Solidus of twelve pence, it will be impoſſible to fix theſe fines at ſuch a rate as is conſiſtent with the cuſtoms of the age, the mutual ſtipulation of their treaties, or the very principles of government, which were juſt then eſtabliſhed by their laws.

SUCH was the certain value of the Daniſh Ora, and from the ſame laws we have its proportion to the Mark. In one of the treaties [x] with the Danes, it was agreed, that, if a preſbyter gave wrong directions about obſerving feaſt or faſt days, he was fined, if a Saxon, thirty ſhillings; if a Dane, a Mark and half — Here a Mark and half are made equivalent to twelve Oras, and conſequently the Ora was the eighth part of the Mark, and the Daniſh Mark itſelf no more than a hundred Saxon pennies.

THE golden Mark mentioned in the former treaty, agrees extremely well with this valuation. Alfred and Guthrun, after ſettling the extent and limits of their reſpective kingdoms, thought, that the next point of the moſt conſequence was adjuſting the Weregild, or value at which the lives of their ſubjects according to their different ranks ſhould be rated, if any of them were murdered. This was fixed by the Danes at eight Half-marks of gold for perſons of the higheſt rank; and 200 ſhillings for the loweſt. Four Marks of ſilver were four hundred pence; four Marks of gold, twelve times as many, i. e. 4800

[x] "Si preſbyter populum male inſtruat de feſto vel jejunio, ſolvat "xxx ſcill apud Anglos; et apud Danos ſeſquimarcam." Leg. Sax. p. 51.

pence, or twenty pounds. This was ſomething leſs than the fine paid for the murder of a king's Thane among the Saxons; but the Danes went no higher. And that this was the real value of this Daniſh Weregild appears by the exact analogy it bears to their Lahſlite, which ſtood thus:

A Ceorl's Lahſlite was 12 Ora, = 150 pence Saxon.
A leſſer Thane's, 6 Half-marks, = 300 Saxon pennies.
A king's Thane's, 10 Half-marks, = 500 Saxon pennies.

This laſt was one fifth leſs than the Saxon eſtimate: But their Weregilds were exactly in the ſame proportion; The Saxon fine for the murder of a Twelf-hind man, or king's Thane, was twenty-four pounds; the Daniſh only twenty. The heriots were rated with the ſame difference.

THIS value of the two Daniſh eſtimates in our laws, may poſſibly lead us to their true original. The Danes took this method of forming their nummulary Mark, or final term, in their accounts, *ex veteri conſuetudine*, from the ancient practice of the people, from whom they were deſcended; but adapted to the exigency and circumſtances of their own times. The Greeks and Romans, to whom the firſt circulation of caſh among all the German clans was certainly owing, formed their nummulary eſtimates from a Libra Centenaria, i. e. a hundred of their own Drachmae, Denarii, or pence: The Danes purſued the ſame method, though their money of account was at this time much ſunk in value; three fifths of it were loſt. They did, juſt as we do now, who keep the ancient number of pence in the pound, though ſunk almoſt

two

two thirds from its original valuation. The Frank Solidus or Aureus, happening to coincide, after this reduction, with the unite, by which their Mark was divided, it was thence called the Ora.

HENCE likewiſe we may conclude, that the Daniſh ſilver coins (if they had ſtruck any of their own upon their firſt ſettlements in England) were the ſame [y] as Saxon, or the penny then current almoſt all over Europe; becauſe of this exact coincidence with the aliquot parts of that pound. For the Ora was, as the ſhilling is now, the twentieth part of the pound ſterling. But it is perhaps moſt reaſonable to believe, that ſuch invaders had, in that ſtate of continual motion, no mints of their own: for in both the treaties with the Danes, the Saxon princes reckoned all their fines and eſtimates by their coins, by *Maneuſes* [z] and *Shillings* only; and the Danes by their weights, *Marks* and *Oras*. Theſe were the ſtandard eſtimates on both ſides, and no doubt ſuch as were in common uſe, and what they had recourſe to upon all occaſions. If the Danes had then ſtruck any ſilver coins, they had moſt probably been mentioned, as making a more reſpectable appearance.

THE difficulties, that have attended this enquiry about the value of the Daniſh money, were principally owing to the ambiguous uſe of the word Ora, both as a *weight* and a *coin*. As a weight, it was regarded as the Uncia, or Unit, by which their Mark was divided. In this ſenſe

[y] The coins they ſtruck afterwards were juſt half the value of the penny, reckoning twenty-four of theſe Nummuli to the Ora. Leg. Weſtrogoth.

[z] Leg. Saxon. p. 49, 52, 53, &c.

the word was ſoon adopted by the Saxons both for their nummulary and commercial pounds. Thus in Ethelred's laws [*a*], their commercial pound was eſtimated at fifteen Orae or ounces. And in Domeſday-book, and, as Dr. Hickes [*b*] ſays, in many articles of bargain and ſale, the Ora is uſed for the ounce, or twelfth part of the nummulary pound. Thus in Domeſday-book,

"Oxenford [*c*] reddit de moneta xx libras denariorum "de viginti in ora. . . . . Adinſtone reddit xii libras blan-"cas de xx denariorum in ora."

THE perpetual valuation of the Ora in that return at twenty pence, is, as Dufreſne [*d*] has well obſerved, an abundant proof, that there was, or had been, ſeveral ſorts of Oras then in uſe; and therefore, to prevent all ambiguity or diſpute between the crown and the ſubject, the ſums payable to the Exchequer were fixed at a certain value in their current caſh.

THE Ora, being a corruption of Aureus, was conſidered likewiſe as a coin, particularly as an Aureus of twelve pence. To this valuation all the Oras mentioned in the Saxon laws are uniformly reduced. What this Ora was is evident from its value. There was no other Aureus of twelve pence then in Europe, but the Frank or German Solidus, which had long before paſſed at that exchange. The Danes were at this time extremely well

[*a*] Brompton, Chron. in Decem ſcriptores, p. 899.
[*b*] Differt. epiſt. p. 112.
[*c*] Vid. Conſuetudines ex Domeſday, apud Galei Hiſt. Aug. ſcript. xv. Vol. III. p. 764, 765, &c. et Spelmanni gloſſar. voce ORA.
[*d*] Vid. Gloſſar. in voce.

acquainted

acquainted with the French money. Almoſt every part of that kingdom [*e*] had been ravaged and plundered by them for above a century together. They had made incurſions into the interior provinces by ſailing up the great rivers. The manners of the age had ſubdued all the ſpirit of the inhabitants: Moſt of them being ſlaves to a very imperious and oppreſſive nobility, it became a matter of little conſequence who were their maſters. This was the caſe at the diſſolution of the Roman empire; and this indifference will always be the diſpoſition of a people diſpirited by bad governments. Thoſe Daniſh rovers had nothing more to do, but to invade and conquer, and carry off the ſpoils. The Normans meeting with the ſame feeble reſiſtance, ſettled a very conſiderable colony, and erected a new government in one of the beſt provinces in France. Hence the caſh of that kingdom muſt be well known, and great part of it carried off by the Danes; and the accidental coincidence of the

[*e*] The accounts we have of the ſucceſs and progreſs of theſe Daniſh invaſions, in ſuch a kingdom as France, are truly ſurpriſing:

"Creſcit innumerabilis multitudo Normanorum, Danorum, &c. Capiuntur "quaſcunque adeunt civitates. Capitur Burdegala, Petraegorium, Santonum, "Lemoviges, Engoliſma, atque Toleta." Chron. Eccleſiae Divon. apud Duchesnii Hiſtor. Norman. p. 218.

"Tota ora maritima uſque ad mare Tyrrhenum graſſati Pariſios, et Tu"ronos, et multas alias urbes, quae vel ſuper Sequanam, vel ſuper Li"gerim, nobiles Galliae fluvios, ſitae ſunt, civibus vacuarunt." Gul. Malmſb. p. 43.

"Primo adventu urbem Nanneticam incendio cremavere. Dein Ande"gavenſem percurrentes regionem, ipſam quidem civitatem conſervant. "Pictavorum caſtella, et vicos, omnemque patriam a mari uſque ad Pic"tavenſem urbem populantur, vaſtant." Gemeticen. Hiſtoria Normannorum, p. 219.

Frank

Frank Aureus with the eighth part of their Mark gave it moſt probably the new name of Ora .... And in this view we ſometimes meet with paſſages, in which the Ora or Ora auri can be underſtood of nothing ſo properly as a coin. Thus Leofwin [*f*] bought of his neighbour Aedrick half a hide of land with half a Mark of gold, a pound of ſilver, and two Oras.

BUT there is another application of the word Ora, which is rather more difficult to be accounted for than any of the former. In the Rolls [*g*] of the 27th of Henry III. the men of Berkholt, in the county of Suffolk, plead a preſcriptive right for the ſums due and payable to the lord of the manor, upon the marriage of their daughters. They alledge, That in the time of king Henry, grandfather of our preſent lord the King, when they married their daughters, the cuſtomary fee to the lord was two Oras, which were valued at thirty-two pence. Mr. Camden [*b*] confirms this eſtimate of the Ora by another authority, taken from the regiſter of Burton abbey, where it is ſaid, that xx Oras were equal to two Marks of ſilver. Theſe were the French Marks of thirteen ſhillings and four pence, or one hundred and ſixty pence; and conſequently if twenty Oras were equal to three hundred and twenty pence, or two Marks, the value of each Ora was ſixteen pence.

[*f*] Hickes's Diſſertat. epiſtolar. p. 9.

[*g*] Placita coram Rege, 37 Hen. III. Rot. 4. apud Spelmanni gloſſar. voce ORA.

[*b*] Camdeni Britann. in Belgis, p. 186.

WHAT

WHAT coin this Ora was is uncertain; but ſo far is clear, that there was no ounce of ſixteen pence, either in the Saxon or Daniſh eſtimates. As the Oras of twelve pence were the Solidi of the Franks, it is not improbable, that this *ancient cuſtomary* payment was taken from the Half-mancus of the Saxons. This was indeed at its firſt currency no more than fifteen pence, but it might alter a little in its valuation to comply with the new regulations of the mint. In Alfred's time the Half-mancus was only three Saxon ſhillings; but when the ſhilling was reduced to four pence, to paſs currently with theſe new coins, it might acquire a ſmall increaſe in its value from fifteen to ſixteen pence, or four of theſe latter ſhillings. Such was in all appearance the original of theſe two Oras: There were no other Aurei of that age, to which theſe two denominations of money of ſixteen and twelve pence can poſſibly be aſcribed. The name *Ora* diſtinguiſhes the gold coins in ſeveral parts of Europe to this day. The Portugueſe *Moidore* is nothing elſe, but *Moeda d'oro*, from the Latin *Moneta de auro*: The French *Louisdores* come from the ſame uſe of the word, and owe their appellation to the Ora.

ANOTHER difficulty which has attended theſe Daniſh methods of accounting, beſides miſtaking their Mark for the Mancus, was the introduction of another Mark, of greater note, and ſo univerſally received that the very memory of the former was ſoon forgotten. When or where it was firſt admitted as a nummulary ſtandard is not known. By the language, it ſhould be originally German;

man; and by its reducing the money weights one third lower, owing to a people, who had no great affluence in caſh, the moſt natural and obvious cauſe of ſuch reductions; and conſequently no improper reaſon for aſcribing it to the ſame country. It is generally ſuppoſed, that this latter Mark, two thirds of the pound ſterling, was introduced into this kingdom from France, where it has been for ſo many ages the baſis of their computation. Gronovius ſeems to be of this opinion: His account of their nummulary eſtimates is this:

" Nunc revertimur [*i*] ad libram argenti ſecundum
" *Francos*; cujus *Quadrans* LX denarii, quinque ſolidi:
" *Triens* LXXX denarii, ſex ſolidi bes ſeu octo denarii.
" *Quincunx*, denarii centum, octo ſolidi triens vel quatuor
" denarii. *Semis*, denarii CXX, decem ſolidi: *Septunx*,
" denarii CXL, undecim ſolidi bes ſeu octo denarii. *Bes*
" librae, CLX denarii, tredecim ſolidi triens ſive quatuor
" denarii: Haec eſt, quam MARCAM [*k*] vocant id genus
" ſcriptores..... *Dodrans*, CLXXX denarii, quindecim
" ſolidi. *Dextans*, denarii CC, ſedecim ſolidi bes. *Deunx*,
" CCXX denarii, octodecim ſolidi triens. *As*, ſive libra ip-
" ſa, CCXL denarii, XX ſolidi."

[*i*] De pecunia vet. p. 156.

[*k*] Whether the Mark was taken originally from a pound of twelve or ſixteen ounces is not evident. Budaeus thought it was taken from the mercantile pound:

" Libram noſtrates duplicem habent: Zygoſtatica libra eſt, quae Regia
" dicitur, qua negotiatores et pigmentarii aromatariique utuntur..... om-
" neſque qui appenſas merces venditant. Haec ſenumdenum unciarum eſt:

BUT

BUT this was not, as Gronovius ſeems to think, the original diviſion of the Frank pound. What that was, we have already ſeen. Any other way of repreſenting it is ſtating the inconſiſtent accounts of different ages together, and by this means bringing an unavoidable confuſion upon all. The Franks reckoned their firſt Solidus at forty Denarii: If there had then been twenty Solidi in the pound, it was ſuch a pound, or ſuch Denarii as were never heard of any where elſe: For twenty times forty is 800 Denarii to the pound; above three times more than were ever reckoned in it. Such a Denier muſt have been a good deal leſs than our preſent ſilver penny; much too little for a common ſilver coin: Or, ſuch a pound muſt have been three times larger, than any of the nummulary pounds they had ever met with.

GRONOVIUS indeed has here given a full and juſt account of the intermediate ſtate of the Frank money, between their firſt Solidi of forty pence, and their new Mark of a hundred and ſixty: It is exactly our preſent pound ſterling, whoſe ſubdiviſions have continued the ſame invariably from the latter part of the Saxon times to our own. But the introduction of this new Mark by degrees quite altered the method of their accounting in France, though at firſt it made no ſort of difference in the value of their money: It was only re-

" Ejus ſemiſſem monetarii et aurifices et vaſcularii libram ſibi fecerunt Mar-
" cam vocantes." De aſſe, p. 222. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1695.... But their ounces of the mercantile and nummulary pounds were then the ſame as they were among the Romans, it made no difference whether the Mark was taken from a pound of twelve, or ſixteen ounces.

ducing the computation to a leſs ſtandard, which was an aliquot part of the former pound. Monſ. Le Blanc [*l*], who had acceſs to all their Exchequer rolls, and examined this matter very accurately, ſays, that the old way of reckoning by the pound was uſed in France as late as the reign of Henry I. and the firſt fifteen years of his ſon Philip I. That ſome time between A. D. 1075, and 1093, this new method was introduced; and this Mark, or weight of eight ounces, made the Terminus monetarius, the final term, or ſtandard, in their mints. Hence it is evident, that we could not derive this uſage of the Mark originally from France: It was certainly known in England before that time. The Saxons were no ſtrangers to it. The ferm of the city of Cheſter was rated in the Confeſſor's [*m*] reign at ten Marks and a half: This muſt be the Flemiſh or German Mark; the ſum would be too inconſiderable in any other eſtimate. From the ſame return we learn, that it was a *cuſtom* [*n*] at Colcheſter to pay two Marks annually the 15th day after Eaſter, as part of the ferm due to the crown. A cuſtom implies a practice of ſome ſtanding, as old at leaſt as the beginning of that reign. But, I believe, we may go higher ſtill. The Saxon Chronicle ſays, that Hardi-

[*l*] " Mais je crois qu'il n'eſt pas difficile de faire voir, que on ne com-
" mença à s'en ſervir en France, que ſous le regne de Philippe I. Je ſuis
" même perſuadé qu'on ne en doit par rechercher l'uſage en France plus haut
" que ce regne," &c. Le Blanc, p. 159, 160.

[*m*] " T. R. E. reddebat haec civitas x *marcas* argenti et dimidiam. . . . ." Conſuetudines ex Domeſday apud Galei Hiſtor. ſcript. xv. p. 777, 778.

[*n*] Gale, ibid. p. 776.

canute,

canute [o], when he arrived in England after his brother's death, levied a ſevere tribute upon all his ſubjects to pay the fleet, which brought him over from Flanders; and gave every *common ſeaman* eight Marks, and every *officer* twelve.

THE popular complaints and ſeditions which ran high upon collecting this tribute, imply, that the ſum was large and oppreſſive, and muſt in all appearance be rated by this new Mark. This was following his father Canute's example, who had done the ſame thing before. This new eſtimate therefore was moſt probably firſt brought into England under ſome of theſe Daniſh princes.

AFTER the Norman acceſſion this way of accounting became more faſhionable at court. It had been uſed in Normandy before that time. Ingulfus [p], who was prior of the abbey of Fontenel in Normandy, ſays, that, by the direction of his abbot, he waited upon the duke of Normandy a few days before his embarkation for England, brought with him twelve knights, which that monaſtery had furniſhed for the duke's ſervice, and a hundred Marks in money for their expence. The Conqueror [q] gave Baldwin earl of Flanders an annual penſion of 300 Marks for his great ſervices in that expedi-

[o] Chron. Sax. ad an. 1039. p. 155. "Octo marcas unicuique ſuae "claſſis remigi dedit, et duodecim unicuique gubernatori de tota Anglia "praecepit dependi; tributum tam grave, ut vix aliquis poſſit perſolvere." Flor. Vigorn. p. 623.

[p] Ingulf. apud Scriptores poſt Bedam. A hundred marks was near 17 *l.* ſterling a man; a conſiderable allowance for that expedition.

[q] "Omnibus, ut ferunt, annis trecentas argenti marcas pro fide et af-"finitate ſocero ſuo annumerans." Malmſb. De geſtis Reg. p. 159.

tion. At firſt the new and old methods of computing paſſed ſometimes in the ſame account. Robert duke of Normandy fired with the Romantic extravagance of that age, their blind zeal for ruin and cruſades, mortgaged the dutchy to his brother Rufus for 10,000 Marks. The hiſtorian's account is this.

" Robertus [r] comes Normannorum, cum Jeroſoly-
" mam proficiſci cum aliis proponeret animo, nuntiis in
" Angliam miſſis, germanum ſuum, regem Willielmum
" petiit, ut, inter ſe pace redintegrata, illi decem mille
" Marcas praeſtaret, et ab eo Normanniam in vadimo-
" nium acciperet. Rex pacem cum germano ſuo fecit,
" et DCLXVI LIBRAS argenti illi praeſtitit."

THE duke applies for the money in the uſual language of his country, and the king pays the ſum, and accounts for it in the Engliſh way of reckoning, which was ſoon afterwards almoſt intirely diſuſed. In the Exchequer rolls from Henry I. downwards, the greater ſums of money payable to the crown are frequently accounted for in Marks. But after the acceſſion of the Anjou family from France, it was almoſt the only method of accounting. Henry II. [s] who died very rich, and by his will left very large ſums of money to charitable uſes, computes all the greater legacies in Marks, the pound ſterling is never mentioned. That memorable ranſom of

[r] Hoveden inter Scriptor. poſt Bedam, p. 466. Florent. Vigorn. ad an.... Comes and Dux were then uſed in common, as ſynonymous terms. v. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 527, 528.

[s] He left in caſh 39,000 Marks of ſilver, and 500 Marks of gold. v. Madox's Formulare, p. 422. A prodigious ſum; above 80,000 l. ſterling of our money, and equal in value to above a million.

Richard

Richard I. [*t*] a prodigious ſum for that age, was demanded, and paid in Marks.

THIS ſilver Mark ſeems by degrees to have been the common way of accounting almoſt all over Europe. Edgar [*u*], king of Scotland, as early as A. D. 1098, gave the monks of Durham an annual penſion of half a Mark of ſilver from every plow-land in Coldingham. We meet with it in Italy in a diſcharge given by a Roman cardinal to pope Gregory IX [*v*]; he acknowledges the receipt of ſeventy Marks, *bonorum, novorum, et legalium ſterlingorum, ſcilicet* XIII *ſolidis et* IV *ſterlingis pro* MARCA *qualibet computatis.*

IN compliance with this cuſtomary way of accounting by the ſilver Mark, Edward III. ſtruck his [*w*] Nobles, or gold coins: They were current as Half-marks, Quarter-marks, and the Half-quarter or eighth part of the Mark, i. e. at ſix ſhillings and eight pence, three ſhillings and four pence, or twenty pence each. All our gold coins, until Edward IV's reign, were ſtruck in this proportion, that they might paſs eaſily and regularly in their accounts as parts of the Mark; though they were often

[*t*] The ſum demanded by the emperor is differently repreſented by our old hiſtorians, which was moſt probably owing to his ſcandalous way of treating, and raiſing the price ſeveral times during the treaty. He received at laſt, 100,000 Marks, which Mr. Folkes eſtimates at 194,000 pound ſterling. By this eſtimate he makes the Cologn weight heavier than the old Tower pound. But by the Chamber of accounts at Paris the Engliſh pound was reckoned as heavy as the Cologn.

[*u*] Anderſon's Append. to the Independency of Scotland, N°. IV.

[*v*] Muratori apud Argelati, De nummis Italiae, Vol. I. p. 123.

[*w*] His firſt gold coin was the Double-ducat, or Double-floren, coined in Italy about A. D. 1222, and then ſtyled Auguſtalis; but it was ſoon recalled.

different

different [x] in weight and value, juſt as the pound ſterling was leſſened. But when our connexions with France were over, and we had no longer any provinces in that kingdom, the old way of reckoning by the pound was again more in faſhion: Edward IV. ſtruck all his new gold coins according to that ſtandard. His Nobles or Rials were all coined at ten ſhillings each; but as the former way of reckoning by the Mark was ſtill in uſe, Angels, and Angelets or Half-angels, were continued at ſix ſhillings and eight pence, and three and four pence each. About forty years afterwards this regard to the Mark in our coins was quite laid aſide, and all the principal gold coins ſtruck in proportion to the pound ſterling. Henry VII. coined Sovereigns, or Double-rials, at twenty ſhillings each; and likewiſe Double-ſovereigns, or two pound pieces, weighing an ounce, but the Mark was never coined. In the next reign, the value of gold increaſing, the Angel advanced above the proportion of the Half-mark, and none of our gold coins were afterwards ſtruck as aliquot parts of that weight: But to make the circulation of caſh more convenient, ſmaller gold coins, as Crowns, and Half-crowns, were uttered from the mint; which was moſt probably owing to the ſcarcity of ſilver; as we have lately ſeen the ſame practice revived upon that account.

[x] Edward the Third's Nobles were altered in a very few years. At the firſt coinage the Noble was in value, of our money, 1*l.* 4*s.* 1*d;* at the ſecond, 1*l.* 2*s.* 7*d;* the third, 1*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* In Hen. IV's time they fell to 19*s.* Mr. Folkes's Table of Coins, p. 4.

ALL

ALL theſe coins, as Units, (i. e. Solidi or Wholes) of twenty ſhillings, with their parts, ten and five ſhilling pieces, were continued at the mint, till, A. D. 1662. Charles II, in the year following, ſtruck his guineas, inſtead of theſe hammered broad pieces, but upon the ſame plan, as coins of twenty ſhillings, or a pound ſterling.

BY this ſhort account it is very evident that our gold coins, at their firſt utterance from the mint, were always intended, as aliquot or even parts of the Mark; or as pounds ſterling, or regular parts of it. This was the rationale of theſe coins from the beginning, from the Saxon Mancus, the eighth part of the pound ſterling, down to the preſent guineas: But as the exchange between gold and ſilver muſt be always variable, the difference ariſing from this exchange perpetually diſconcerted the regular proceſs of this plan. It has often altered the value of all theſe coins, as it has more than once the value of our preſent Guineas.

THE introduction of the Mark, the preſent ſtandard of their accounts in France, has, no doubt, been very accurately obſerved by Monſ. Le Blanc. But the firſt alteration of their coins, the diſtribution of them under the ſeveral diviſions of our preſent pound ſterling, which came originally from France, is a point not ſo eaſily determined. It is very evident, that the Franks, ſoon after their firſt ſettlements, followed the Roman way of coining and reckoning money, and ſtruck all the ſeveral ſorts of Solidi, that were then uſed in that empire. But this affluence was of ſhort continuance. The perpetual wars,

and

and devaſtations of that age, the neglect of trade, and the very nature of a Feudal government, all contributed to the ſame effect, to exhauſt their caſh, and bring them under the neceſſity of reducing their gold coins to a lower ſpecies. Thus the author of the treatiſe about weights and meaſures repreſents it.

" Juxta Gallos [y] viceſima pars unciae denarius eſt, " et duodecim denarii ſolidum faciunt: Ideoque juxta " numerum denariorum tres unciae quinque ſolidos com- " plent; et ſic quinque ſolidi in tres uncias redeunt. " Nam duodecim unciae libram viginti ſolidos continen- " tem efficiunt."

THIS was the firſt conſiderable alteration in the Frank money: all the ſeveral parts of it are here ſpecified by a perſon, who lived during that period, the number of pence in the ſhilling, and ſhillings in the pound, and conſequently of pence likewiſe. From this alteration the diſtribution of our preſent pound ſterling had its original: not that the circulation of the old Solidi was intirely diſuſed, when this new Solidus was firſt eſtabliſhed. Hincmar archbiſhop of Rheims obſerves, that the Solidi of forty pence were current as late as Charlemagne's reign. This is his account.

" In teſtamento a B. Remigio [z] condito lector " adtendat, quod ſolidorum quantitas numero XL de- " nariorum computatur, et in Francorum lege Salicâ " continetur: et generaliter in ſolutione uſque ad Caroli

[y] Rei agrariae ſcript. p. 322.
[z] Lindenbrogii Gloſſar. ad leges antiquas, voce SOLIDUS.

" Magni

" Magni tempora perduravit, velut in Capitulis ejus con-
" tinetur."

THESE old Solidi returned in the regular courſe of payment along with the other coins. The caſe was juſt the ſame, as that of our own Aurei, not many years ago. When Guineas were firſt coined, all the old hammered money, the Scepters, Units, Rials, Angels of the former princes were frequently met with in the common payments, and would have continued much longer, if they had not been called in by a Royal proclamation. There can be no doubt from the very nature of the thing, that the firſt Frank Solidi had the very ſame currency in that kingdom. But by degrees, as the larger coins came into the Exchequer, they were transferred into the mint, and moſt of them melted down to anſwer the exigencies of the ſtate in their new ſpecies. For, during the currency of theſe larger gold coins, all the fines and penalties mentioned in the Edicts and Capitulars of theſe Carlovingian princes, are rated by a Solidus of twelve pence. In a council held under Carloman [*a*], duke of Auſtraſia, A. D. 745, it was decreed, that for every houſe or farm holden of the church, the poſſeſſor ſhould pay a Solidus yearly, which was *twelve pence*, beſides the aid granted to the crown. Carloman was not ſo much a ſovereign, as to give a new value and currency to all the caſh of that kingdom; but ſettled his aids and taxes according to the proportion of the coins then in uſe.

[*a*] " Ea conditione, ut ſingulis annis de unaquaque caſſata Solidus, i. e. " duodecim denarii ad eccleſiam vel monaſterium reddantur." Baluz. Capit. vol. I. p. 149.

His brother Pepin, who, without ſhedding a drop of blood, transferred the crown of France from the Merovingian family to his own, adjuſted all their fines and payments by the ſame Solidus. We may eaſily believe, that a prince, who had addreſs enough to accompliſh ſuch a revolution, took very popular ſteps. This was one of them, as appears by a petition to his ſon Charlemagne in an aſſembly or parliament holden at Rheims A. D. 813.

" Ut dominus [*b*] Imperator, ſecundum ſtatutum " bonae memoriae Pipini, miſericordiam faciat, ne ſolidi, " qui in lege habentur per XL denarios, diſcurrant."

It was uſual in that age for princes, in a new aſſembly of the ſtates, to confirm and re-eſtabliſh the ſame privileges, which they themſelves had granted. The emperor had made this conceſſion in the Capitulars of the year 801.

" De omnibus debitis [*c*] ſolvendis, ſicut ANTIQVITVS " fuit conſtitutum, per duodecim denarios ſolidi ſolvantur " per totam legem Salicam; excepto ſi Leudes, i. e. Saxo " aut Friſo, Salicum occiderit, per quadraginta denarios " ſolidus ſolvatur. Inter Salicos vero ex utraque parte " per duodecim denarios ſolidi ſolvantur."

This ANTIQVITVS *conſtitutum* muſt allude to a practice, that was in being long before Charlemagne, or any of his family were in poſſeſſion of that empire: And it

[*b*] Le Blanc's Traité hiſtorique, p. 8.

[*c*] Baluzii Capitul. Vol. I. p. 351. Here Baluze, either by a miſtake in the copy, or an error of the preſs, reads LX denarios inſtead of XL.

appears

appears to be ſo by the Alaman and Bavarian laws. It may perhaps be impoſſible to ſay, who was the real author of thoſe laws, becauſe they were enlarged and improved by ſeveral princes. The preface [*d*] to the Alaman law aſcribes them to Clothaire. This was moſt probably Clothaire II. He had very eminent abilities as a ſoldier and legiſlator both; and kept that large monarchy, in which ſeveral German provinces were then included, in great order and tranquillity. He died in 629. But if they were enacted by Clothaire III, the date of them will be at no great diſtance; it could not be later than 663. Theſe laws in explaining one of the German names for money ſays,

"Saiga [*e*] autem eſt quarta pars tremiſſis, hoc eſt, de-
"narius unus: duae ſaigae, duo denarii dicuntur. Tre-
"miſſis eſt tertia pars ſolidi, et ſunt denarii quatuor."

THE Ripuarian laws, a province upon the Banks of the Rhine, give us the ſame eſtimate.

"Si ſervus [*f*] ſervum ictu uno, vel duobus, ſeu tri-
"bus percuſſerit, nihil eſt: Sed propter pacis ſtudium
"tremiſſem, i. e. quatuor denarios componat."

BOTH theſe laws ſhew how well the inhabitants were acquainted with the Roman way of reckoning by Tremiſſes; and, though the value of the coins was altered, the old nummulary language was ſtill preſerved. . . . The Tremiſſis was now no longer a gold coin, the third part

[*d*] Baluze ſuppoſes them to be made about A. D. 630.

[*e*] Leges Alamannicae, cap. vi. § 3.

[*f*] Leges Ripuar. c. xix. § 1. Et apud Baluzii Capitularia, tom. I. p. 33.

of a Solidus, as in the Salic and Roman laws; but only four pence, the ſame as the latter Saxon ſhilling, and conſequently this Solidus itſelf was only twelve pence.

WE have therefore ſufficient reaſon to conclude that this method of computing money, the ſame as our preſent pound ſterling, began as early in France as the beginning of the ſeventh century, and continued there above 450 years, till the introduction of their preſent Mark. Several parts of Germany followed this regulation; it was but the natural conſequence of Clothaire's, or Charlemagne's extenſive empires.

THE Annals of Fuld adjuſt their payments by the ſame pound, and the ſame diviſions of it in their coins.

"In auro [g] et argento bis mille librae, et octoginta, "vel paulo plus; quam libram per viginti ſolidos com-"putamus expletam."

SEVERAL of the different German governments have at preſent, or not long ago, retained the ſame uſage.

"Jus Saxonum [h] libellam vocat XX ſolidos, i. e. "nummulos CCXL. Totidem habet libra et Ratiſbonae, et "Saliſburgi, et Moguntiae."

"Saxones et Miſnienſes SCHILLING vocant duodenam "rerum quarumcunque."

BUT perhaps it will be objected to this account, that theſe Shillings, or Solidi of twelve pence, were originally, as they are at preſent, a ſilver coin. This, I know, is the general opinion: Almoſt all the beſt judges in this

[g] Annales de Fulde ad A. D. 882.
[h] Heniſchius, De aſſe, p. 198. 202.

part

part of antiquity, as Freherus, Le Blanc, Dufreſne, Gronovius, &c. have given into it. But are not theſe ſentiments owing in great meaſure to prejudices ariſing from the practice of our own times, when we ſee large ſilver coins current in almoſt every country. The middle ages knew nothing of this affluence: Silver was then exceeding ſcarce: The old mines almoſt all over Europe were either exhauſted, or neglected as not worth the expence of working. Silver would have been, by this time, as ſcarce as gold, if the mines of Brazil and Mexico had not furniſhed more abundant ſupplies. The Romans [*i*], when their riches, as well as power, were much more conſiderable than what any of the Gothic princes ever enjoyed, found it neceſſary to prohibit the circulation of any ſilver coins, larger than the common Milliarenſis. The Franks, even at their firſt ſettlements in the Roman provinces, were content with ſilver coins, one half leſs than the Milliarenſis, or Denarius; which is a preſumption, that the chief part of the caſh, then current in theſe provinces, was in theſe leſſer coins. Can we imagine then, that, when money became ſo much ſcarcer, and the workmen in the mints could do nothing more than cut a wretched dye with a few miſhapen letters in the middle of it, they ſhould on a ſudden ſtrike out into a new practice, circulate coins one ſixth part larger than our Half-crowns, and give ſuch unexpected marks of greater affluence and better taſte? There is not a ſingle paſſage in any of the old hiſtorians or records produced by theſe

[*i*] Vid. Cod. Theodoſ. lib. ix. tit. xxiii. § 187.

gentle-

gentlemen, that implies ſuch an alteration. But as the exiſtence of theſe ſilver Solidi is a point, which ſo many conſiderable authorities have ſupported, it will be proper to examine the evidence, and ſee how it ſtands.

THE reaſons alledged for this opinion, though given us by very different hands, are moſt of them the ſame, and may be conſidered in common.

FIRST of all it is ſaid, that as *Solidi aurei*, *auri*, and *de auro* are ſo often mentioned in old deeds, grants, edicts, and other public inſtruments, there muſt be, in conſequence of this diſtinction, Solidi argentei: For to what purpoſe ſhould they ſay Solidi [*k*] aurei, if there were no other Solidi?

[*k*] "Il eut été inutile de marquer que ce ſol ne valoit pas que XII "deniers, s' il n' y en avoit pas en alors un autre d' un prix different, "qui etoit le ſol d' or, qui en valoit XL." Le Blanc, p. 8. "Cette "Ordonance nous apprend encore que les ſols etoient reels, et d' ar- "gent fine, et que l' on continuoit de ſe ſervir de la maniere de compter "par livre, puiſque le concile fut tenu l'an 879." Ibid. p. 81. "Et nunc "peto ego, ſi praeter aureum nullus alius Solidus agnoſcebatur; hoc eſt, ſi "nondum erant argentei Solidi, cur Solidos auri hic memoratos video, "cum Solidos tantum memorare ſatisfuiſſet." Muratori, apud Argelati de monet. Italiae, vol. I. p. 102. Gronovius thought this a clear point, and therefore advanced it as a fact without offering any evidence to ſupport it. "Nam ad ſimilitudinem *aurei ſolidi*, qui ſub Conſtantini Magni ſucceſſo- "ribus fuit, et *duodecim milliarenſibus* vertebatur, percuſſerunt Franci et "hae nationes argenteum, quem duodecim aeſtimabant denariis ſive ſterlin- "gis." De pecun. vet. p. 153. Who theſe ſucceſſors of Conſtantine the Great were, that firſt coined a Solidus of twelve Milliarenſes, he does not ſay. They muſt be ſucceſſors at the diſtance of near 500 years at leaſt, when the Frank Solidus had been reduced to twelve pence, long before theſe Byzantine princes were in being. Gronovius's account of the Frank money is in other reſpects not very accurate. He follows Le Blanc, when he is wrong; and leaves him, when he is right. The Roman and Frank pounds ſtand thus in his account. "Cum quinque aurei ſolidi Romani libram argenti facerent....

THE

THE addition of Aurei was indeed quite unneceſſary. The ſame thing had been expreſſed, if they had ſaid Solidi only. The Romans, and their immediate ſucceſſors in every country, by Solidi always meant gold. The ſame author, who gives that exact account of the firſt alteration of the Frank Aurei, ſays:

"Veteres Solidum [*l*], qui nunc Aureus dicitur, nun-
"cupabant."

SOLIDUS and Aureus were then reciprocal terms; and, though they implied the ſame thing, were ſometimes uſed both together by the Romans themſelves. Apuleius [*m*] calls the Solidi of his age, Solidi aurei. Who ever imagined, that any ſilver Solidi were then current at Rome? They would have been much heavier than Two-crown pieces. Though the Romans had ſometimes ſuch ſilver coins, as pieces of Ten-denarii, yet pieces of Five-and-twenty-denarii would have been monſtrous for

"quando libra auri Romanos habebat LXXII aureos ſolidos, Francos neceſſe eſt
"habuerit LXXXVI et ſemiſſem." De pec. vet. p. 154. Le Blanc has ſhewn from undoubted authorities, that the weight of the Frank Solidus was originally the ſame as the Byzantine. The difference was only in the Deniers; and therefore when 5 Byzantine Solidi of 20 Denarii to the Solidus were equal to a pound of ſilver, 5 Frank Solidi of 40 Denarii to the Solidus were of the ſame value. But in the beginning of the 7th century, when the duodecuple proportion took place in their exchange, the Frank Solidus, inſtead of being 86 and one half in the pound, was 240.

[*l*] Rei agrariae Script. p. 323. This obſervation is not to be ſo ſtrictly underſtood, as if Solidus was the original name. Aureus was the older appellation: Solidus never occurs in Pliny. But after the Semiſſes and Tremiſſes were coined, Solidus, as expreſſing the *whole* coin, was the common appellation.

[*m*] Apuleii Metam. lib. x. p. 242.

current

current coins. Perhaps, in the middle ages, ſaying Solidi aurei implied that they were then paid in gold.

BUT the very paſſages appealed to upon this occaſion, to prove there was ſuch a coin as a ſilver Solidus, rather prove the contrary. Such are thoſe taken from the archives of the archbiſhop of Lucca. In one of theſe records, the full property and advowſon of a church is granted, reſerving a yearly penſion to the perſon who ſold it. This is the clauſe of reſervation:

"Tu mihi reddere [*n*] debeas decem ſolidos argenti, "de bonos denarios, mundos, groſſos, expendiviles, una "XII denarios pro ſolido tantum."

THIS grant was in the year 807. In another inſtrument of the ſame kind, the biſhop reſerves an annual

[*n*] Muratori apud Argelati de monetis Italiae, Vol. I. p. 103, 104. The paſſage, which Le Blanc lays ſo much ſtreſs upon is of the ſame kind. Charlemagne publiſhed an edict for the puniſhment of ſacrilege, which was revived in a council held at Troyes in Campagne, A. D. 879. The words are, "Nos leviorem poenam eſſe tenendam, quae a Carolo eſt conſtituta, "videlicet in XXX libris argenti examinati, i. e. ſexcentorum ſolidorum ſum-"mam argenti puriſſimi." Le Blanc, p. 81. When 30 pounds were equal to 600 Solidi, the Solidus was certainly 12 pence. But the money was paid, not in ſilver Solidi, but the Deniers of that age, as the Italian grants often expreſs, "perſolvere debeam argentum, ſolidos XX, bonos denarios, &c." Thus in the inſtances given by Dufreſne (voce SOLIDUS ARGENTEUS) are to be underſtood. In a charter belonging to the monaſtery of St. Severus in Gaſcoigne, the founder gave "trecentos ſolidos duos denarios argenti." How theſe Solidi were to be paid is fully explained by another inſtance in the records of the ſame convent, "trecentos ſolidos argenti duodenorum de-"nariorum." King John gave to the priory of St. Nicholas in Exeter (a cell belonging to Battle-abbey) an eſtate at Bradeham, "de qua nobis "reddi ſolebant I. ſolidi blanci." No body imagines that there was any ſilver Solidi in England in king John's time, or indeed any Solidus at all; but it was purely a ſpecies of account, and conſiſted of twelve pence.

penſion,

penſion, which the clerk obliges himſelf to pay every third year at the viſitation. This is the obligation:

"Per [o] ſingulos annos in menſe Martio cenſum dare "et perſolvere debeam, argentum ſolidos xx, bonos de- "narios expendibiles, de tertio in tertio annos, quando "circatas ad conſignationes faciendum de pleve in pleves "veſtras faceritis."

WHAT a miſerable and wretched view do theſe inſtruments give us of the ſtate of learning in Italy, at the beginning of the ninth century? This was the convenient ſeaſon, an age of darkneſs fit for propagating the papal infallibility, and ſinking deep into the very worſt of the Romiſh ſuperſtitions. Such biſhops, and ſuch clerks, as theſe, far from being able to oppoſe, or detect the origin of any abſurdities in their doctrines, were (if we may judge by the ſpecimens here given) ſcarce able to underſtand their own breviary. It appears however, through the exceſſive barbariſm of theſe purchaſe-deeds, that the money to be paid upon theſe contracts, was paid, not in ſilver Solidi, but in the common Deniers there mentioned, allowing twelve Denarii, or Deniers, to a Solidus. Muratori and Le Blanc both, notwithſtanding their prejudices in favour of a ſilver Solidus, admit that this was ſometimes the caſe. The former ſays:

"Interea e paucis [p], quae hactenus attuli (i. e. ex- "emplis) juſtus nobis ſeſe offert locus ſuſpicandi fuiſſe

[o] Muratori, ut ſupra, p. 103.

[p] Idem ut ſupra, p. 105. And ſo Le Blanc. "Je ne ſçaurois dire pre- "ciſement en quels temps en a commencé à ſe ſervir des ſols d' argent; ni "olim

"olim ſolidos etiam imaginarios ex veris denariis compo-
"ſitos." A ſuſpicion, that was far from being imaginary; it was well grounded.

IT is likewiſe ſaid in favour of theſe ſilver Solidi, that, ſuppoſing all the Solidi mentioned in the old Salic and Gothic laws to be gold, the penalties would be exceſſively ſevere; but very reaſonable and moderate, if theſe Solidi were ſilver [*q*] only.

THAT the Solidi of different ages differed very much in value, can be no queſtion. The Franks, from a Solidus of ſix to the ounce, came by degrees to one of twenty. But the Solidus of every age had, it is well known, a legal valuation: It was juſt the ſame thing whether you paid this Solidus in ſilver or gold; that made no difference in the ſum; would neither leſſen nor increaſe the penalty. When the Franks firſt ſettled in Gaul [*r*], they found themſelves poſſeſſed of an unuſual opulence; and, like perſons not uſed to much money, thought it could not be eaſily diſſipated or exhauſted. They there-

"ſi dans leur origine ils etoient *reels*, ou ſeulement des eſpeces de Compte?" Traité hiſtorique, p. 10.

[*q*] "Aliqua mihi ſuboritur dubitatio, num ſolidi in Longobardicis legi-
"bus toties nominati, potius argentei, quam aurei fuerint; et potiſſimum
"quod illic interdum graviſſimae appareant poenae, ſi ex aureis infligebantur,
"mites vero ex argenteis." Murat. ut ſupra, p. 105.

[*r*] This was often the caſe in the other provinces. Amalaſuntha, one of the Gothic queens in the beginning of the ſixth century, determining to fly from Italy to eſcape the danger of an aſſaſſination, put on board the veſſel, intended to carry her off, τετρακόσια χρυσᾶ κεντηνάρια, *quadraginta millia pondo auri*. A ſum not leſs, than 1,680,000 pound ſterling. Procop. de bello Gothico, ed. Venet. p. 5.

fore

fore ſet their legal fines and penalties very high; and perhaps, taking the information of the inhabitants, much upon the ſame foot, which the Roman governours had left them. But, however, we may in general be aſſured, that the laws of every country are ſuited to the apparent circumſtances of the people. Whatever inconveniences may ariſe, they will upon experience be redreſſed. This is a doctrine, which either policy or neceſſity will teach all governments to embrace. The Frank princes, high as the prerogative was, as money became ſcarcer, brought all their fines and payments from a Solidus of forty pence, to one of twelve. The exigences of the ſtate required a reduction of ſomething more than two thirds. Not that the pound of gold or ſilver was then reduced, as Muratori [s] imagined; but the coins only that were ſtruck out of it in gold, and made the legal eſtimate of their payments.

ANOTHER reaſon offered in ſupport of this opinion was, that, by admitting theſe ſilver Solidi, we ſhould take the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way of removing all the difficulties, which attended, and embaraſſed this queſtion: For

[s] "Videtur mihi auri libra redacta tantummodo ad ſolidos xx aureos." Muratori ut ſupra, p. 104. Muratori's conjectures are not always formed upon ſuch principles as demand our aſſent. In quoting Caſſiodorus for the value of the Roman Solidus, he concludes, that there were anciently Solidi of 6000 Denarii, taking the Denarius in Caſſiodorus for the old ſilver Denarius of four Seſterces. Caſſiod. lib. i. ep. 10. But Caſſiodorus there means a very different thing. Denarius is applied, as was then uſual, to the whole ſpecies of braſs coins: it was juſt as if he had ſaid, *ſex millia æreorum ſolidum eſſe;* which was true. The ſolidus of the lower empire paſſed in exchange for 6000 of their ſmalleſt braſs coins, and ſometimes more.

Lindenbrogius and others were perſuaded, that the Solidus of forty pence, and that of twelve, were the ſame Solidus [*t*], paſſing only at a different exchange. But this was making the exchange between gold and ſilver incredibly higher than ever it was known to be, above thirty to one; and therefore this Solidus of leſſer value was moſt probably ſilver.

I DO not know where Lindenbrogius has advanced this opinion. In his gloſſary upon the ancient Gothic laws, he has obſerved, that there were Solidi of different valuations, but without ſaying they were the ſame coins. But, whoever has ſaid this, it is a ridiculous aſſertion, which deſerves no credit. Though the Solidi were ſo different, there is no occaſion to have recourſe to a ſilver Solidus to account for this difference. The very language of their laws, hiſtorians, and public inſtruments, after the reduction of the Solidus to twelve pence, ſhews they were of gold. Muratori [*u*] produces ſeveral grants and edicts, where *auri Solidus*, *aurei Solidi*, *dominici*, *obryzati* are mentioned. The very laws themſelves, which fix their fines in theſe Solidi of twelve pence, and make them their principal way of accounting with the crown,

[*t*] "Toutes ces raiſons n'ont pas empeché que Lindenbrog ſuivi de "pluſieurs n'ait confondu ces deux ſols, et n'ait cru que ce n'étoit le meſme, "qui tantot valu 40 Deniers, et tantot 12." Le Blanc, p. 8. Gronovius cenſures Lindenbrogius for the ſame thing, as if he thought, that the ſame Solidus aureus among the Franks paſſed ſometimes at forty, and ſometimes at twelve pence. But this does not appear. If we ſhould ſay, that the Engliſh ſhilling had been eſtimated at twelve pence from the Conqueſt to the preſent times, which is true; yet it would not follow that it was the ſame ſhilling or the ſame penny. [*u*] Ut ſupra, p. 102, 103.

permit

permit theſe payments to be made in any other money, when they had no gold. In one of Carloman's edicts the fine is, *trecentorum* [*w*] *auri Solidorum ad purum excocti.* Theſe muſt be real gold coins. When the payment is ſaid to be in fine gold, it certainly diſtinguiſhes it from ſilver; not but theſe payments were often made in another ſpecies. One of the Bavarian laws, enacted by ſome of the former princes, makes this conceſſion, which ſhews it was a ruled caſe:

"Solvat trecentos [*x*] ſolidos auro adpretiatos: Si au-
"rum non habet, donet aliam pecuniam."

BUT above all, many of theſe golden Solidi of twelve pence [*y*] are now remaining, and it would be the greateſt improbability imaginable to ſuppoſe there were any other. From this view of the queſtion, we may ſafely reject this ſilver Solidus, as a thing quite unknown in thoſe ages, and which never had exiſtence till the beginning of the ſixteenth century, when the pound ſterling was greatly reduced.

BUT another objection to this Solidus of twelve pence is, that it was neither gold nor ſilver, nothing more than a method of accounting by meer ideal money, which was never uttered from the mints .... that the French antiquaries, who ſhould furniſh us with the cleareſt evidence in this point, produce no ſuch coins from any of their collections in France, even their prince's cabinets.

[*w*] Le Blanc, p. 143.
[*x*] Leges Bajuvar. cap. x. § 2. Baluzii Capitular. vol. I. p. 99.
[*y*] Le Blanc, Traité Hiſtorique, p. 88.

They

They exhibit a great variety of their firſt Solidi, Semiſſes and Tremiſſes, or Triers d'or; but none of this lower eſtimate, no Aurei of twelve pence.

In anſwer to theſe objections it might be fairly urged, that edicts and injunctions about the fineneſs of ideal money, ſeem to be a new and very needleſs expedient. A legiſlator ſurely, in ſuch a caſe, would not have inſiſted, that it ſhould be *ad purum excoctus*; or, in the language of our old laws, aꝛoꝺeneꝛ ꝿolꝺeꝛ. It had been ſufficient to confine ſuch regulations to real coins. But was there ever, in any age or country, any money of account, that did not take its origin from real weights, or coins? There is no inſtance of ſuch a practice: Look into all the denominations of money that ever were, the Greek Staters and Drachmae, the Roman Seſterces and Solidi, the French Livres and Deniers, the Engliſh Nobles, Angels, &c. in ſhort, into every eſtimate down from the Jewiſh Shekel to the French Sou, and we ſhall find that they all aroſe from ſuch weights or ſpecie that had been in uſe. That gold coins were current in France for many ages, during a long ſeries of their princes, is demonſtrated by the great numbers of them that are now remaining. The Franks at the beginning of their government adopted all the names and forms of the Roman Aurei, a Solidus of ſix in the ounce, a Semiſſis of twelve, and a Tremiſſis of eighteen; and, after that, a legal Solidus of twelve pence, or twenty in the ounce. Whether this laſt was a coin, or not is the only queſtion. If we could depend upon the common uſe of language, there could be

be no doubt about it. After this reduction of the Solidus, we meet with a thouſand inſtances of *Solidi aurei*, *de auro*, *auri puri*, *puriſſimi*, and ſuch particularities ſpecified, as meer nominal money of account has nothing to do with, and belong only to a coin. The author [*z*] among the old agrimenſions, who ſo exactly deſcribes all the ſubdiviſions of the Frank pound, ſpeaks of this Solidus of twelve pence in the ſame light, as if it was as much a coin, as the Denarius by which it is eſtimated; and ſays, that Solidus and Aureus were equivalent expreſſions. Marculf [*a*], who lived in the time of their Merovingian princes, mentions this Solidus in ſuch a manner, as might alone determine the diſpute. He was a man of buſineſs, and drew up his forms of grants, purchaſes, and conveyances for common uſe. One of them is drawn up in theſe words:

"Dono tibi in auro, vel argento, *ſolidos Francos tantos.*"

CAN this paſſage have any other import, but this; that theſe Frank Solidi might be paid in gold or ſilver at diſcretion? And if in gold, they were certainly real coins. But, beſides theſe teſtimonies, almoſt all the ſmaller Frank Aurei now remaining may be given in evidence of this fact. If this Solidus of twelve pence, and their firſt Tremiſſis had been moſt exactly minted, there would have been only two grains and a half difference. But, conſidering the legal allowance for deficiency in weight [*b*] or the

[*z*] Vid. Leg. Agrar. p. 323.

[*a*] Vid. Marculfi Formulae.

[*b*] "In aureis quoque noſtris binum ternumque momentorum intertri-
" mentum lege quoque admittitur." Budaeus, p. 294.

irre-

irregular execution of their mints in that age, it would be almoſt impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them. We cannot ſuppoſe that theſe Triers d'or continued to paſs at three half pence above the value of a legal Solidus, and that this Solidus itſelf was never coined: Had it not been a ſtrange infatuation in their government not to avail themſelves of this circumſtance, and by diminiſhing their leſſer Aureus a little in its weight, to make it their real money of account, the very Solidus by law eſtabliſhed? And this, no doubt, was the caſe in fact. The Triers d'or was no longer uſed; another Tremiſſis of four pence was introduced and current under the old name. The weight of all the leſſer Aurei now in France ſerves to eſtabliſh this concluſion. All the faireſt [c] of them want but two or three grains of what the Solidus of twelve pence ſhould regularly weigh, and ſcarce one of them exceeds its legal valuation. All theſe Aurei therefore were the real Solidi ſo often mentioned; calling them Triers d'or was not the language of the age, in which they were laſt coined, but that of our modern French antiquaries; who, out of honour to their country, were not willing to depart from the dignity of their firſt eſtimates. Gaul had been one of the richeſt provinces in the Roman empire. The ſums, which the Romans raiſed there by a capitation tax, were almoſt incredible. This gave the firſt Frank princes an opportunity of opening their mints, with all the ſeveral ſorts of the Roman Aurei then in uſe. But this was not

[c] This appears by the weights of the French Sols communicated to the Rev. the Dean of Exeter by the Abbé Barthelemy at Paris.

of

of a very long continuance. The neceſſity of their affairs obliged them to adopt new meaſures. I have a great regard for the authority of Meſſrs. Bouteroue and Le Blanc, as to the ſeveral French Aurei which they have exhibited; but I am perſuaded that they have miſtaken the claſs of moſt of them; that many of the leſſer Aurei are not, as they call them, Triers de Sol, but only their own legal Solidi of twelve pence.

THE only point now remaining is, when did this diviſion of the preſent pound ſterling come into England? The Saxon pound in Alfred's times was eſtimated by a Mancus of thirty pence, and eight to the pound; and a ſhilling of five pence, at forty-eight in the pound: when then did this alteration commence, which reduced it to a Solidus of twelve pence, and twenty in the pound? That this eſtimate began in the Saxon times is very evident. All the revenues in England, during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, were, as appears by Domeſday-book, uniformly and conſtantly accounted for by a Solidus of twelve pence. The Conqueror's commiſſioners [*d*] muſt take their in-

[*d*] Though the Conqueror's commiſſioners were ſo particular in mentioning the eſtates, that no article was omitted, *ut nec locus, nec lacus aliquis, quin regis rotulo fuerit deſcriptus*, yet they were probably indulgent enough in their returns; never altering the old payments, and often not ſpecifying the exact value or extent of their eſtates. Thus one of the hiſtorians:

"Iſti [taxatores], penes noſtrum monaſterium benevoli et amantes, non ad "verum pretium, nec ad verum ſpatium, noſtrum monaſterium librant; miſe"ricorditer praecaventes in futurum regiis exactionibus, et aliis oneribus, "piiſſima nobis benevolentia praecaventes." Ingulf. apud Script. poſt Bedam, p. 908. This ſurvey was formed upon the plan of the old Roman Rationarium; it took in the value of their eſtates, as well as their ſubſidies; and their diviſions of them were into plow-lands, juſt the ſame as the Saxon.

formation of the value of theſe eſtates, from the inhabitants of every county. Is it poſſible, that they ſhould ſay all over England, that the lands were worth ſo many Solidi in Edward the Confeſſor's reign, if no ſuch eſtimate was then in uſe? It is ſaid, that none of all the former Saxon and Daniſh ways of reckoning money are to be met with in that ſurvey, but only the Flemiſh or German Mark, and that ſingle Ora of twenty pence, the twelfth part of the Saxon pound. If this is fact, as I believe it is, it will be impoſſible to account for it, without admitting that all the revenues of England were rated by a Solidus of twelve pence before the Conqueſt. I ſhall give a few inſtances in different parts of the kingdom:

In Richmondſhire.

"Midilton [e]. T. R. E. (i. e. tempore regis Edwardi) valebat XL. ſolidos; modo XX."

"Bromton. T. R. E. valebat XL. ſolidos; modo XXXII."

In Suſſex.

"Burgum [f] de Lewis. T. R. E. valebat VI libras, et IV ſolidos, et tres obolos de gablo."

In Shropſhire.

"In civitate [g] Sciropeſcirie. T. R. E. erant CCLII burgenſes, reddentes per annum VII lib. XVI ſolidos, et VIII denar."

THAT all theſe were Solidi of twelve pence, appears by the proportion, which they bore to the pound in many parts of this ſurvey.

[e] Gale's Richmondſhire, p. 2. 4. paſſim.
[f] Domeſday Book, apud Gale's Scriptores XV. vol. III. p. 762.
[g] Ibid. p. 772.

In

In Cheſhire.

" In civitate [b] Ceſtre . . . . qui in ſacris diebus ho-
" minem interficiebat, IV libris emendabat; in aliis autem
" diebus XL ſolidis."

In Herefordſhire.

" Si quis [i] occidit hominem regis, dat regi XX ſolidos;
" ſi alicujus Taini hominem, X ſolidos domino ejus."

THOUGH the fines are different, and the ſum due to the lord only mentioned in this laſt inſtance, yet the regular proportion of one half to one is obſerved.

THE value of the Engliſh eſtates in the Saxon times is mentioned in the ſame manner by the hiſtorians. Thus Ingulphus, eſtimating the lands belonging to Croyland abbey, ſays,

" In Grantebrigſhire [k], Draiton, &c. with its appen-
" dages, T. R. E. valebat C ſolidos: modo IV libras, et
" X ſolidos. Haec terra eſt in dominio eccleſiae ſancti
" Guthlaci cum ſua eccleſia et preſbytero."

" In Leiceſterſhire [l], Behn, ibi XXX acrae prati vale-
" bant, T. R. E. LX ſolidos: modo XL ſolidos."

So far we may certainly trace the uſe of this Solidus. But if any ſort of credit is to be given to the hiſtorians of that age, this practice muſt be carried up much higher. In the hiſtories of Ramſey and Ely abbies, collected, no doubt, from the the ſeveral grants and legers in their cuſtody, the purchaſe money for eſtates was uſually paid

[b] Ibid. p. 777.
[i] Ibid. p. 769.
[k] Ingulphi Hiſtoria, p. 109.
[l] Id. p. 110.

for in Solidi, or Aurei, of this value. Brihtnoth, abbot of Ely, in king Edgar's reign, purchaſed three [m] hides of land at Cypenham of one Alfwold. The agreement was, *quod abbas pro ſingulis hydis c ſolidos daret*. At the time appointed for paying the money, *venit uxor Alfwoldi* XV *libras acceptura, et abbati* III *integras hydas traditura* .... If 300 Solidi came to fifteen pound, it muſt be a Solidus of twelve pence.

THESE hiſtorians ſometimes uſe Solidus and Aureus indiſcriminately; but, in all probability, very properly, for ſums or coins of the ſame value. Thus Ædnothus [n], a monk of Ramſey, purchaſed two hides of land for an hundred Solidi; At another time, we find two hides of land ſold for ninety Aurei. As theſe eſtates muſt contain very nearly the ſame quantity of land, there could be no great difference in the price; the money, whether called Solidus or Aureus, muſt be the ſame.

IT is certain, that there were ſome alterations made in the Saxon coinages, not long after Alfred's time. His grandſon Athelſtan, a prince extremely popular and well beloved, reduced the ſtandard of the Saxon ſhillings from five to four pence; and it was likewiſe enacted in his reign, that for the future there ſhould be but *one ſort* [o] of money in England. This certainly implied, that there had been before his reign more ſorts of money than one.

[m] Hiſtoria Elien. apud Gale's Scriptores XV. p. 472.

[n] Hiſtoria Ramſien. apud eund. p. 415. et vid. p. 471, 473, 666, 667, &c. "Conſtitit centum ſolidis .... abbas dedit xxx ſolidos .... datis ab epiſcopo centum aureis; ....., acceptis ab epiſcopo xx aureis."

[o] Leg. Saxon. p. 59.

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The Danish Ora was from the beginning, as has been already shewn, of the same value with this Solidus: And if the Saxon coins were altered, they were most probably altered in such a manner, as to reduce them to the same estimate or standard with the Franks and Danes. This had certainly been a very political expedient, and every way most convenient for their situation and circumstances. Their penny was the same as the Frank Denier; their pound the same, consisting of 240 of these pence: Or, if there was any difference in the weight of the two pounds, it was so inconsiderable that they might pass currently for one another, just as the Greek and Roman pounds had done before, though not precisely of the same weight. This would have made the new Saxon shilling the Tremissis of their new Aureus: For this was the custom of the age, the constant way of reckoning in the Frank and Alaman coins; *Tremissis*, i. e. *quatuor Denarii*. This had reduced, which was of more importance, the Frank Solidus, the Danish Ora, and the new Saxon Aureus or Mancus to the same value, and given them all an equal currency through the whole kingdom. The accounts we have of these coins, in the reigns after Athelstan, greatly favour this conjecture. Ælfstan purchased of the two brothers, Edmund and Eadred, Athelstan's successors, an estate at Uldham for the church of Rochester, which cost a hundred and twelve Mancae [p] auri. Eadred assigned to the abbey of Glastenbury, the

[p] Textus Roffensis, edit. Hearne, p. 117.

manor

manor of Badbury, *pretio quinquaginta ſolidorum* [*q*] *auri.* The Saxon princes were far from having two different ſorts of Aurei ſtruck at the ſame time; it was expreſsly forbidden by law. In one of the next reigns, biſhop Adelwold purchaſed an eſtate of king Edgar for the abbey of Thorney, *cum* XL *mancuſis* [*r*] *auri.*

ALMOST every nation in a courſe of years has found it neceſſary to alter the weight and value of their coins, though the ſame names were continued as before. The Greeks called their gold coins Staters, from the Staters of an ounce, under the Athenian republic, to thoſe that were but a ſixth part of that value under the Byzantine empire. The Romans called all their gold coins Solidi, whatever was their weight. The Denarius, ſtruck at firſt for ten Aſſes, ſoon changed its value and was current for ſixteen, but kept the name taken from its original eſtimate, even when it was become an As itſelf, inſtead of repreſenting ſo many of them. The As had more remarkable alterations; from being a real pound, it ſunk to half an ounce, if not lower. Among the Jews, whether their Shekel was a quarter of an ounce or half an ounce, it was always called the Shekel. And, to come nearer home, our own Shilling is little more than a quarter of that value, which had paſſed under this denomination.

SOMETIMES indeed the very reverſe of this had been the caſe. Caprice, or fancy, or the meer accidental relation

[*q*] Monaſticon, vol. I. p. 16.
[*r*] Ibid. p. 243,244.

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of coins and weights to one another, introduced new and fantaſtic names for the old coins when there was not the leaſt alteration in their value. Thus the old Roman names the Denarius and Quinarius were quite diſuſed for the ſilver coins in the Byzantine empire; the one called Siliqua, Ceratium, Δίχερσος; the other Milliarenſis, Diceratum, Argenteus. And again, a number of different coins or eſtimates under one name [s].

SUCH was the practice of much politer nations than the Franks, Danes, and Saxons. We may therefore eaſily believe, that when their coins were much ſunk in value, they continued to call them by the ſame names. The Marcuſes mentioned in the grants, purchaſes, and hiſtorians of the later Saxon period, which paſſed in common with the Solidi of that age, muſt oblige us to conſider them as the ſame coins. Though the Danes and Saxons might preſerve ſome different cuſtoms, which were of little or no conſequence in the buſineſs of government; yet the dif-

[s] Epiphanius tells us that Follis was uſed either for a braſs or ſilver coin, i. e. either καλὰ δηναριςμὸν, ἢ καλὰ ἀργυριςμόν. As a braſs coin, it was half the Obolus or Half-denarius of the lower empire; as a ſilver coin, it was the Ceratium or Half-milliarenſis. Beſides theſe, it had more extenſive ſignifications. Follis originally ſignified a *purſe*; and becauſe the money-changers kept their ſmall braſs and ſilver coins upon their tables in purſes, ready for exchange, the coins themſelves were at laſt called Folles: And becauſe the larger ſums of money were often delivered into the Exchequer in purſes, thoſe payments were likewiſe called Folles. Thus the Senatorian Cenſus, or annual ſubſidy due to the government from the three different ranks of Senators, viz. eight pounds; four pounds; and two pounds of gold, were called their Folles. Hence the cuſtom of making their preſents, or paying their ſubſidies, in purſes continues at Conſtantinople and in the Ottoman empire even to this day. A purſe implies a particular ſum; of ſilver, about 112 *l.* 10 *s*; of gold, 6750 *l.* and the half-purſes in proportion.

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ference in their coins and eſtimates muſt occaſion frequent and obvious inconveniences, and ſuch as required a more immediate redreſs. Soon after Athelſtan's reign, the balance was altered in England in favour of the Danes. Edgar his nephew was obliged to make new offers of accommodation, upon far leſs honourable terms than Alfred had done. He gave the Danes the liberty of chooſing, out of the various Saxon laws then in uſe, *optima lex* [*t*], what pleaſed them *beſt*, i. e. no doubt, ſuch as were leaſt ſevere, where the fines and payments due to the crown were eſtimated at a lower rate. This produced ſome difference in practice; and hence theſe diſtinctions [*u*] of Merchenelage, Denelage, and Weſtſaxenalage were continued to the laſt, which appeared chiefly in theſe pecuniary compenſations. But to make theſe abatements fall under a more obvious and unexceptionable way of accounting, Edgar and Canute both reinforce the former law of Athelſtan,

[*t*] "Deinde volo, ut in uſu ſit apud Danos quam *optima lex* eligi poteſt, "et ego illis dedi permiſſionem; et placere volo, quamdiu vita mihi conce-"datur." Leg. Sax. p. 81. There can be no doubt but this indulgence to the Danes was *abating* ſomething in their favour by making the prince's revenues leſs. *Optima lex* muſt be taken in this light, i. e. *cujus Lahſhite, vel legis violatae poena, minore pretio aeſtimata fuit.* To what a mean ſubmiſſion were the Saxon princes then reduced! This is rather the language of vaſſals than legiſlators: It ſhews that there was a neceſſity for keeping up the diſtinction of Merchenelaga, Danelaga, and Weſtſaxenalaga, becauſe in each of theſe diſtricts their peculiar rights and privileges were preſerved.

[*u*] Biſhop Nicolſon, though well acquainted with the Northern learning, miſtook the ſecondary ſenſe of theſe terms for the firſt; as if they implied a diſtrict or province only. Praefat. ad leges Anglo-Sax. p. 16. Such a miſtake could not, as might be expected, eſcape the freedom of a juſt animadverſion. Vid. Moral and Political Dialogues, n. VI.

which required that all their money ſhould be reduced to one and the ſame ſtandard. I ſhall give Canute's law, with ſome little variation, from Dr. Wilkins's verſion:

"Agamus [*w*] etiam de valore pecuniae, ut *una mo-*
"*neta* ſine omni falſa valeat per totam hanc ditionem;
"ut nemo eam ſumere detrectet: Et ſiquis, praeter hanc,
"falſam fecerit, perdat manum ſuam; et hoc nulla re
"excuſet, nec *auro*, nec argento."

IF this law had no other view (as is commonly ſuppoſed) but to prohibit the uſe of every ſpecies of coin but one [*x*], this object would ſcarce have given all theſe princes ſo much concern, as to have it eſtabliſhed ſo often in an aſſembly of the ſtates. This would have been done effectually, and in ſuch a manner, as needed no repeating, by the moſt imperious of all lawgivers, Neceſſity. OR, had this regulation been confined to the ſilver pennies only, why is *gold* mentioned in the law at all? And would it not have been more properly expreſſed in the language of the French edicts upon ſuch occaſions, *ut denarii mero ſint argento, et bene penſantes?* But the

[*w*] Leges Saxon. p. 134.

[*x*] "Praeter iſta aereola Northumbrana unicus erat Anglo-Saxonum "nummus, *penningus* ſeu ſterlingus. Una moneta per totum imperium obti-"neat." Wiſe, Catalog. Nummorum Bodleian. This opinion, till of late, has been almoſt univerſal, and looked upon as an unqueſtionable truth. Mr. Camden, Sir Henry Spelman, Dr. Hickes, Bp. Fleetwood, &c. have given into it. Laſt of all Mr. Thoreſby, who ſays, "As to gold, there are no "Saxon moneys of that metal, in any repoſitory now in being, nor mention "of ſuch in any authentic record." Bp. Gibſon's Camden, p. clxxv. But are not *laws* and *wills* the moſt authentic records, where ſuch moneys are often mentioned? Can we be certain that theſe laws extended to the pennies only, when that word never once occurs in any of them, but peorþore or mynet only?

word in Saxon is not penig, but mynet; a word of much greater extent, which, like Moneta in Latin, included all the whole produce of their mints. And that there were other coins, even Mancuſes, then current, is evident from theſe very laws of Canute, by which this *una moneta*, this uniformity in their coinage, is ſo ſtrictly enjoined. Let us appeal therefore to this very law, which will both help us to explain the former clauſe, and ſhew that the Mancus was then reduced to the ſame ſtandard with the Solidi and Oras of the Franks and Danes. I ſhall give the whole paſſage at large, as it ſtands in Dr. Wilkins's verſion, and place all the copies or verſions of the ſame law under the page. By this full view of the whole, the relation, which the ſeveral parts of it bear to one another, will be better underſtood. The law ſays,

"Siquis [*y*] inteſtatus ex hac vita decedat, ſive ſit per "negligentiam ejus, ſive per mortem ſubitaneam, tunc "non aſſumat ſibi dominus plus poſſeſſionis ipſius, quam "juſtum armamentum."

[*y*] Leges Saxon. p. 144. This law, in Brompton's old tranſlation, ſtands thus. "Et ſint *relevationes* ita minutae, ſicut modus eſt: COMITIS, ſicut ad "cum pertinet, hoc eſt, *octo* equi, quatuor ſellati, et quatuor inſellati; et "galeae *quatuor*, loricae quatuor cum *octo lanceis, et totidem ſcutis*, et gladii "quatuor, et CC mancae auri."

The firſt line of this clauſe, ſo different from the Saxon, ſhews, that when Brompton made his verſion, Reliefs were univerſally eſtabliſhed, and perhaps began to be looked upon as grievances. There is no mention of *relevationes* in the Saxon; only henegeata. "Poſtea THAINI regis, qui ei proximus ſit; "*quatuor* equi, duo ſellati, duo inſellati. Et *duo* gladii, et *quatuor* lanceae, "et totidem ſcuta et galeae cum lorica ſua, et L mancae auri."

"Et inferioris conditionis THAINI, equus cum apparatu ſuo, et arma ſua, "*vel* unum Halsfang in Weſt-ſaxia. In Myrcenis II libræ; in Eaſt-anglia II

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WHAT this was, is very particularly expreſſed in the following clauſes:

" Et ſint armamenta prouti dignitati convenit; COMITIS, " . . . octo equi; quatuor ephippiati, et quatuor absque e- " phippiis: Et quatuor galeae, et quatuor loricae, et " octo haſtae, ac totidem ſcuta, et quatuor enſes, et cc " mancuſae auri.

" Et poſtea REGLI THANI armamentum, qui [Comiti] " proximus ſit; quatuor equi, duo ephippiati, et duo " abſque ephippiis; et duo enſes; et quatuor haſtae, et " totidem ſcuta, et galeae, et loricae, et L mancuſae auri. " libræ. [N. B. Here the king's leſſer Daniſh Thane is omitted.] " Et ſi " notus ſit regi, equi *duo*, unus cum ſella, alius ſine ſella: et unus gladius et " duae lanceae, et L mancae auri." Brompton apud Decem ſcriptores, p. 936.

The copy of the law, as it ſtood in the time of the Conqueror, is ſomething different. This is Dr. Wilkins's verſion.

" De relevio COMITIS, quod ad regem pertinet, *octo* equi ephippiati et " fraenis ornati, *quatuor* loricae, et *quatuor* galeae, et quatuor *ſcuta*, et quatuor " haſtae, et *quatuor* enſes, et alii caeteri *quatuor veredi et palfredi* cum fraenis " et capiſtris. [N. B. *octo haſtae, octo ſcuta*, in Brompton, ſeem to be a " miſtake]. De relevio BARONIS, quatuor equi cum ſellis et fraenis ornati, " et loricae *duae*, et *duae* galeae, et ſcuta *duo*, et *duae* haſtae, et *duo* enſes; " et alii caeteri duo [equi], unus veredus et unus palfredus cum fraeno et " capiſtro. De relevio VAVASORIS ad legitimum ſuum dominum; quietus " eſſe debet per equum patris ſui, talem qualem habuerit tempore mortis " ſuae, et per loricam ſuam, et per galeam ſuam, et per ſcutum ſuum, et per " haſtam ſuam, et per enſem ſuum; et ſi adeo inermis fuerit, ut nec equum " habuerit, nec arma, per c *ſolidos*." Leges Saxon. p. 222.

In that collection of laws called Leges Henrici I. we have this verſion.

" Sint *relevationes* ſingulorum ſicut modus ſit: COMITIS, *octo* equi, quatuor " ſellati, et *quatuor* ſine ſella; et galeae *quatuor*, et loricae *quatuor*, *cum octo* " *lanceis, et totidem ſcutis*, et gladii quatuor, et *centum* mancae auri.

" Poſtea Thaini Regis, qui ei proximus ſit; *quatuor* equi, *duo* ſellati, et duo " non ſellati, et duo gladii, et *quatuor* lanceae, et totidem ſcuta, et galea cum " lorica, et L mancae auri.

"Et infuriori quidem conditionis homine, equus cum arma-
"mentis ejus, et armis; vel ejus mulcta quinque solidi in
"Saxonia occidua, et in Mercia duae libræ, et in Anglia
"orientali duae libræ.

"Et regii Thani armamentum apud Danos, qui suam
"immunitatem habet, quatuor libræ; et si [z] regi ulte-

"Et mediocris Thayni, equus cum apparatu suo et arma ejus, et suum
"halfhang [l. halsfang] in West-sexa, in Mircenis duae libræ.

"Et Thaini regis relevatio cum Dacis, qui socam suam habet tres libras;
"Et si apud regem promotiorem justitiam habeat, *duo* equi, unus cum sella,
"alius sine sella, unus gladius, et duae lanceae, et totidem scuta, et L mancae
"auri; et qui minus potest, det duas libras." Leges Saxon. p. 244. The language of these laws shews the different periods to which they belong. The nobility in the Saxon copy, are Earls, Thanes, and inferior Thanes, meomena Degna. In the Norman, Counts, Barons, and Valvasors. The Saxons estimate the compositions for these heriots in *mancæ auri*, mancs of gold; the Normans in *Solidi, Sols*. As all the persons with these different titles in each district were certainly of the same rank and dignity, may we not as reasonably conclude, that the coins, by which their heriots were estimated, though of different appellations, were of the same value?

[z] Dr. Wilkins seems to be mistaken in translating this paragraph. The law ascertains the sum, which the superior Thane among the Danes was to pay for his Heriot. He is thus described, se hiʒ socne hæbbe, which in Dr. Wilkins's version is, *qui suam immunitatem habet*. This is much too low. Soc, soca is *jurisdictio, juris dicundi potestas;* and hence socne is *Inquisitio, examinatio*; the right of holding a court in his own manors, which at that time could not be less than six. But besides this, *si regi ulterius notus sit*, as Brompton and Dr. Wilkins translate it, ʒif he ʒe ðam cyninʒe ænigon cyþe hæbbe. It would be difficult to make any tolerable sense of this passage, if the barbarous copy of Henry I. laws did not make it intelligible and clear. It is there translated, *Si apud regem promotiorem justitiam habuit*, i. e. if he was employed by the king in any office; if he had, as Lyninge þegne, a seat in their parliament, &c. he was then a person of greater consequence, and must pay a larger Heriot. Lyfbe is here *Relatio, Connexio propter officium habita*. The same distinction was observed in the Welsh laws. Those estates, which had offices annexed to them paid larger contributions: *Pro fundo cui nullum officium annexum,*

"terius

"ferius notus ſit, duo equi, minus ephippiatus, et alter
"absque ephippio, et ensis, et duae hastae, et duo scu-
"ta, et 1 manculae auricr. Et qui minus habuerit, et
" minus potens fuerit, duae librae."

NONE of theſe four copies agree exactly; and in three of them there are great miſtakes: But by comparing them together, we may diſcover the true meaning and intention of this law, and conſequently the value of the coins that are mentioned in it.

THIS is the firſt appearance of Feuds among the Saxons: for there is no viewing theſe Heriots in any other light than that of feudal obligations. All the ſubjects of the ancient free ſtates in Europe, whether Greeks or Romans, were obliged to bear arms for the ſervice of their country. And we may be well aſſured that this was the univerſal practice among the Germans, who were meer military clans: Strangers to the advantages of a more civilized and ſettled way of life, their very occupation was war. But this ſurrendring their arms and equipage implied that they belonged to a ſuperior lord [a], by whoſe grant they were

cxx *denarii*: *Brofundo cui munus annexum eſt, libra*. Legg. Wallicae, p. 131. In the ſame proportion, and probably by the ſame pound as the Saxon.

[a] There are no traces of this practice till Canute's reign. During the whole Saxon government every proprietor of land was obliged to bear arms for the ſervice of his country, or ſubmit to a fine for his refuſal. Legg. Sax. p. 23, &c. But this ſurrendring their arms was another thing; it implied that they were not ſtrictly their own, but a ſort of feudatory poſſeſſion held at the will of the lord. This was probably one of the firſt ſteps towards extending the Feuds in every country. For theſe lucrative claims, ſo beneficial to the prince and ſuperior lords, were for that reaſon progreſſive; they did not ſtop here. The Socage-tenants, who were

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holden, and for whose ſervice they were to be employ'd For when the fiefs were made hereditary, this ancient and honourable mark of their attachment to their prince was not given up. The Longobard laws expreſſly reſerve it. *Servato uſu majorum valvaſorum in dandis equis et armis ſuis ſenioribus, i. e. dominis.* The manners of the age might diſpoſe Canute to think of introducing the Feudal laws into his new kingdom. They had, in moſt parts of Europe, been long in uſe. He had ſeen them adopted and eſtabliſhed with great ſucceſs in Normandy by his own countrymen, the Danes. To oblige the Saxons to ſurrender all at once their allodial eſtates, and hold them as meer fiefs of the crown, had been a dangerous and, moſt probably, an impracticable attempt. This was reſerved for a new conqueror in the next century. But to pre-

more dependant upon the will of the lord, were under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the ſame demands. "Fit quaedam praeſtatio (ſays Bracton) do-
" mino capitali de haerede propter dominium et domini recognitionem.....
" dabit haeres, una vice, redditum ſuum unius anni duplicatum." Bracton, de leg. fol. 86. a, b. As theſe eſtates were originally granted for rural ſervices, the beſt beaſt, whether for the plow or carriage, was taken as an acknowledgment of their tenure, and called, though not very properly, a *Heriot*. Sometimes theſe claims were carried ſo far, as to make the eccleſiaſtical benefices ſubject to them. Here they were called, more ſignificantly, *Mortuaries*. At the death of the incumbent the biſhop had a right to demand the beſt habit, or moſt valuable book belonging to the deceaſed clerk. Theſe were manifeſtly conſidered in the ſame light, as the former payments; that the benefice holden for life, was now void, and fallen into the hands of the biſhop, who had given the poſſeſſion of it to the late incumbent. Theſe Mortuaries continued in the four Welſh dioceſes, till the twelfth of Queen Anne, when thoſe miſerable remains of Feudal ſervitude were at laſt aboliſhed, and Dignities, Prebends, or Sinecures in their own churches or dioceſes granted to each of the reſpective biſhops in their ſtead, much to the honour of that parliament.

vail

vail upon his nobility to ſurrender their arms and equipage, as a Feudal acknowledgment of his right to their ſervice, was a practicable and leading ſtep: It might open the way to future and gradual improvements. He might inſiſt upon going ſo far, as a proper expedient to ſecure the fidelity and attachment of his new ſubjects, or to increaſe the revenues of the crown: In ſhort, many ſpecious and political reaſons might have been offered for this innovation without offending the principal nobility. Mr. Selden [*b*] indeed, from this incorrect copy of Canute's law, was of opinion, that he had made a much greater progreſs in eſtabliſhing the Feudal ſyſtem: That He had an equal right, not only to the arms and equipage, but to the ſums of money here mentioned, as a Heriot, and Relief likewiſe. But, by comparing theſe ſeveral copies of this law with one another, there ſeems to be no ſufficient foundation for this opinion. Reliefs [*c*] were, I believe,

[*b*] Titles of Honour, p. 517. ed. 1672.

[*c*] The Saxon eſtates were at firſt allodial; this appears by the great number of wills now remaining. Their Feudal tenures were but few; the offices holden of the crown, and poſſibly ſome eſtates annexed to them. For thus the *Conſuetudines Angliae* are mentioned in the Textus Roffenſis. Among the legal privileges or poſſeſſions, which belonged to the Alderman or Comes, we meet with *Comitales villas, quae pertinent ad comitatum ejus.* Beſides, the frequent and preſſing demands, made by the Engliſh barons, to have the Confeſſor's laws reſtored, are a preſumption that there were Feudal tenures among the Saxons. They could never expect that the crown ſhould ſtrip itſelf of all theſe branches of the revenue, and make their eſtates intirely allodial. The very firſt articles of king John's Magna Charta, which he was obliged him to grant, are a demonſtration to the contrary. The Feudal ſyſtem had made great progreſs in other parts of Europe, before it appeared in this country. Theſe eſtates were firſt

not

not then known in England. Such a claim manifeſtly contradicts the very *preamble* of this law, the authority

granted for life, and afterwards made hereditary, with an expreſs proviſo for ſecuring theſe ancient heriots, their arms. Reliefs were the natural conſequence of this hereditary title. The princes, who were before this the real proprietors of theſe eſtates, were content to be conſidered in a more gracious light, as lords only of the fee; but upon this condition, that the new feudatory ſhould pay a proper compoſition for this indulgence, to ſhew that the eſtate was originally in the crown.

Theſe payments, due upon taking up or re-aſſuming this new tenure, were therefore called *Reliefs*. Such demands were, no doubt, thought very reaſonable at firſt, as the purchaſe of an hereditary eſtate. But thoſe pleaſing circumſtances were ſoon forgotten; and the conduct of the lords of the Fee, who were abſolute princes, ſoon gave occaſion for complaints. When the heir did homage, and had his eſtate confirmed, they did not think themſelves obliged to take a *certain* Relief. Their demands were always arbitrary, and often oppreſſive. This was undoubtedly the caſe of our Norman princes. It might perhaps be ridiculous to ſay that William the Conqueror diſpoſed of all the lands in England to his followers; but it would be full as ridiculous not to ſay, that what he did, was very little ſhort of it. Ingulphus, who came over with him from Normandy, and had no objections to his power, may ſafely be depended on, as an eye-witneſs of the fact. His account is, "Baronias, epiſcopatus, et praelatias totius terrae ſuis Normannis diſtribuit, et vix aliquem "Anglicum ad honoris ſtatum vel alicujus dominii principatum aſcendere "permiſit." Hiſtor. p. 901. And this appears from almoſt all the accounts of that reign. The Regiſter of Durham ſays, "vix aliquis princeps *de progenie* "*Anglorum* eſſet in Anglia." Monaſt. Vol. I. p. 46. It is plain, that all the principal eſtates were given away at his ſole will and pleaſure, to be held as meer feudal tenures, *per baroniam*. Such a benefactor might very naturally expect a ready compliance with the Reliefs he required. As Normans they had been uſed to them, and it was their intereſt to ſupport the power of the crown upon which their own title depended. His ſon Rufus loſt not the leaſt ſhadow of that prerogative, which his father left him: He looked upon theſe Reliefs, as matters of meer favour only, as ſums to be impoſed and levied at his own diſcretion. We have an inſtance of it in the biſhopric of Worceſter. One of his writs ran thus, "W. rex Anglorum omnibus Francis et Anglis, "qui Francas terras tenent de Epiſcopatu Wireceaſtra, ſalutem. Sciatis, "quia, mortuo Epiſcopo, honor in manum meam rediit, nunc volo ut de terris

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of the lateſt and beſt copy, and the evidence of ſome paragraphs in the reſt. The preamble ſays, that the king

"veſtris tale RELEVAMEN mihi detis, ſicut per Barones meos diſpoſui. Hugo "de Laci xx libras; Walterus Punther xx libras; Gilbertus filius Turoldi c ſo-"lidos, &c. &c. &c." [in all 270 pounds from this ſingle Biſhopric, when the fine for an Earldom, as ſettled by Magna Charta, was a hundred pounds only] "Et qui hoc facere noluerit, Urſo et Bernardus ſaiant et terras et pecunias in "manu mea." Hemingius, De terris, &c. eccleſiae Wigorn. p. 79. This was the conſtant method of proceeding; there was no redreſs. The Barons were very juſtly alarmed at theſe increaſing demands. They knew that the Saxon Heriots were fixed at a fine certain; and therefore frequently inſiſted that the laws of Edward the Confeſſor ſhould be reſtored, which perhaps, as Normans inveſted with new tenures, they had no right to demand. But they ſaw the advantage of the Saxon laws in this reſpect, and were deſirous to reſtore them, i. e. to have the Reliefs certain, and by this means ſet proper bounds to the arbitrary impoſitions of the crown. When Hen. I. ſucceeded, his precarious title, or perhaps his prudence, directed him to make ſome conceſſions. "Lagam Regis Edwardi vobis reddo, cum illis EMENDATIONIBUS, quibus eam "pater meus emendavit conſilio Baronum ſuorum." Theſe emendations, which his Barons had conſented to, were chiefly in favour of the *Knights*. "Mili-"tibus, qui per loricas terras ſuas deſerviunt, ... ut ſicut benignitas mea "propenſior eſt in eis, ita fideles mihi ſint." He made their Relief exactly equal to the old Saxon Heriot, as his father had done. But to the *Barons*, he was not willing to extend the ſame favour. He thought it neceſſary to keep them in greater dependance, and advanced no further than to ſay, "Si quis Baro-"num meorum, ſive Comitum, ſive aliorum qui de me tenent in capite, mor-"tuus fuerit, haeres ſuus non redimet terram ſuam, ſicut faciebat in tempore "fratris mei, ſed legitima et juſta relevatione." Leg. Saxon. p. 233, 234. His conduct was moſt probably anſwerable to this declaration, moderate enough; for he certainly carried his point, and preſerved this diſcretionary power in the crown. Hence it became a ruled caſe, and part of the royal prerogative, that the king was at liberty to fix and apportion the Reliefs of the Earls and Barons, at his meer will and pleaſure. Thus it continued for many years. Glanvil in Hen. II's. time, one of the greateſt generals as well as lawyers of his age, ſays, "De Baroniis nihil ſtatutum eſt, quia BARONES "capitales juxta voluntatem et miſericordiam domini regis ſolent de releviis "ſuis domino ſatisfacere." L. ix. c. 4. But too much prerogative is a dangerous thing in the hands of weak or arbitrary princes. The ſubjects com-

was to have nothing of the deceaſed perſon's eſtate, butan hir nihte henezate. This agrees with the old feudal reſervation in the Lombard laws, which extended only to their arms. And the Welſh laws, which were in this reſpect moſt probably taken from the Saxon cuſtoms,

plained of it as a grievance, and it became the ſource of perpetual diſputes, which ended at laſt in favour of the Barons, and were very happily one leading ſtep towards the Engliſh liberties. The firſt clauſe in king John's Magna Charta ſpecifies and determines theſe long-conteſted demands. "Si quis "Comitum vel Baronum noſtrorum, ſive aliorum tenentium de nobis in capite "per ſervitium militare, mortuus fuerit, et, cum deceſſerit, haeres ſuus plenae "aetatis fuerit, et relevium debeat, habeat haereditatem ſuam per *antiquum* "*relevium*; viz. Haeres vel haeredes COMITIS de Baronia Comitis integra, "per c libras. Haeres vel haeredes *Barenis*, de Baronia integra, per centum Marcas." Magna Charta, c. 3. The Knights Reliefs were juſt the ſame as they were in the Conqueror's laws; and the Barons raiſed in proportion to the Earls, as the Conqueror had raiſed them. We ſee here why the Barons engaged ſo warmly in this queſtion. The Reliefs, which they at laſt agreed to pay, were ten times greater than the firſt Saxon Heriots: But they could not bear the thoughts of having them meer arbitrary impoſitions, according as they were in or out of favour at court.

That part of the Feudal ſyſtem, which placed almoſt the whole militia of the kingdom in the hands of the Barons, not anſwering the purpoſes of its firſt eſtabliſhment, was altered by degrees. Henry II. often levied Eſcuages upon theſe military tenants, inſtead of requiring their perſonal ſervice: A practice certainly attended with leſs danger, and poſſibly with leſs expence. The Earl of Leiceſter's inſolent and ignominious treatment of Henry III. when all the uſurped powers of the crown were employed againſt the real friends of the conſtitution, brought on another alteration: The Barons agreed, ſoon after Leiceſter's death, that the king ſhould have the right of appointing Capitanei, a ſort of *lords lieutenants* in every county; the firſt appearance of that office. This was probably done at Kenelworth. But wherever it was done, it gave, by degrees, a new turn to the conſtitution, leſſened the power of the Barons by a balance in favour of the crown, though in weak reigns it had little or no effect. Camden's Britannia, ed. Lat. p. 115.

ſay

ſay expreſſly, as the preamble of this law does, *Heriotum nullum* [*d*] *debetur praeter inſtrumentum bellicum.* The French copy drawn up in the Conqueror's time, with thoſe improvements, which he had made in favour of the crown, ſay nothing of theſe pecuniary contributions [*e*]; they are there all omitted, except the laſt. He certainly would not have ſuppreſſed all theſe articles, had the Saxon practice given him an undoubted right to them, had they been real Reliefs, the eſſential parts of that ſyſtem he was going to eſtabliſh. Beſides, in the laſt clauſe it is ſaid, that the money was to be paid only, when the Heriot could not be had in kind: "Et ſi adeo inermis fuerit, ut nec "equum habuerit, nec arma, per centum Solidos."

HENCE it follows, that the ſums were, in all the other copies, only pecuniary compenſations for theſe Heriots; and thus ſome paragraphs in the other copies [*f*] repreſent them; as for inſtance, the Thanes and Vavaſors, or inferior Thanes, were to pay the Heriots there ſpecifyed (o)be, *vel*) OR ſo much money: If this was true in one or two inſtances, it muſt be ſo in all. The abbreviations of the two particles [*g*] *and* and *or* were written in Saxon ſo much alike, that they were eaſily and frequently miſtaken, which alone has occaſioned ſome of the principal errors in this law.

[*d*] Leges Wallicae, p. 18.

[*e*] Leges Saxon. p. 219, &c.

[*f*] In the Saxon laws and Brompton's verſion, the inferior Thane's Heriot is, "Equus et arma, *vel* mulcta."

[*g*] Dr. Hickes obſerves, that the Saxons uſually abbreviated *and* and *or* in this manner, ⁊ *and*, ꝛ *or*. Gram. Sax. p. 2.

None of these copies, except the Norman, are without mistakes; and therefore it will be necessary, before any certain conclusions can be drawn from them, to see where these mistakes lye, and settle the true reading. If the two extremes, the Earl's and Vavasor's Heriots, can be ascertained, the intermediate sum, the Thane's Heriots, will of consequence be adjusted.

To begin with the first article. The Saxon Laws, and Brompton's old version of those laws, make the Earl's Heriot 600 *golden Mancuses*; the Laws of Hen. I. only *centum marcae auri*. The authority of the two former copies are, each of them, considered separately, much superior to the transcript inserted in Hen. I's. laws; but when both agree, there can be no question which is the true reading. We need not scruple to say that the composition for the Earl's Heriot was two hundred golden Mancuses.

THE next point, we have sure premises to go upon, is the inferior Thane's or Vavasor's composition. This, among the Mercians and Eastangles, was rated at two pounds; among the West-Saxons, something higher. What that difference was, appears by the French copy of this law, where the Heriot and Relief both are estimated at a hundred shillings, or five pounds, and consequently one half of it, or the sum paid in lieu of the lesser Thane's Heriot, was fifty shillings. For this, as Bracton observes, was their constant rule; the Heriot and Relief were equivalent to one another.

IT appears likewise from the Norman copy of this law, and indeed in some measure from all the rest, that the

Thane's Heriot was one half of the Earl's. This was the cuſtom of the age, the uſual proportion at which theſe honours and payments were rated. The very ſame difference was obſerved in the fines and contributions [b] of the counts and barons in France. Taking therefore this rule as the beſt method for adjuſting and correcting all theſe copies, and proceeding upon ſuch premiſes as are here aſcertained, this will be the concluſion. The Vavaſor's Heriot was fifty Solidi, or Solz; the Thane's twice as much, or a hundred Mancuſes; and the Earl's again, double that ſum, or two hundred Mancuſes of gold, as the Saxon and Brompton's copy repreſent it.

THE Heriots of the Daniſh nobility, as mentioned in this law, very evidently confirm this eſtimate. They had the legal privilege of making their payments, according to the loweſt compoſition then uſed in England. The Heriots therefore of the king's Thanes, among the Danes, were four pounds, and the inferior Thanes two. Now, as it appears by the former inſtances, that the ſums there reckoned in Mancuſes bore an exact proportion to a pound-rate, it follows in this caſe, that the pounds here mentioned muſt bear the ſame proportion to theſe Mancuſes, i. e. that four pounds were as much leſs than a

[b] Le Blanc, p. 97. Upon this plan, the ſecurity given to abide by the ſentence of an Earl's court was twelve Oras; of a Thane's, ſix. Leg. Saxon, p. 118. Brompton, p. 897. In the Byzantine empire, the very ſame proportions, in paying their ſubſidies, were aſſigned to the three different claſſes of ſenators. The firſt paid eight pounds of gold; the ſecond, four; and the third, two. Vid. Salmaſii notas in Hiſt. Aug. Scriptor. vol. I. p. 850. et Dufreſnii Differtat. in inferiorem ævi Numiſmata, p. 91.

hundred.

hundred Mancuſes, as two pounds are leſs than fifty Solidi or ſhillings. There is therefore no other way of adjuſting theſe eſtimates, or the Mancuſes by which they are computed, ſo obvious and unexceptionable, as by admitting that theſe Mancuſes muſt be the ſame as the Solidi of that age, what the Norman copy makes them, Solz, or coins of twelve pence. This fixes the Earl's Heriot at ten pounds; the Saxon Thane's at five; and the Vavaſor's at fifty ſhillings. This makes the account uniform and conſiſtent in both ways of reckoning: It ſhews, that the indulgence, which the laws allowed the Daniſh nobility, was regularly obſerved: The abatement was in the firſt inſtance a pound; in the ſecond, juſt half a pound; the very ſum that this cuſtomary proportion required. If we take any other way of eſtimating theſe Mancuſes, it will prove very unſatisfactory, produce ſuch an inequality in the Heriots, as is quite inconſiſtent with their practice, and ſuch a diviſion of the ſums into the ſmaller parts of a pound, as is very unuſual in their public contributions. Thus for inſtance (to reaſon from the cleareſt premiſes) this law expreſſly ſays, That the Heriot of the king's Thane among the Danes was *four pounds*; that of the leſſer Thanes in Mercia, Eaſt-anglia, and Danelaga, *two pounds*, juſt half the ſum; but if this leſſer Daniſh Thane was a perſon of more conſequence, if he held any office under the crown, then all the copies agree, that he was to pay *fifty Mancuſes*. Now fifty Mancae, at the value of the old Mancus, thirty pence, would be ſix pounds five ſhillings, above a third more than

than the Thane's Heriot in the ſame country. This is out of all proportion, ſuch a difference in the value, as is manifeſtly abſurd. But at a Mancus of twelve, this *Thane's heriot* is only increaſed ſo much, as to make it equal to perſons of the ſame rank among the Weſt-Saxons; a very reaſonable allotment.

BUT beſides the clearneſs and conſiſtency of this eſtimate in fixing all the ſums here mentioned, it furniſhes us with the moſt eaſy and natural account of that uniform miſtake, which runs through the three copies in valuing the Saxon Thane's Heriot at fifty Mancuſes. The Saxon numerals were the Roman figures. The number in this inſtance was at firſt written with a ſquare L, the common way of writing it both in France and England at that time; and the upper part of it not being ſo plain as the reſt, ſome ancient tranſcriber took it for an L, and inſtead of a hundred, read fifty Mancae. All the rules of ſober criticiſm incline to this opinion. Additions in tranſcribing are ſeldom met with, omiſſions often: We cannot ſuppoſe that the Earl's Heriot was made double what it ought to be in the beſt copies; or, that the pound-rate of all the Daniſh nobility, and leſſer Thanes Heriots, in Mercia and Eaſt-anglia, was utterly inconſiſtent with any eſtimate, that can be made of theſe Mancuſes; when the ſlighteſt alteration of part of a *ſingle* numeral corrects and reconciles all theſe copies.

SUCH therefore were the Saxon Mancuſes, from Athelſtan's reign to the Conqueſt, Mancuſes of twelve pence. And ſuch was the original *diviſion* of our preſent pound

ſterling,

ſterling, which has continued for ſo many ages, without any alteration. Fixing the Mancuſes at this value accounts for, and harmonizes, the otherwiſe uncertain and even inexplicable uſe of Aurei, in the payments of the middle ages: It ſhews, that, under the peculiar language of each country, whether *Sols*, *Mancuſes*, or *Oras*, the ſame methods of accounting were carried on, and the ſame ideas conveyed. This diverſity of names has thrown ſome difficulty and embaraſſment upon theſe enquiries: But this being removed, we find that under all this variety of terms the great buſineſs of the kingdom, in making all payments whatſoever, was carried on with remarkable eaſe and advantage, by circulating all the gold coins of theſe different people, at the ſame common valuation, as their UNA MONETA.

AFTER purſuing this tedious enquiry through ſo many dark paſſages, in the barbarous remains of the middle ages, might we not have the pleaſure of placing it in a more advantageous light, from ſome of the gold coins lately diſcovered in this country? It is certain that their weight agrees extremely well with that of the Frank Sols, which was the ſame as the Oras, and latter Mancuſes of the Danes and Saxons. Mr. Pegge, to whom we are much obliged for publiſhing theſe coins, ſuppoſes that one of them, then in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Simſon, belonged to one of the Daniſh princes; and at preſent I can ſee no reaſon for rejecting this opinion. Mr. North, indeed, made two objections [*i*]. The firſt was, *that the*

[*i*] North's Appendix to his Remarks upon a Coin of Richard I. p. 39, 40.

coins

coins of all other nations in gold and ſilver bear a reſemblance to each other; that however the gold and ſilver ones may differ in ſize, weight, and value, yet there is a conſtant ſameneſs of manner in denoting and expreſſing to whom they belonged, &c. Had this been true in fact, it had been a conſiderable objection. But to this Mr. Pegge [*k*] replied, that there was no ſuch analogy either in the Saxon or Engliſh coins. This obſervation might have been extended much further; to that numerous ſett of French coins, which Meſſrs. Bouteroue and Le Blanc have exhibited. Some of them have all the elegance of Roman coins: Others without any ornaments, without ſo much as a head upon the obverſe, or even the name of the prince to whom they belonged. What an amazing difference is there between the coins of Theodebert, Pepin, and Charlemagne! It is ſcarce poſſible to think that they belonged to the ſame people, or that the coins ſo rudely executed were the work of ſubſequent mint-maſters in the ſame kingdom. See the difference:

[*k*] Preface to Mr. Pegge's Diſſertations on ſome Anglo-Saxon Remains, p. iii. vii. and Mr. North's Remarks, p. 39.

This ſort of reaſoning, therefore, muſt be very inconcluſive, and proves nothing.

MR. North's other argument, againſt admitting any of theſe as Saxon coins, had the appearance of being more deciſive. He ſaid, *that the only piece of gold we meet with among the Saxon hiſtorians, is the Mancus, or* Mancure. *If, therefore, it ſhall be proved, that theſe new-diſcovered pieces cannot be the coin ſo called, the queſtion is decided* [*l*]. The value of the old Saxon Mancus is well known, and the weight, as Mr. North repreſents it, ſeventy-five Troy grains; almoſt four times as much as theſe new-diſcovered coins; and therefore they could not be Mancuſes. Mr. North's eſtimate, by miſtaking the exchange, is formed upon wrong premiſes: He has made the firſt Saxon Mancuſes heavier than the Byzantine Solidi of that age, when it is certain they were one quarter leſs. But to this Mr. Pegge took no exceptions. He admitted, what was truly fact, the higher value of theſe Mancuſes; but denied the concluſion. And here the example of almoſt all antiquity might be alledged in his favour. It had been the univerſal practice of former ages, when their coins were leſſened in weight, to call them by their old names. Why might not our Saxon princes do, juſt as theſe politer nations had done before them? The ſame cauſes will naturally produce the ſame effects. The ſcarcity of bullion might oblige them to reduce the Mancus, from thirty to twelve pence: Beſides, there is the greateſt reaſon for admitting this reduction. The Daniſh Oras were originally

[*l*] Mr. North's Remarks, &c. p. 40.

of

of that value; and their laws obliged them at laſt to this uniformity in their coins. This is one of them:

J. Lodge Fec.

MR. Pegge's [*l*] explication of it is this, that it belonged to one of the Daniſh princes in this kingdom; and by the figure of the head moſt probably to Sihtric, king of Northumberland, A. D. 914. That the inſcription round the head was LETO MON. or MON*etarius*; and that the cypher on the reverſe was L. E. or *civitas* E*boraci*, united with that eaſy ligature in the coin. It is of very little conſequence to the point in which I am concerned, whether this was a Daniſh or a Saxon coin. If it was either of them, it proves the ſame thing, the real utterance of ſuch coins from the mints in this kingdom: By its appearance, and the place where it was found, no country can have a fairer claim to it than our own. In that great variety of reverſes, which we meet with upon the French Aurei, there is not one that reſembles this. There is no ſuch name as LETO among all the monetaires recorded on their coins; no ſuch monogram upon any of thoſe which Meſſrs. Bouteroue and Le Blanc have publiſhed. The cyphers upon their coins, as far as I have obſerved, relate only to Arles, Lyons, Marſeilles, Metz, Rheims, Tulle, and Vienne. Mr. Pegge, therefore,

[*l*] Mr. Pegge's Diſſertations, p. 24.

has a right to keep poſſeſſion of this coin, as one of the *ancient Aurei* of this kingdom. Aſcribing it to this Northumbrian prince is indeed purely matter of conjecture, becauſe who this Leto was, or when he lived, is intirely unknown. But is it any great injury to the republic of letters, if an old Daniſh or Saxon mint-maſter is permitted to continue in perpetual oblivion? Their names, their offices, were well known in their own age, and perhaps might have the ſame advantage in the next. It very ſeldom happens, that perſons of much greater conſequence are remembered any longer.

How long theſe gold coins of twelve pence continued, whether to the Conqueſt or not, is very dubious. But if they did, certainly not long after. I do not ſay this meerly from the non-appearance of ſuch coins (a plea which has been examined, and diſmiſſed already, without any thoughts of giving it a re-hearing), but for other reaſons. The exchange between gold and ſilver, in the reigns immediately following William Rufus, was much altered, and from twelve (as it was in great part of the Saxons times) came down as low as nine to one, the loweſt regular exchange that was ever known in Europe; and this, no doubt, was not on a ſudden, but by degrees. But as none of our old hiſtories and records mention any coins, or any money of account, which paſſed in this proportion, we have reaſon to conclude, that the cuſtom of ſtriking gold coins was diſcontinued at the mint; and that the Shilling of twelve pence was nothing more than a method of computing money, till it appeared in another form under Hen. VII;

VII; and that all the former gold coins, whether foreign or domeſtic, were not any longer conſidered as a ſpecies payable by tale, but by weight only. For this was the regular and conſtant method of accounting for gold in the Exchequer; and this proportion between gold and ſilver continued from Hen. I, if not higher, till the latter end of king John's reign [*m*] at leaſt; this appears by the Rolls of all theſe reigns: It appears likewiſe by that very valuable remain, the Dialogue [*n*] de Scaccario. That author was one of the Barons of the Exchequer from A. D. 1165 to 1199, and perfectly well acquainted with the practice of that court: He mentions no other way of paying gold, but by weight only.

TOWARDS the concluſion of Hen. III's reign, A. D. 1257, the mints were again opened for this purpoſe, and the honour of having gold coins of our own was reſtored. We are indebted to Mr. Tindal's Notes upon Rapin Thoyras for the firſt notice of this coin: Afterwards the record itſelf was diſcovered by Mr. Holmes, late Keeper of the records in the Tower, and publiſhed by Mr. Pegge; and not long ago one of the coins themſelves found a

[*m*] I ſay this upon Mr. Madox's authority, who has ſhewn that the great Roll, commonly called the 5th of king Stephen, belongs to ſome year of Hen. I. There the exchange ſtands thus:

"Abbas de Tornia r. c. de j marca auri pro mercato de Jacheſleia; Ri-
"chardo de Belcampo liberavit ix marcas argenti, pro j marca auri, per bre-
"ve regis, et Q. e." Mag. Rot. 5 Steph. Madox's Exchequer, p. 189.

So in Hen. II's reign. "Petrus Turcus r. c. de j marca auri. In theſauro
"vj libræ pro j marca auri, et Q. e." Rot. 2 H. II. rot. 12. Chent. Madox, ut ſupra, p. 189. And thus in king John's. Madox, ut ſupra, p. 240.

[*n*] Dial. De ſcaccar. p. 57.

place

place in Mr. Hodſol's cabinet [*n*]. So late was it before any attempts were made to improve or revive our gold coins after the Conqueſt. They advanced in ſize and value by degrees. The deſign in ſtriking a coin of this particular weight was evident: It was intended to paſs, as the Quarter-noble did afterwards, for the eighth part of the ſilver Mark; juſt as the firſt Saxon Mancus had done for the eighth part of the pound ſterling. They were both of the ſame weight, viz. forty-five grains, though this laſt was to be current, as the record directs, only for xx pence, the exchange making ſo great a difference [*o*]. This new

[*n*] See Snelling's Introduction to the gold coins.

[*o*] I have ſeen an account of this exchange drawn up with the greateſt preciſion in the *View of the gold coin and coinage*, where it is repreſented as $9\frac{1}{4}$ to one, by eſtimating the quantity of fine ſilver in their coins. This may be an excellent rule in trade, but has nothing to do with the popular exchange, which was always eſtimated by the *apparent* ſilver, not the *real*. This very inſtance proves it. This new gold coin weighed 45 Troy grains, was to paſs for 20 Saxon pennies, whoſe legal weight was then $22\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains; $20 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ is 450 = ten times 45 grains. Unleſs this rule was obſerved, it would be impoſſible to know any thing at all of the exchange during the Roman empire. And, no doubt, it was this apparent exchange, which diſguſted the Londoners, who made a repreſentation againſt it. They had been long uſed to an exchange of nine to one, and now did not care to give ten; they thought it was raiſing the price too much upon them. Had they ſuppoſed it only as $9\frac{1}{4}$ to one, it had probably given no offence. Mr. Folkes's account of the exchange in the reigns following is this: In the 27th of Edward III. when the firſt conſiderable coinage of gold was made in England, fine gold was rated at *eleven times* and about $\frac{1}{6}$ part as much fine ſilver. But this value of gold was thought too great in the time of Hen. IV. and the ſame being complained of, by the regulations made in his 13th year, 1412, gold came to be exchanged for *ten times* and about $\frac{1}{3}$ of an equal quantity of ſilver. In the 4th of king Edw. IV. 1464, gold was again valued at a little more, than *eleven times* the price of ſilver. By the Indentures of the 43d of Elizabeth, and thoſe of the firſt of king James 1603, the pound weight of coin

coin was ſtruck in the very ſame duplicate proportion, that the old Greek and Roman Aurei were, i. e. double the weight of their common ſilver coins. The record calls this coin the Denarius, or penny: It might poſſibly have this appellation, becauſe the laſt Saxon Aurei, exactly the weight of the penny, might have been ſometimes called the Golden penny; and thence the ſame name might be continued to this new coin. The long intermiſſion in ſtriking our gold coins was the natural effect of the ſcarcity of bullion in England, which was owing to two cauſes, the Conqueſt and the Cruſades. That England was in a leſs flouriſhing condition, and its trade declining for ſome years after the Conqueſt, is evident from a thouſand inſtances in the Conqueror's own Survey of the kingdom. The Cruſades, ſucceeding ſoon after, had the ſame ruinous effects over all Europe. The popes, who were in general very able politicians, found by experience, that the moſt effectual way to govern princes, was to increaſe their ſuperſtition, and leſſen their revenues. The Cruſades effected both. A million of lives were

fine gold in the coin was yet rated at ſomewhat leſs than *eleven* pounds weight of fine ſilver. But ſoon after that time, the price of gold was very ſenſibly advanced, the pound weight of it being valued, in the Indentures of the ſecond year of king James, at better than *twelve and one ounce*, and in the ſeventeenth of the ſame king, at more than *thirteen pounds, four ounces*, and *three penny weights* of fine ſilver. When Guineas were firſt coined for twenty ſhilling pieces, in the fifteenth year of king Charles II, 1663, the pound of fine gold was then made equivalent to *fourteen pounds, five ounces, ſixteen penny weights*, and *nine grains* of fine ſilver; which value, by the running of Guineas, as they do now, for one and twenty ſhillings each, is yet further advanced to *fifteen pounds, two ounces, four penny weights*, and *ſeven grains* of the ſame ſilver. Table of Engliſh coins, p. 142, 143.

wantonly

wantonly and ſuperſtitiouſly ſacrificed in thoſe expeditions. They carried off a vaſt quantity of ſilver from this part of Europe, to ſupport thoſe numerous armies; and occaſioned ſuch a perpetual interruption to all commerce in Aſia, that very little gold could be imported. Comparing the two periods, the continuance of the Cruſades, and the diſcontinuance of our gold coins, we cannot help forming this concluſion [*p*].

THOUGH Henry III. introduced this new gold coin, yet an attachment to old names and cuſtoms univerſally prevailed. During all this long period from the Conqueſt to Henry VII, the Shilling, or latter Saxon Mancus, was the moſt conſtant denomination of money in all payments whatſoever, though it was then only a ſpecies of account, nothing more than an ideal thing, the twentieth part of the pound ſterling: And when it was again revived as a coin, it leſſened gradually as the pound ſterling leſſened, from the 28th of Edward III, to the 43d of Elizabeth. The Shilling, conſidered as money, was an integer, to which all leſſer ſums were reduced; as a weight, it was uſed to adjuſt the quantity of ſeveral articles, as bread, liquid and dry meaſures, &c. Mr. Folkes has given us a very accurate table of the alterations in

[*p*] The firſt expedition into the Holy-land, under the victorious Godfrey of Buloigne, was the ninth of William Rufus, 1096; the laſt, under the unfortunate duke of Mechlenburg, the third of Edw. III. A. D. 1275. After this utterance of Henry the Third's gold coins, a long interval ſucceeded, before the mints were regularly opened for this purpoſe. See an accurate account of this, in Mr. Folkes's Tables of gold coins, or Snelling's View of them.

the

the pound ſterling, from the Conqueſt to the preſent times. I ſhall repreſent it ſomewhat differently, not as the pound altered, but the ſhilling; which, though not quite ſo exact, (becauſe the fractions of a farthing are not regarded) will give a more obvious view [q] of the alterations made in the Anglo-Norman Shilling, and conſequently in the pound, during that period; for the ſhilling was always conſidered as the [r] twentieth part of the nominal or real pound.

[q] Vid. Mr. Folkes's table, p. 142. I have ſeen another table, exhibiting the ſtandard, weight, value, and a comparative view of the Engliſh ſilver money from 1066 to 1763, drawn up, I ſuppoſe, very accurately from the principles upon which it was formed: But as it differs from this in ſeveral reſpects, as it makes the pound of William I, contain 21 ſhillings and four pence; as it omits the alterations in the eighteenth of Edw. III; as it makes the number of ſhillings in the thirteenth of Hen. IV, thirty two; and then from the ninth of Hen. V, and during Hen. VI's reign, only thirty, &c. &c. I do not underſtand upon what authority theſe facts are advanced, and have therefore exhibited the following table, confined to this ſole point, the number of ſhillings, which were the eſtimates of the nominal or real pound.

[r] That the preſent diviſion of our pound ſterling, viz. a pound of twenty ſhillings, and a ſhilling of twelve pence, was received for ſeveral ages in all the politer parts of Europe, is very evident from the remains of it, which continue to this day, as money of account, in many countries. In France, twenty Sous make a Livre, and twelve Deniers a Sou. In part of Flanders, twenty Schilling make a pound, and twelve Groots a Schilling. At Milan, twenty Soldi make a Lire, and twelve Danari a Soldo. We have the ſame proportions at Genoa, Lucca, &c. &c. See Snelling's View of modern coinage, and ſo anciently in Germany.

A TABLE of the Anglo-Norman SHILLING, from the Conqueſt to the 43d of Elizabeth, current value always twelve pence.

A. D.		Number in the pound.	Value in our money.
1066.	During the Conqueror's reign, whether it ever was a coin or not, very uncertain.	XX.	2 10¾
1300.	28th of Edward I. Here the beginning of a nominal pound.	XX. III*d.*	2 10¼
1344.	18th of Edward III.	XXII. II*d.*	2 7¼
1346.	20th of ditto.	XXII. VI*d.*	2 7
1353.	27th of ditto.	XXV.	2 3¾
1412.	13th of Henry IV.	XXX.	1 11
1464.	4th of Edward IV.	XXXVII. VI*d.*	1 6¼
1504.	18th of Henry VII. The old Tower-pound [*s*] now exchanged for the Troy-pound, and the firſt ſilver ſhilling coined.	XL.	1 6
1537.	18th of Henry VIII. The alloy increaſed.	XLV.	1 4½
1543.	34th of ditto.	XLVIII.	1 1¾
1545.	36th of ditto. Now the baſe coinages began; the number in the pound not worth regarding.		8¼
1546.	37th ditto.		5¼
1551.	5th of Edward VI.		2¾
1552.	6th of ditto. The coin reſtored, but not quite to its old fineneſs.	LX.	1 ¼
1553.	1ſt of queen Mary [*t*].	LX.	1 ¼
1560.	1ſt of Elizabeth. The old ſtandard reſtored, viz. 18 penny-weight of alloy in a pound.		
1601.	43d of ditto.	LXII.	1

[*s*] Mr. Folkes had ſome ſuſpicions that the Troy weight was introduced before the eighteenth of Hen. VIII. becauſe archbiſhop Williams and Mr. Lowndes had referred to an Indenture in the firſt year of his reign; but not finding that Indenture, he acquieſced in the verdict of the eighteenth of his reign.

[*t*] The ſhillings of the ſixth of Edw. VI. and the firſt of Q. Mary, and the ſecond of Elizabeth, are all of the ſame weight; but Q. Mary's had a penny

THIS

THIS great princeſs, who conducted both her foreign and domeſtic affairs with equal wiſdom, ſpirit, and oeconomy, recalled all the baſe money of the former reigns, and reſtored the coin to its ancient fineneſs, much to her own honour and the advantage of the kingdom. But however, as a writer [*u*], extremely well verſed in the buſineſs of the mint, has obſerved; *It is much to be regretted, that this laſt alteration was ever made; for now none of our coins are even, or aliquot parts of our weights.* Had the ſame regulation been continued, which was eſtabliſhed in the year 1660, our coins, beſides having all their ancient fineneſs, would have been aliquot parts of our weights; the pound weight of ſilver, cut into ſixty ſhillings; the nominal or money pound, four ounces; and the ſhilling, four penny weights; and the penny, eight grains. This indenture for the diminution of the coin was not ſigned till the ſummer before her death; when age and anxiety of mind had taken off her attention to buſineſs, impaired her faculties, and ſhe was ſinking under thoſe great infirmities, which ſoon afterwards put an end to all the glories of her reign. The fault was much more her miniſters than her own. She very well deſerved the compliment that was paid her upon calling in all the bad [*w*] money, and reſtoring the coin to its

weight alloy more than thoſe of king Edward and Q. Elizabeth, which was a proper expedient to prevent the quicker wear of the coin. This difference, not being quite a farthing, was not worth ſtating in the Table.

[*u*] Eſſay on Money and Coins, part II. p. 9.

[*w*] Evelyn's Numiſmata, p. 100.

original purity, which, in regard to her memory, is here engraved:

THE few larger coins of the ninth century, thoſe of Ludovicus Pius, and that in lord Pembroke's cabinet, are ſo very ſingular, for their type, ſize, and legend, that they may deſerve a particular conſideration. Mr. Pegge has made it very probable, that lord Pembroke's coin belongs to Wigmund, who was archbiſhop of York in Athelwolf's reign, from A. D. 831 to 854. It certainly belongs to the prelatical ſeries; and is ſtruck in the ſame taſte as the only two remaining gold coins of Louis I, and moſt probably after his example. Theſe are the coins [*]:

[*] Le Blanc's Traité hiſtorique, p. 100. Mr. Pegge's Diſſertations, I.

UPON

UPON the first view of them, it is plain that they were not the common Aurei of that age, the Sols d'or of twelve pence; which, as appears by one of this prince's edicts, were then used in France: Their weight is above three times larger than those Sols. What they are is uncertain. I have nothing to say of them, but what is merely conjectural. It was customary in the lower ages to strike particular coins for the royal offerings at the great festivals; and it might begin as early as Ludovicus Pius's reign. The legends upon the reverse of these are very suitable to that solemn office: Every circumstance favours this conjecture. The most distinguished part of that prince's character was piety and devotion, to which this practice might possibly give an additional reputation. These offerings are, even to this day, called Bezants, and called what they originally were. The Bezants, or coins of the Eastern Empire, being the largest then current, were made use of for this purpose. Ludovicus Pius's coins, if we may judge by the weight of them which Le Blanc has given us, were Roman Aurei, one of them a Solidus of the higher empire; the other, of the lower, a real Bezant; or perhaps one of their own Sols d'or, coined by some of the first princes, and now new minted with a peculiar legend for the occasion. Lord Pembroke's coin, whatever is the weight of it, was evidently made upon the same plan. What other intention could occasion such a legend; or suit so exactly, in both these kingdoms, to express the common sentiment of the prince and prelate, as these devotional oblations?

WHAT

WHAT Mr. Camden has ſaid, of theſe occaſional coins, ſhews, that this conjecture has at leaſt a very probable foundation; "The [y] name [of Bezants] continueth yet "in the court of England; where a great piece of gold "valued at fifteen pounds, which the king offereth upon "high feſtival-days, is yet called a Bizantine; which an-"ciently was a piece of gold coined by the emperors of "Conſtantinople: But afterward there were two pur-"poſely made for the king and queen, with the reſem-"blance of the Trinity, inſcribed, IN HONOREM SANCTAE "TRINITATIS: on the other ſide, the picture of the Virgin "Mary, with, IN HONOREM SANCTAE MARIAE VIRGINIS. "And this was uſed till the firſt year of king James I, "who, upon a juſt reaſon, cauſed two to be new caſt; the "one for himſelf, having on the one ſide the picture of "a king kneeling before an altar, with four crowns before "him, implying his four kingdomes; and in the circum-"ſcription, QVID RETRIBVAM DOMINO PRO OMNIBVS QVAE "TRIBVIT MIHI: On the other ſide, a lamb lying by "a lion, with COR CONTRITVM ET HVMILIATVM NON "DESPICIET DEVS. And in another for the queen, a crown "protected by a cherubin, over that an eye, and DEVS in "a cloud, with TEGET ALA SVMMVS. On the reverſe, a "queen kneeling before an altar, with this circumſcription, "PIIS PRECIBVS, FERVENTE FIDE, HVMILI OBSEQVIO."

THAT the cuſtom of ſtriking particular coins for theſe offerings began pretty early, is evident from this authority. What interruption it met with is uncertain. That it

[y] Camden's Remains, ch. *Of money*.

was

was dropt for a time is moſt probable, becauſe this offering has likewiſe been called the *wedge of gold*. During thoſe reigns when no gold was coined in England, this method of offering the Wedge was moſt probably introduced. For pæȝȝe, in Saxon, as Mr. Sonmer ſays, has a variety of ſignifications: Among others, it was uſed for a *maſs* or *lump*; and implied nothing more, upon this occaſion, than that the offering was made in gold, uncoined; in a plate or ingot hammer'd out for that purpoſe. The cuſtom of ſtriking particular coins for this uſe ended with Charles I. But the Wedge of gold is ſtill continued upon the moſt ſolemn and extraordinary occaſions, as Coronations, &c. and is uſually either a Pound, or Mark of Gold in one piece. Theſe offerings are at other times made in a roll of Guineas, a cuſtom which Charles II. introduced. I may not perhaps be very exact in this account, having had no opportunity of making a particular enquiry. My views were only to obſerve what were the names and value of the Saxon gold coins, and to ſhew from which of them our preſent ſilver Shilling is deſcended. I am very ſenſible, that the Adventures of a Shilling would have been a more ſplendid thing, and more agreeable to the taſte and genius of the preſent age. But ſuch intereſting and improving works are beyond the humbler province of antiquaries, who are employed in tracing pedigrees, in ſearching old evidences and records, and in recovering a few obſolete cuſtoms from oblivion: Inſtead of writing hiſtories and adventures, they are content with keeping a dull regiſter of obſcure, but perhaps not ignoble, deſcents.

APPEN-

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

On the weight of the ROMAN DENARIUS, *and of the firſt exchange between Gold and Silver at Rome* [z].

AS this is a point of ſome moment in the preſent queſtion, it is neceſſary to ſhew that Budaeus and Gronovius went upon wrong principles in their eſtimates. Their opinion, that there never was but one ſort of Denarius, viz. that of eight in the ounce, is attended with inſuperable difficulties, and can never be reconciled with the expreſs teſtimony of the beſt judges, ſuch as Celſus, Scribonius Largus, and Pliny. Celſus ſays, "In uncia pondus "denariorum eſſe ſeptem," lib. v. c. 17. Scribonius Largus, "Aeque enim denarii octoginta quatuor apud nos, quot drachmae "apud Graecos incurrunt," p. 6. edit. Patavii, 1655. This is the very ſame account as the former. Divide 84 by twelve, and we have ſeven for the ounce. Thus it continued, though with ſome gradual diminution, till after Pliny's time, who agrees with the preceding authorities, that the legal Denarius was eighty-four in the pound. "Juſtum eſt octoginta quatuor [denarios] e libris "ſignari." Hiſt. natural. vol. II. p. 617. Hence it follows, that the proportion here aſſigned muſt be as $17\frac{1}{7}$ to one. For, if there were 84 Denarii at that time in the Roman pound, we are ſure that there were always 288 ſcruples. Divide 288 by 84, and you have three ſcruples and $\frac{3}{7}$ for the Denarius, or four Seſterces, and five times as many ſcruples, or $17\frac{1}{7}$ for the whole exchange. This was the weight of the Denarius during the Republic without any alteration. Mr. Smith, in his Letters, De re nummaria, ran into the old exploded opinion, that the firſt Denarii at Rome were heavier than thoſe of the ſubſequent ages. Agricola firſt ſtarted this fancy: ſome men of learning, as Pancirolus, Gaſſendus, &c.

[z] See above, page 248.

eſpouſed

eſpouſed it, and Savot took much pains to ſupport it, but without ſucceſs. Gronovius treated it, as it deſerved, with a juſt neglect. Mr. Smith revived the diſpute, and engaged, like a hardy veteran, not diſcouraged with difficulties. He made the firſt Denarii above ſix times heavier than thoſe that ſucceeded them, and conſequently above three quarters of an ounce, and not quite ſo many as fourteen in the pound. Among other arguments, he appealed to the paſſage in Pliny juſt quoted; which, very unluckily, if it proves any thing, proves quite the contrary. For the heavier the Seſterce was, the greater muſt be the diſproportion of the exchange; and, as he computes it, near a hundred to one. He lays the greateſt ſtreſs of his argument upon the latter part of this paragraph—"quod "effecit in libras ratione ſeſtertiorum, qui tunc erant, ſeſter-"tios DCCCC." But here Mr. Smith miſtakes the point which Pliny had in view, and imagined that he was ſhewing the difference between the Seſterces of his own age, and thoſe of A. U. 546. This conjecture is quite groundleſs, though the miſtake is very excuſable; for the preſent reading in Pliny is certainly very bad. There is ſcarce any paſſage in antiquity, which has produced a greater variety of conjectures, or deterred more very able critics from attempting any correction. Harduin obſerves, that Salmaſius, Lipſius, and Gronovius had never meddled with it; "locum eum intactum, "tanquam foveam, praetergreſſi ſunt." The firſt ſtep towards explaining or correcting it, is to know the deſign of the paragraph. This father Harduin has very happily hit off. What Pliny propoſed was, not to ſhew the difference of the Roman coins in different ages; but the advantage, which the government made at the firſt uttering their gold coins. A ſcruple of gold was then worth 20 Seſterces, "quod effecit," &c. What did it gain? it made not the leaſt difference either in the weight of their coins, or the diviſions of their nummulary pound. But it produced "ratione "ſeſtertiorum, qui tunc erant, ſeſtertios DCCCC [lucrum reipublicae]." Pliny had juſt before obſerved, that by making the Aſſes ſextantarii, "quinque partes factae lucri [reipublicae]; et ita diſſolutum

"æs alienum." When the Asses were again reduced, and made unciales, "respublica dimidium lucrata est." The point, he was now upon, was the same political plan; what did the state gain by uttering their first gold coins. So far Harduin has succeeded. He has opened the enquiry, and put it upon a proper foot; but whether he has finished the account may be questioned. I do not see, that the present reading in Pliny, which he contends for, can possibly be right; or, that DCCCC Sesterces can, by any calculation whatsoever, be the sum the republic gained upon this occasion. Gronovius was of this opinion, and observed very justly of Savot, that it had been more advisable for him not to have meddled with this passage, unless he had corrected it. "Non debet enim explicari, priusquam fuerit emendatus, alioqui finis ineptiarum nullus." De pecun. vet. p. 180. What this necessary emendation should be, is, I think, evident enough from the premises we are possessed of. Let us see what they are, and what the conclusion is, that arises from them.

First of all, Pliny tells us, that when gold was first coined at Rome, one *scruple* of gold passed for 20 *Sesterces*: and 2dly, it is well known, that the number of scruples in the Roman pound was always 288. Hence it follows, that a pound of gold, or 288 scruples, were then current for 20 times as many Sesterces, i. e. for 5760. So far all is clear: the next point is, how many Sesterces were then in a pound of silver. If there were 84 Denarii in the pound, as there certainly were till after the Consular times, there must be 4 times as many Sesterces, or 336. Let us now take the exchange between gold and silver, as it was then in Greece, and soon afterwards at Rome, which was ten to one: ten times 336 Sesterces are 3360; deduct this sum from 5760, the number which a pound of gold then passed for at Rome, and the remainder is 2400. This therefore was the advantage, which the republic made in circulating their first gold coins. They had gained 5 parts in six not long before by the first reduction of the Asses; and then one half more at the second reduction; and now soon afterwards seventy

ſeventy per cent. by the firſt circulation of their gold coins, or the difference between an exchange at ten to one, and 17½ to one. Thus the account ſtands, and I ſee no reaſon to queſtion but that this ſhould be the true reading in Pliny. "Quod effecit ratione feſter-"tiorum, qui tunc erant, ſeſtertios ⊓CCCC [lucrum reipublicae]." The numerals are not very different from the former; the four laſt exactly the ſame. The duo millia in this form ⊓, with the line over them, by a careleſs or ignorant tranſcriber, not knowing what it meant, were eaſily turned into a D. Or, thinking the ſum exceſſive, he might, out of pure judgment, indulge himſelf in the liberty of correcting it. There is no correcting numerals but upon the principles by which they were formed. When we have a given quantity, from which a known proportion muſt be deducted, we need not ſcruple to ſay what the remainder ought to be: the work is eaſy; it proves itſelf: we cannot be miſtaken.

It muſt however be allowed, that Harduin has given a very ſpecious ſolution of this difficulty, approved by ſo conſiderable a judge as Graevius, which therefore ought not to be rejected without being examined. He produces two gold coins from the king of France's cabinet, as an evidence of this exchange. One of them, ſuppoſed to weigh exactly the Roman ſcruple, has a Mars galeatus on one ſide, with theſe two numerals xx behind the head: on the reverſe, an Eagle charged with thunder, and in the exergue, ROMA, without any other legend. The other coin, weighing juſt thrice as much, has the ſame impreſs on each ſide, only the numerals behind the head are vx.

Suppoſing theſe coins genuine, and that the numerals expreſs their value according to Harduin's interpretation, viz. the xx ſignifying 20 Seſterces, and the vx fifteen Denarii, juſt three times as much, which is making two great conceſſions; yet what is it that theſe coins really prove? Nothing more, than, what is allowed on all hands, that a ſcruple of gold then paſſed for 20 Seſterces: but nothing at all in favour of the preſent numerals in Pliny, the only point in diſpute. But there is great reaſon to believe that the coins themſelves are ſpurious. Morell, who could be no ſtranger

to them, as being in the king of France's collection, and produced before his time by Savot, takes no notice of them among his Conſular coins, though he exhibits even thoſe *dubiae fidei*. Gold was not coined at Rome till A. U. 547, the very year that Scipio had driven Aſdrubal out of Spain, and entirely reduced that kingdom to a Roman province. At ſuch a juncture, the praetors, or whoever then had the direction of ſtriking theſe coins, would not have ſuffered them to be ſtruck without recording ſome of the glorious events of that year. This was agreeable to the taſte and ſpirit of the age, as appears in the *Cornelian*, *Caecilian*, and *Afranian* coins. But here the artiſt durſt not hazard the credit of his work. He knew not who were the praetors, or mintmaſters, of that year: a legend was a dangerous thing, it might have diſcovered the fraud. Beſides, I believe there is no ſuch impreſs as a Mars galeatus on any of the Conſular coins; there is certainly none in all Morell's collection. Roma galeata was then the favourite device: the other is more ſuitable to the Imperial than the Conſular coins, and there we find it. Their exact agreement in weight, and their intire preſervation furniſh other objections. It is not very credible, that two coins ſtruck almoſt 2000 years ago, ſhould not have the leaſt difference in their proportional weight, not even half a grain. Beſides the weight of them is ſo different from the proportion of the Conſular Aurei, that they are not aliquot parts of their gold coins. But let the coins be what they will, is there any authority for reading the numerals on one coin, Seſterces, and on the other, Denarii? Or is there any inſtance, where the figures vx ſignify xv in the Roman arithmetic. It is contrary to the very principles of their numeration; and, upon the whole, theſe coins have all the appearance of fraud.

But ſtill, if we ſuppoſe them genuine, they are of no uſe in ſupporting Harduin's reaſons for eſtabliſhing the authority of the preſent reading. Theſe are two; but neither of them appears to have the leaſt ſolidity. Firſt, he concludes, that Pliny applies this obſervation to the old Seſterces, viz. when ten Aſſes made a Denarius.

But

But this is absolutely contrary to Pliny's own account: the Denarius was fixed for 16 Asses some years before they coined any gold at all in Rome: Pliny expressly says, the Sesterce that *never was in use* and therefore the proportion of two and a half to four or of 990 to 1440, is foreign to the purpose, and not to be admitted in this computation. Secondly, to come at this proportion, he begs the question, and establishes such an exchange as was never known at Rome, viz. fifteen to one; and therefore cannot pass in this account; the present reading is not to be supported by such reasons as these: It is quite indefensible, and must be given up.

But here the critic must not pass the credit of his work. He knew not who were the practors, or ministers, of that year; a legend new a designation might never be discovered the more. Besides, I believe there is no such interest as a Mint Master to be of the Consular coins: there is certainly none in all M. Vaillant's collection. Rome gained new when the favourite device: the other is more suitable to the Imperial than the Consular coins, and there we find it. Their exact agreement in weight, and their minute proximation further objection. It is not very credible, that two coins struck almost 2000 years ago should not have the least difference in their proportional weight, nor even half a grain. Besides

But

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Saxon PENNY, SCEATTA, *and* STYCA. *Coins, what. Saxon* CONVENTS AND COLLEGES. *The* ORDINE *of the,* FEUDAL SERVICES. *The Nature of the Saxon* WITTENAGEMOT, &c.

THE remaining parts of the Saxon money will be eaſily diſpatched; the articles are few, the value inconſiderable. The different names given to the ſame coin, or different coins circulating under the ſame appellation, will occaſion but little difficulty. We have an inſtance, or two of this kind, even in this lower ſpecies. This had been the common practice of much politer ages, and no wonder that the ſucceſſive ſettlements of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans in this country ſhould circulate the ſame coins under their own different appellations. The Penny retained it's value for many ages with all theſe people, and generally went by the ſame name. The word penning was formed from the Latin *pendo*, and was ſometimes written, more agreeably to this origin, pending [*a*]; both of them aroſe from that ancient and univerſal cuſtom of paying by weight. For the primitive ſtandard of all money was the ſcale; from thence the very language of accounts, and the names of the coins themſelves were many of them taken. Talentum [*b*] and Libra both ſignified originally, *a balance*,

[*a*] Vid. Abbae vicecomitis teſtamentum, in Hickes's Theſaur. Diſſ. epiſt. Vol. I. p. 55.

[*b*] Iliad. Θ. ver. 69. "Ut enim neceſſe eſt lancem in libra ponderibus "impoſitis deprimi". Cic. Quaeſt. Academ. l. iv. § 36.

or

or *a pair of ſcales*; but afterwards the principal weight, or combination of weights, which was placed in them to make the greater payments.

THE Hebrew Shekel is of the ſame extraction. שקל ſignifies to *weigh, to pay money*; and hence their firſt common ſilver money, the Didrachm was called the *Shekel*, as the moſt uſual weight [*c*], by which their payments were adjuſted; and when their coins were enlarged, the Stater, or Half-ounce of ſilver, had the ſame appellation.

THE principal gold and ſilver coins among the Greeks were called *Staters*, for the ſame reaſon. Almoſt all the words for paying or receiving money, in Greece, were taken ἀπὸ τῆς ζυγῆς [*d*], from the *ſcale*. Thus it was at Rome: All their payments were made, in the beginning of that government, *per aes et libram*, by their weight in braſs. Livy tells us, that Manlius [*e*], who, by his courage and ſucceſs, became popular, and, by his ambition ſe-

ditious,

[*c*] The Jews applyed this weight to metals, ſpices, drugs, &c. juſt as our goldſmiths do the penny-weight. Caſaubon conjectures, that Follis had originally the ſame ſignification as Shekel; and was derived from פלס, *libravit*: vid. Caſaub. not. in Lamprid. Heliogab. vol. I. p. 849.

[*d*] Thus ζῆσαι, ἰσάναι. ἀποζῆσαι, συζῆσαι, ἀνελκῦσαι, τεῖναι ζατῆρ. ἰσαζάσιον, ζυγὸς, ὁλκὴ, &c. — *librare, ponderare, appendere, collibrare, reponderare, ſtater, aequilibrium, bilanx, pondus.* Λίτρα and ζατὴρ were uſed by the Greeks as equivalent expreſſions. ζαλῆζα δὲ οἱ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιηταὶ τὴν λίτραν λέγουσι. Pollux, l. iv. c. 24. p. 452.

[*e*] "Rem creditori palam populo ſolvit, libraque et aere liberatum "emittit." Liv. l. vi. c. 14. "Per trutinam ſolvi ſolitum veſtigium etiam "nunc manet in aede Saturni; quod ea etiam nunc propter penſuram Tru-"tinam habet poſitam." Varr. De lingua Lat. l. iv. p. 30.

ditious, ſeeing a centurion of diſtinguiſhed merit carried to priſon for debt, ſtopped the officer, who had the charge of him, and weighed off his ranſom in the ſtreet. This was the only way of payment then in uſe. The ſame [*f*] forms were preſerved for many ages, upon particular occaſions; and the alluſions to them will continue as long as that language itſelf is preſerved. The ideas and expreſſions of this original practice are interwoven in its very frame: Varro and Pliny have obſerved this of the Latin, as Pollux did afterwards of the Greek:

"Et [*g*] adhuc *impenſa* in rationibus dicuntur: item "*impendia* et *dependere*: Quin et militum *ſtipendia*, i. e. "ſtipis pondera: diſpenſatores *libripendes* dicuntur; qua "conſuetudine, in his emptionibus, quae mancipii ſunt, "etiam nunc libra interponitur."

WHEN the demands of elegance and luxury had multiplyed the imaginary wants of nations, and opened a more extenſive commerce, it was found inconvenient to keep to the old methods of payment, and have recourſe upon all occaſions to the ſcale: To prevent this, a new expedient was deviſed: The ſeveral metals, which had long paſſed in commerce by weight, were ſtruck into coins:

[*f*] Thus Agrippa's ſons were purchaſed by Auguſtus. "Caium et Lucium adoptavit domi, per aſſem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa." Suet. in Auguſt. See Dr. Taylor's Elements of the civil Law, p. 488.

[*g*] Plin. H. N. Lib. xxxiii. c. 13. p. 610. "Ab eodem aere impendendo, "*diſpenſator*: et in tabulis ſcribimus *expenſum*: et inde prima *penſio*, et ſic "aut ſecunda, aut quae alia: Et *diſpendium*, ideo quod in diſpendendo ſolet "minus fieri: *Compendium*, quod, cum compenditur, una ſit: A quo uſura, quod "in ſortem accedebat, *impendium* appellatur." Varro, De lingua Lat. p. 30.

Each

Each of them had a ſpecific character [*b*] aſſigned by public authority: Their value was known at ſight, and paſſed without the trouble of weighing. But this character, though declared ſacred and inviolable by the laws of every country, was ſcarce ever inviolably preſerved. The neceſſities of ſtates, the avarice of princes and private men, often increaſed the alloy, or diminiſhed the weight, by fraudulent or oppreſſive practices. To remedy this inconvenience, the Athenians, whoſe barren country and fertile genius made them extremely active in all the branches of trade, for the greater diſpatch of buſineſs added another improvement to this method of coining. They introduced a nominal pound, much heavier than the real, which was eſtimated at a hundred Drachmae, when eighty-four only were coined out of a pound of ſilver at the mint. By this means a conſiderable allowance was made for any accidental diminution in their coins. Every perſon, in the balance of their accounts, received a ſum, that was, in general, ſomething more than the pound or pounds it repreſented. This method therefore was the regular

[*b*] Διὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀλλαγὰς τοιοῦτόν τι συνέθεντο πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτὸς διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, ὃ τῶν χρησίμων αὐτὸ ὂν, εἶχε τὴν χρείαν εὐμεταχείριστον πρὸς τὸ ζῆν· οἷον ὁ σίδηρος καὶ ἄργυρος, καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον. Τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἁπλῶς ὁρισθὲν μεγέθει, ΚΑΙ ΣΤΑΘΜΩι· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ χαρακτῆρα ἐπιβαλλόντων, ἵνα ἀπολύσῃ τῆς μετρήσεως αὐτός· ὁ γὰρ χαρακτὴρ ἐτέθη τοῦ ποσοῦ σημεῖον. Ariſt. Pol. l. i. c. 9. *Ob eam cauſam in permutationis commodum communi quodam conſtitutum eſt conſenſu, ut ejuſmodi aliquid daretur et acciperetur, quod, cum eſſet e rerum utilium genere, faciliorem haberet ad vivendi rationem uſum; quale ferrum eſt et argentum, et ſiquid praeterea eſt generis ejuſdem: Initio quidem tantummodo magnitudine et pondere definitum; poſtea vero notæ et charactere impreſſum, ut ponderandi moleſtia tolleretur.* CHARACTER *enim* PONDERIS *et* VALORIS *ſignificatio eſt.*

way of making payments for many ages: It had all the advantage of the former expedient in paſſing by tale, without the neceſſity of weighing.

THE Romans, though very far from being a commercial people, as ſoon as they were acquainted with the affairs of Greece, adopted the ſame plan. The great and obvious convenience, in this method of payment, recommended the example. They reckoned a hundred Denarii to the pound of ſilver, as the Greeks did a hundred Drachmae, though eighty four only were ſtruck out of it. This nominal pound was commonly computed by Seſtertes, or the quarter of a Denarius, their ſmalleſt ſilver coin. A very ſtrong preſumption that they did not abound in money, when this new way of reckoning began at Rome. The ſtandard in both theſe governments was the ſilver pound; and for this reaſon the old Romans in all the tributes they exacted from other nations, rated them, as Pliny obſerves [i], in ſilver, and

[i] "Equidem miror populum Romanum victis gentibus in tributo ſemper "argentum imperitaſſe, non aurum: ſicut Carthagini cum Hannibale victae "[...] argenti pondo annua in quinquaqinta annos, nihil auri." H. N. l. xxxiii. c. 15. p. 613. Pliny ſeems to wonder at this uniform proceeding, that their republic ſhould never exact any of their tributes in gold: But as ſilver was at that time the only ſtandard of their money, their demands were made abroad, juſt as they reckoned their ſums at home. The continuance of this practice is eaſily accounted for from this principle. They began to alter it before Pliny's time, who, not attending to the reaſon of their former uſage, ſpeaks of it with ſome admiration.

The ſum ſtipulated in this article of the treaty between Rome and Carthage was intirely omitted in the Mſſ. and editions of Pliny, which Father Harduin at laſt very juſtly reſtored. But he was above giving his reaſons for it, which might perhaps have had more weight than his authority.

not

not in gold; juſt as we do now in England; our ſubſidies are always computed by our nominal pound, the pound

Livy ſays, this tribute was two hundred talents annually. Appian, a little more particularly, two hundred Euboic talents, which were the ſame as the Attic. To reduce this ſum into pounds, according to Pliny's way of reckoning, is very eaſy: Sixty times 200 is 12,000. Therefore the numerals in Pliny muſt be, XII *millia argenti pondo annua*. It was probably written $\overline{\text{XII}}$. with a ſtroke over it for *mille*, which ſome tranſcriber omitting, or neglecting, the inconſiderable appearance of the remaining numerals was thought too inſignificant to be inſerted. The various ancient ways of writing numbers have occaſioned incredible difficulties and miſtakes. Who would think that CC$\propto$ was eight hundred; or $|\overline{\text{X}}|$ a million? vid. the Placentine inſcription &c. in the Muſeum Veron. et Periz. Anim. Hiſt. c. x. p. 413, 414.

The variety of ancient Talents has likewiſe contributed a good deal to the difficulties with regard to money: Though I believe the writers upon this ſubject, by reaſoning from incorrect and corrupt paſſages and not conſidering the difference between nominal and real pounds, have collected a much greater number of Talents than the ancients themſelves were acquainted with: For I take Hero's principles to be in this reſpect inconteſtable; that every Talent bore the very *ſame* proportion to that pound, which was the baſis of the computation, i. e. all were ſixty pounds of their *own* weight. The moſt ancient writers *de ponderibus et menſuris* mention only *three* pounds, as in uſe either in Greece or Rome. Theſe were the nummulary pound of twelve ounces, and the commercial pounds of ſixteen and twenty ounces; this laſt very late, under the Byzantine empire, was reduced to eighteen ounces. The nummulary Talent, from a pound of twelve ounces, was five times twelve, or ſixty pounds: By the ſame rule, the commercial retail Talent, from a pound of ſixteen ounces, was five times ſixteen, or eighty pounds; and the great Alexandrine Talent, from a pound of twenty ounces, was five times twenty, or an hundred pounds. This Talent, the firſt groſs commercial weight, which the Romans were acquainted with, being exactly a hundred pounds, they intirely dropped the uſe of the Talent in their eſtimates and traffic, and introduced the Centenarium, or hundred pound weight, inſtead of it. A Talent formed upon the pound of eighteen ounces is never mentioned. From theſe premiſes, the Talentum magnum, which has been ſo often miſtaken, may be eaſily explained. This Talent, inſtead of being five times twelve, or ſixty pounds, was five times ſixteen, or eighty pounds. A paſſage in Plautus puts this beyond all diſpute.

Sterling. But by degrees, as the Roman coins were leſſened, the advantage of their old nominal pound was quite

Tranio endeavours to perſuade his maſter to engage for a debt, which his ſon had indiſcreetly contracted, and for which the creditor was then making very preſſing demands:

"Quater quadraginta illi debentur minae.
"Dic te daturum, ut abeat."

This ſum is afterwards computed in great Talents:

"eas quanti deſtinat?
"TR. Talentis magnis totidem, quod ego et tu ſumus."
Moſtell. Act. III. Sc. i. ver. 102. 114.

Here it is evident, that two great Talents were four times forty, or twice eighty pounds; viz. a Talent from a pound of ſixteen ounces. Priſcian, though he is not always conſiſtent, and often runs into great ſingularities and miſtakes, by affecting too much preciſion, confirms this evidence. He ſays, that the Talentum *parvum* Athenienſe was minae ſexaginta; *Magnum*, octoginta et tres libraе, et quatuor unciae. Gram. vett. vol. I. p. 134. Priſcian was, in this inſtance, making a nice calculation how many Roman pounds were equal to this great Talent. The Attic pound, by the account of all theſe later writers, was one twenty-fourth part larger than the Roman. Divide eighty by twenty-four, and you have three, and one third part for the quotient. Or, as Priſcian here ſtates it, octoginta tres libraе, et quatuor unciae.

But notwithſtanding this difference, the Greek and Roman pounds paſſed as quite equivalent in all their nummulary eſtimates, and the Romans uſually reckoned this Talentum magnum, as Plautus reckons it, in round numbers, an eighty pounds.

Gronovius rejects this account of the Talentum magnum with a high hand, and inſiſts upon a very different explication. The Romans, he ſays, had no ſuch ſum, or name, as a Talent, in their accounts. The firſt Talents they ever heard of, were the Sicilian, Tarentine, and Neapolitan Talents, all of them of ſmall value. Afterwards, when they were acquainted with the Grecian way of reckoning, they called the Attic Talent the Talentum magnum, to diſtinguiſh it from theſe trifling eſtimates in their own neighbourhood. This account of Gronovius's was highly applauded by Dr. Bentley, in his Diſſertation upon Phalaris, as having all the marks of certainty and truth. I ſhould ſcarce have taken the liberty of diſputing a point, decided by theſe two great maſters of all claſſical learning, if I was

loſt;

loſt; the overplus was nothing: In conſequence of this alteration the method of computing by ſcruples was entirely laid aſide; and the government, under the Byzantine empire at leaſt, if not earlier, revived the antient cuſtom of paying by weight; or demanded an *incrementum*, or a ſtated additional ſum, over and above every pound, that was paid by tale: They likewiſe introduced a new ſtandard [*k*]. All their tributes and

not ſupported by the opinion of more competent judges, Plautus, Varro, and Priſcian. Beſides, this is a caſe where numbers are concerned; and admitting that they are right, their evidence, whichſoever way it goes, muſt be deciſive. The reading in Plautus, and the eſtimate in Priſcian, are utterly inconſiſtent with this conjecture. None of the editors of Plautus, not even Gronovius himſelf, ever intimated the leaſt ſuſpicion, that any of the Mſſ. had in this place any other reading but *quadraginta*: If four times forty were *two* great talents, each of them muſt be eighty pounds. The very character of the perſons in Plautus deſtroys all Gronovius's reaſonings upon this ſubject. The ſcene is Athens, the Dramatis perſonæ are all Greeks, very well acquainted with their own nummulary Talent, before they ever heard of theſe diminutive computations: And therefore, when the Athenians ſpoke of the Talentum magnum, it was to diſtinguiſh either the commercial Talent, or the Aſiatic nummulary Talent, from their own of ſixty pounds.

[*k*] The author of the late Eſſay upon money and coins is of opinion "that one only of the two metals, made uſe of for money, can be the ſtandard meaſure of commerce or accounts in any country;" and his reaſons are, "becauſe the ſtandard-meaſure muſt be invariable, and keep the ſame proportion in all its parts. But ſilver and gold, in reſpect to one another, like other commodities, are variable, according as the plenty of either of them may be increaſed or diminiſhed: And becauſe the money-ſtandard denotes certain ſpecific quantities of pure ſilver, by which all contracts are meaſured." Eſſay on money &c. part I. p. 38. and part II. p. 86. But I ſee no neceſſity for this reſtriction: By the ſtandard-money, nothing more can be meant, than that ſpecies of gold and ſilver, or ſuch a quantity of pure and fine metal in it, as, by the laws and cuſtoms of every country, is mutually underſtood in all contracts, and to be received in all payments what-

payments

payments whatſoever were rated in Solidi, or gold only; but the ſubjects were at liberty to pay either in ſilver or gold, either by weight or by tale, provided it was in the mannen legally prefcribed.

Such was the ſtandard of the Byzantine money, and the methods of payment in their Exchequer, when that great inundation of northern nations broke in upon the empire, and ſettled in the provinces, which they had now ſubdued. Theſe new princes followed the ſame rule, kept to the method which was laſt eſtabliſhed, and rated all their fines and payments in gold. The principal difference was, that the firſt pennies, or Deniers among the Franks, were no larger than the Ceratium, or Half-milliarenſis. The pound of ſilver was then cut into two hundred pence, or at leaſt two hundred pence paſſed in tale for a pound, as a hundred Milliarenſes then did in the Eaſtern empire. This is not advanced meerly as a conjecture. We know what the weight of the Frank Solidus was at their firſt ſettle-

ſoever. Where then can be the impropriety of making the gold a ſtandard, as well as the ſilver? The Romans did this for many ages: We followed their example: When the way of accounting by pounds, ſhillings, and pence, was firſt introduced, the ſhilling was a gold coin, the twentieth part of the pound ſterling; and there was conſequently a double ſtandard: The payments were equally legal, the contracts full as well underſtood, whether they were diſcharged by twenty ſhillings in gold, or by the ſilver pound. If the value of gold and ſilver began to alter with reſpect to each other, this might be eaſily adjuſted by public authority. The Romans altered their exchange accordingly, and we have done it ſeveral times ſince the Guineas were firſt coined: As to foreign commerce, it always treats gold and ſilver coins, as commodities that fluctuate in their value, and paſs at the market price; keeping the ſame invariable ſtandard in our coins would make no difference in this reſpect.

ments

ments in Gaul; we know likewiſe the exchange between gold and ſilver at that time. The Byzantine Solidi then paſſed for twenty of their Milliarenſes; the Frank Solidus, exactly of the ſame weight, and at the ſame exchange, was current for forty of their Deniers. There was therefore at that time two hundred pence in the Frank pound. The concluſion evidently follows from theſe premiſſes; for if there had been 240 pence at that time in the Frank pound, the exchange for a Solidus of that weight muſt have been forty eight Deniers. But as the Solidi leſſened, the Deniers did ſo likewiſe. At the beginning of the ſeventh century, if not earlier, there was 240 pence in the *Italian*, *German*, *Frank* and *Saxon* pounds. This continued in France till after Charlemagne's time; in Italy much longer; and the very ſame proportion, in the real or nominal pound has continued ever ſince among us, tho' perhaps it was never very exactly obſerved in the Saxon coins. Such ſmall coins, we know by experience, may be very eaſily circulated much above their value. It is conſtantly done in France and Germany, where they ſtrike a ſort of uncommercial money, which paſſes much above it's intrinſic worth, and yet has a free and eaſy currency among their own people. This was done at Rome almoſt in every reign from Severus Alexander down to Conſtantine. Many of their coins were ſo much alloyed that they were not worth a quarter [*l*] of their current value. This muſt be often the caſe after a long circulation even under the beſt governments, where the money,

[*l*] Joubert's Science des medailles, p. 22.

as

as to its weight and alloy, was at firſt exactly minted. In King William's reign [*m*], our ſmaller ſilver coins were ſo much diminiſhed, either by fraud, or a long and conſtant circulation, that a hundred pounds in tale was not worth fifty in its intrinſic value. This had bad effects in the public payments, and was therefore redreſſed, much to his own and the nation's honour, by a very able and worthy miniſter, during the preſſing demands for money in that reign. The Saxons, whoſe great payments were made chiefly by weight, might find little or no inconvenience by the inequality of their own, or the Daniſh pennies. They might paſs currently among themſelves, as our ſixpences do now, and anſwer the common occaſions of life full as well, as more uniform coins. The ſmall ſize of their common ſilver money was at firſt undoubtedly owing to neceſſity. Tacitus's obſervation, which explains the origin of this practice, accounts for its continuance upon the ſame principles. *Numerus argenteorum* [*n*] *facilior uſui eſt promiſcua et vilia mercantibus.*

THE very name of Goths and Vandals uſually raiſes no other ideas but thoſe of horror and deſolation; as if all learning, elegance, civil polity, and more eſpecially all the finer arts, were immediately neglected and deſpiſed. But this is placing the beginning of that total eclipſe and barbarity, which at laſt enſued, rather too high: Several of thoſe princes, who made the firſt ſettlements in the Roman provinces, were no enemies to theſe arts, no ſtran-

[*m*] Lowndes's Eſſay for the amendment of the coins, p. 159. Mr. Folkes's Tables, p. 117.

[*n*] Tacit. De mor. Germanorum, c. 5.

gers

gers to the politer cuſtoms of Rome. They began at firſt with a better taſte; but, by that ſeries of rapine and devaſtations which followed one another, it was ſoon extinguiſhed. When they entered upon their new governments, they found all the dies and inſtruments for coining money in ſeveral of their principal cities. The ſame hands, which cut the old dies, were certainly capable of altering the legends, and fitting them for the uſe of their new maſters. With theſe advantages, it is not to be imagined, that they ſhould follow any other models in making their coins. At their firſt appearance they ſeemed willing to preſerve all the ſtate and figure of the Roman princes. The cuſtoms, which the Romans had eſtabliſhed, were well known; they had a diſpoſition to follow them. This perhaps cannot be repreſented in a ſhorter and more ſatisfactory view, than by exhibiting their coins. I ſhall do this in a few inſtances. Every thing there has a Roman appearance: We find it, in all the principal provinces of the Weſtern empire, Afric, Italy, France, and Spain, under their new governors.

THE Vandals, who carried their conqueſts or incurſions through great part of the Weſtern empire, ſettled at laſt in Africa. Genſeric, about A. D. 439, took Carthage, and made it the capital of his kingdom. Several coins of the unfortunate Hilderic's, one of the laſt and beſt of thoſe princes, are preſerved. He lived in great amity with Juſtinian [o], and began his reign almoſt a

[o] Procopius repreſents their ſtrict friendſhip and alliance in very ſtrong terms; φίλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἰουστινιανῷ, &c. De bello Vandalico, lib. i. c. 9.

century after their first settlements at Carthage. This is one of his coins [p].

This coin very evidently shews from what original it was taken: The head [q] is in a Roman dress: The Pallium, or Chlamys, is fastened with a Fibula [r] upon the shoulder. The legend begins with the favourite title of all the

p. 360. ed. Venet. 1729. See the succession of these Vandal princes in Cardinal Noris's Historia Pelagiana, opp. vol. I. p. 506.

[p] Banduri's numismata Impp. Vol. II. p. 503 and 629.

[q] The custom of wearing these imperial insignia, as marks of sovereignty, was then very common, even among the most barbarous nations: Νόμος γὰρ ἦν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχειν μηδένα, κἂν Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιος ᾖ, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐνωρίσματα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς δοίη . . . . . ἔστι δὲ τὰ ξύμβολα ταῦτα· Ῥάβδος τε ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἀκεχρυσωμένη, καὶ Πῖλος ἀργυροῦς, οὐχ ὅλην τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ στεφάνη τελαμῶσιν ἀργυροῖς παραλαχόθεν ἀνεχόμενος· καὶ Τριβώνιόν τε λευκὸν, ἐς χρυσῆν περόνην καλὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον, ἐν χλαμύδος σχήματι Θετταλῆς ξυνιόν· Χιτών τε λευκὸς, ποικίλματα ἔχων, ἐς ἀρβύλην ἐπίχρυσος. *Mos enim est Mauris, ne quis iis imperet, etiam quo tempore bellum cum Romanis habeant, priusquam Romanorum imperator ei principatus insignia dederat . . . . . Ea autem insignia sunt ejusmodi: Primum* VIRGA *argentea aurata; deinde* PILEUS *argenteus, non caput totum tegens, sed coronae in modum argenteis sustentatus taeniis: candidumque* PALLIOLUM *in dextro humero aurea substrictum fibula, chlamydis Thessalicae in modum:* TUNICA *etiam candida, sed figuris variata, et* SOLEA *inaurata.* Procop. De bello Vandal. l. i. c. 25. p. 383.

[r] Exactly in the Imperial dress, as described by one of the African poets:

" Poplite fusa tenus, pretioso candida limbo,
" Caesareos humeros ardenti murice texit
" Circumfusa chlamys, rutilo quae ornata metallo

Byzantine

Byzantine emperors. D. N. *dominus noſter*, to which is added HILDERICVS REX.

ON the reverſe is one of the Roman emblems of Plenty; a woman with both hands full of ears of corn. Theſe were the common ornaments of the African coins. They expreſs the fruitfulneſs of the country; it was one of the principal granaries of Rome. We have the very ſame reverſe [*s*] upon ſeveral of the Roman coins which were ſtruck in that province, and the ſame legend, FELIX KARTHAGO. This coin of Hilderic's was undoubtedly ſtruck upon ſome of the Roman dies found at Carthage, where, as the medaliſts conjecture, from the ſignatures and abbreviations upon their coins, there were ſeveral mints; though poſſibly nothing more than the marks of different pixes; *i. e.* what were ſtruck off at one time.

WE ſhould naturally expect that the remains of a better taſte ſhould be more eſpecially preſerved in Italy. The Goths [*t*], who were more acquainted with the Roman

" Principis exerta vincebat lumina dextra:
" Aurea juncturas morſu perſtrinxit adunco
" Fibula."

Corippus African. in laudem Juſtini minoris, apud Panciroli Com in Notit. Imp. orient. c. lxxxi.

Eutropius obſerves, that the Imperial habit, as enriched with gems, &c. was introduced by Diocletian. " Nam prius imperii inſignia in chlamyde " purpurea tantum erat: reliqua communia." Eutrop. p. 445. ed. Havercamp.

[*s*] Vid. Argelati Impp. Romanorum numiſmata, p. 560.

[*t*] The diſpoſition, which the firſt Gothic princes had for following the Roman cuſtoms, appears from their hiſtories, as well as their coins: I ſhall throw in a few paſſages from thence, as they ſerve to illuſtrate, and confirm one another. Theſe princes were often educated upon the Roman

cuſtoms, were more diſpoſed to follow them. Valens had many years before made them members of the empire. They had furniſhed the Imperial armies with ſome of their ableſt generals and beſt troops. Theodoric [*u*], the ſecond of thoſe Gothic princes, who reigned in Italy, was brought up at the Byzantine court, Conſul in the year 484, intruſted with one of the moſt important offices of the empire, made *Magiſter militum* in Moeſia, or Field-marſhal of the Imperial army in that province. The Eaſtern emperors, at the firſt eſtabliſhment of theſe new kingdoms, expected that ſome public marks of ſuperiority and dependance ſhould be given them by theſe Gothic princes.

Upon this account they ſometimes ſtruck their coins with the emperor's head on one ſide, and their own, or ſometimes a legend only, on the other. This had been an ancient practice. We ſee it revived in this coin of

plan: Ἀμαλασύνθα δὲ τὸν παῖδα ἐβούλετο τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσι τὸ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὁμότροπον καλασήσασθαι, καὶ φοιτᾶν ἐς γραμματιστὴν ἠνάγκαζε. *Voluit Amalaſuntha filium inſtitui in eum, quo Romanorum primores fuerunt, morem; itaque et ludimagiſtrum habere coegit.* Procop. de bello Gothico, l. i. c. 2. 4. ed. Venet. Jornandes repreſents it, as the great ambition of the Goths, *ſic cum Romanorum populo vivere, ut una gens utraque credi poteſt.* Jornandes, apud Grot. Hiſtor. Gothorum, p. 652.

[*u*] "Theodoricus rex Gothorum Zenonis Auguſti munificentiis paene "pacatus, Magiſterque praeſentis militiae factus, Conſul quoque deſignatus." Marcellin. Comes ad A. D. 624. "Educavit te in gremio civitatis Graecia, "i. e. Byzantium." Eunodii panegyr. in eund. The honours, that he obtained in the Empire, are mentioned by Procopius. Γότθοι ..... ὅπλα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους Θευδερίχου σφίσιν ἡγεμόνος ἀντῆραν, ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου τε καὶ ἐς τὸν ὑπάτων δίφρον ἀναβεβηκότος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. *Gothi ..... arma in Romanos, Theudericho duce ſumpſerunt, qui et ad Patricii honorem pervenerat, et conſularem currum Byzantii aſcenderat.* ut ſupra, 2.

Athal-

Athalaric's [*w*], who was Theodoric's grandſon and ſucceſſor.

But theſe honours were occaſional and uncertain, depending much upon the poſture of their affairs at home. Athalaric himſelf, and his ſucceſſor Theodahatus, during their ſhort reigns, aſſerted their independency; placed their own heads upon their coins, and took the reverſes, from that variety of ornaments in the Roman mints; ſuch as were moſt agreeable to the mint-maſter's fancy or their own. Thus in a coin of Theodahatus's [*x*]:

The king is in the dreſs of the emperors of that age, has his robe adorned with pearls in the eaſtern manner. The legend, D. N. THEODAHATVS REX. On the reverſe VICTORIA PRINCIPVM, a Victory ſtanding upon the rudder of a ſhip, with a palm in her left hand, and a crown of

[*w*] Banduri Numiſmata, Vol. II. p. 643.
[*x*] Banduri, ut ſupra, p. 620, 644.

laurel

laurel in her right, the emblems of victory and ſovereign power. This prince had not the leaſt title to any marks of conqueſt or triumph upon his coins. He certainly merited no naval honours. During his ſhort reign he was unſucceſsful in every thing that he attempted. The hiſtorians [*y*] repreſent him as a philoſopher, a man of letters; but cruel, avaritious, and implacable; a very bad politician, and no ſoldier. He ſoon retracted all his claims to independency, agreed never to ſtrike his own head upon his coins without adding the emperor's: For this was then thought a matter of ſo much importance, as to be an article in one of their treaties [*z*]. Theodahatus ſoon violated this treaty, and involved himſelf in that ruin, which he ſo well deſerved.

WE have the very ſame appearances in France. The Franks [*a*], whoſe ſituation was at firſt upon the borders

[*y*] Procop. De bello Gothico, p. 4.

[*z*] Ἐς τε ξύμπασιν σφίσιν ἦλθεν .... εὐφημεῖσθαί τε Ῥωμαίων τὸν δῆμον ἀναβοήσειν αἰεὶ βασιλέα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα Θεύδατον, ἔν τε θεάτροις, καὶ ἱπποδρομίαις, καὶ εἴ πῃ ἄλλῃ τὸ τοιοῦτο γενέσθαι δέησει· εἰκόνα δὲ χαλκῆν, ἢ ὕλης ἑτέρας, μή πω τινὶ Θευδάτῳ μόνῳ καθίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ γίγνεσθαι μὲν αἰεὶ ἀμφοτέροις. *Rem ad pacta deduxit; ut in feſtis acclamationibus populus Romanus, tum in Theatro, tum in Circo, ante Theudati nomen Imperatoris nomen celebraret, et ubicunque iſtiuſmodi acclamationibus locus erat: Neve ulla effigies in aere, aliave materia Theudato ſoli, ſed et una Imperatori poneretur.* Procop. De bello Goth. p. 10.

[*a*] Φράγγοι .... πολιτείᾳ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χρῶνται Ῥωμαϊκῇ, καὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως ἀμφί τε τὰ συμβόλαια, καὶ γάμους, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θείου θεραπείαν νομίζουσι ..... ἐσθῆτά τε ἔχειν τὸ ἀβλάτιον, ἢ μόνον τὸ βαρβαρικὸν τῆς στολῆς, καὶ τὸ τῆς φωνῆς ἰδιάζον. *Franci,* INSTITUTIS LEGIBUSQUE *Romanis, ut plurimum vivunt; pari* CONTRACTUUM, *pari* NUPTIARUM *cura; neque* DEI CULTU *diſcrepantes .... ut vix quicquam illos a nobis diſcriminet, praeter aliquid in veſtitu barbaricum, patriumque ſermonem.* Agathias de rebus geſtis Juſtiniani, l. i. p. 10. ed. Venet. Νόμισμα δὲ χρυσοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Γάλλοις μετάλλου πεποίηνται· ἐς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος

of

of the more diſtant provinces of the empire, were not ſo well acquainted with the Roman cuſtoms as the Goths; yet they were not without their political connexions with the Romans, and lived often as allies or tributaries to them. Merovee, or one of the ſons of Clodion, joined the Roman arms to repel the barbarous ravages of Attila: Clovis was inveſted with the enſigns of the Patrician and Conſular dignities by the emperor Anaſtaſius. The ſucceſſors of theſe princes, of a more extenſive power, and much higher ſpirit than the Goths, adorned their coins with the imperial inſignia, and put on all the marks of ſovereignty with as much elegance, and as good a title, as the emperors themſelves. For the dominions of both theſe princes were acquired by the ſword; and the original of the then Imperial family was as truly Gothic, as that of the Francic kings. The firſt French coins were ſtruck exactly in the ſame taſte and manner, as the Byzantine [*b*]. See what an amazing ſameneſs!

(ἥπερ εἴθισαι) χαρακτῆρα ἐνθέμενοι τῷ καλῇ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν εἰκόνα. *Ex Gallicis inſuper metallis nummum cudunt aureum; nec ei (ut mos eſt alibi) imperatoris Romani, ſed ſuam inſculpunt effigiem.* Procop. De bello Gott. l. iii. c. 33. p. 163.

[*b*] Le Blanc's Traité hiſtorique, p. 22. Banduri Numiſmata, vol. II. p. 618.

Theſe

Theſe coins are both of them gold, Solidi of the ſame age and weight. The heads are juſt alike; there is no other difference, but a little in the plumage of the diadem, which, in another coin of Juſtin's, is the very ſame as in this of Theodebert's. The obverſe of both differs only in the legend. Inſtead of D. N. IVSTINVS P. F. AVG. is D. N. THEODEBERTVS VICTOR. The reverſes of the two coins have the ſame reſemblance. The legend in one is, VICTORIA AVCCCC; and in the other, VICTORIA AVCCCC; and within the legend a Victory with a croſs erected in one hand, and a globe with a croſs upon it in the other. The ſtar upon the ſide of the Victory is omitted in Theodebert's coin, and his own title added REX. The ſtrait ſtroke near the feet of the Victory was part of the X. In the exergue is CONOB in both.

THE French antiquaries [*c*] are by no means agreed in the explication of this coin. Monſ. Bouteroue, who firſt publiſhed it, imagined that it was ſtruck, either upon account of Theodebert's conqueſts in Italy; or when he was preparing for a war againſt Juſtinian. Others conclude, from the great reſemblance between theſe too coins, that Theodebert ſtruck his as a compliment to Juſtinian, after the league made between them. But in this view, the reverſe had been charged with the emblems of Peace, rather than Victory. Dufreſne [*d*], after obſerving all that could be ſaid for theſe opinions, declares

[*c*] Le Blanc, ut ſupra, p. 24.
[*d*] Dufreſne's Diſſertation, en Hiſtoire de St. Louis.

for

for none of them. This ſuſpenſe was perhaps very judicious. He ſaw nothing to determine the point in queſtion: It very ſeldom happens, that any thing can be certainly concluded from the reverſe of thoſe Gothic coins, as appears from that of Theodahatus's juſt exhibited. This was often the caſe in the lower empire, where a new head was ſtamped upon an old reverſe, with which it had little or no connexion. It muſt be allowed, that this coin could be no more a compliment to Juſtinian, than to the younger Theodoſius, Marcian, Zeno, Juſtin, or any of the emperors, who had ſtruck the ſame head upon their coins. A prince of Theodebert's reſtleſs, intrepid, and enterpriſing genius, who carried the point of honour ſo far, that he was forming alliances [e] againſt Juſtinian with the Gepidae and Lombards, meerly becauſe he had aſſumed the titles of Francicus, Gepidicus, and Langobardicus, would not be diſpoſed to treat that emperor with any great complaiſance. It is therefore moſt probable, as Le Blanc obſerved, that this reverſe was choſen, becauſe Theodebert really deſerved ſuch honours; that his victories gave juſt occaſion for ſtriking ſuch coins. For there is ſomething particular in the legend: Inſtead of his title as King, we have it as a Conqueror: And that his Royal title might not be omitted, it is added very awkwardly on the reverſe, and placed at the feet of the Victory. The fierce and martial air in the whole turn of the head agrees extremely well with Theodebert's character. He was, after Clovis, one of the greateſt princes

[e] Agathias, ut ſupra, p. 11.

of his race. The mint-maſters in the choice of the dye made him a very proper compliment.

BUT the great difficulty, which chiefly embarraſſed Le Blanc in the explication of this coin, was the legend CONOB in the exergue. For though the ſame reverſe, or old head with a new legend, might, in the taſte of that and the following ages, belong to any prince, yet the word CONOB muſt belong to one place; and not another, unleſs of the ſame name. They had no ſuch place in France, and therefore Le Blanc could not tell what to make of it, in the exergue of the French coins. It often happens among the medalliſts, that what is moſt difficult to explain is of leaſt moment to know. Whatever the word CONOB ſignifies, it is agreed on all hands, that it is only the mint-maſter's mark; and the generally received opinion is, that it ſhould be read, not CON. OB. but CON. O. B. i. e. CON*ſtantinopoli officina ſecunda*. It is taken for granted that there were ſeveral mints, or at leaſt *monetarii*, at Conſtantinople, and this legend ſhewed which of them were accountable for uttering that coin. But is not this a moſt unſatisfactory account? How happens it, that there were more coins ſtruck at this one mint, than at all the reſt put together? Or why was the uſage of this particular legend almoſt univerſal? We meet with it not only on the coins of the Eaſtern and Weſtern emperors; but on the *Frank*, *Spaniſh*, and even *papal* coins, which we cannot ſuppoſe to be minted at Conſtantinople. There muſt therefore be ſome other meaning. Antonius [*f*] Au-

[*f*] Antonii Auguſt. Dialog. VII. p. 223.

guſtinus

guſtinus gave us a much better long ago, which is undoubtedly the true one. How it came to be rejected, I know not; unleſs it was to adopt that true Harduin ſpirit, the wild love of novelty. Whoever conſiders the ſtate of the Roman money from Caracalla down to Conſtantine muſt ſee that the ſtandard, if there really was any ſuch thing, was, in general, exceſſively bad; that there was often ſcarce the appearance of ſilver in their coins. Conſtantine, among his other regulations in the mint, very wiſely eſtabliſhed a certain ſtandard, expreſſed by this word in the exergue. For the meaning of CONOB is CON*ſtantinopolis* OB*ryzum*, or CON*ſtantinopoli* OB*ryzatum*. Money of the legal ſtandard in that city. It implied juſt the ſame thing, as EX.A.PV. or EX AR*gento* PV*ro* in the Conſular coins. We meet with a reverſe upon one of the younger Conſtantine's Milliarenſes [*g*], which (the legend being more at large) confirms this explication. The words are VICTORIA. AVGG. TR. OBS. M. D. COM. OB. i. e. TR*eviris* OBSI*gnata* M*oneta* DE COM*muni* OB*ryzo*. We have the ſame uſe of *obryzum* in the Imperial laws. The ſubjects were not obliged to take the Solidi at a certain value, unleſs their fineneſs was according to the ſtandard then eſtabliſhed. Thus in a conſtitution of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodoſius to Arintheus P. P.

"Univerſos [*b*] auctoritas tua propoſito edicto com-
"moneat, *obryzatorum* omnium ſolidorum uniforme pre-
"tium poſtulare."

[*g*] Argelati Numiſmata Impp p. 477.
[*b*] Cod. Lib. XI. tit. x. § 3. et lib. XII. tit. xlix.

WHAT theſe *Solidi obryzati* were appears in another edict iſſued for the very ſame purpoſe.

"Solidos [*i*] ita tradi ac ſuſcipi ab ementibus et diſ-
"trahentibus jubemus, ut nihil omnino refragationis
"oriatur, modo ut DEBITI ſint PONDERIS, et SPECIEI
"PROBAE."

ALL Solidi of the ſame legal fineneſs were to paſs uniformly according to their weight. Their currency depended upon this condition, on their being *Solidi obryzati.* In this view the legend CONOB was very applicable, not only to the Byzantine money, but to any Roman, Gothic, or Francic coins, whereſoever they were ſtruck. It implied, that the ſame ſtandard, which was at firſt eſtabliſhed at Conſtantinople, was continued under theſe governments, and contributed much to expedite the mutual traffic of theſe different nations in exchanging their coins.

BUT the moſt ſtriking reſemblance between theſe two coins of Juſtin's and Theodebert's is that part of the reverſe, where the legend is eraſed exactly in the ſame manner in both. This is a ſtrong proof of the practice of the mint-maſters in thoſe ages, who from a great variety of reverſes, which were in their hands, took one that was moſt agreeable to the events of the year, or the vanity of the prince. The reverſe of medals was almoſt from the beginning a mixture of adulation and true hiſtory. But in the lower ages they were leſs ſcrupulous: If part of the legend did not ſuit with that prince's circumſtances,

[*i*] Cod. lib. XI. tit. x.

under

under whom the coin was ſtruck, the managers either altered or eraſed the letters. Thus, in both theſe coins, the reverſe is VICTORIA AVCCC, which, we may preſume to ſay, was at firſt VICTORIA AVGGG, or *victoria trium Auguſtorum*; cut originally either for the Conſtantine, Valentinian, Gratian, or Theodoſian families, when there were three emperors, or Auguſti, reigning at the ſame time. To make the impropriety leſs viſible in thoſe legends, the lower part of the G's were ſtruck off: For it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that the wear of the dye had accidentally defaced thoſe three letters, in both theſe coins, exactly in the ſame place and no other.

SPAIN was ſo miſerably harraſſed by the different nations who invaded it in the fifth and ſixth centuries, that the laſt adventurers deſtroyed almoſt all the ruins, which the former had left. By this means the remains of the Roman taſte and elegance do not appear ſo evidently in the coins of theſe Gothic princes, if we judge by thoſe, which Le Blanc has exhibited. Perhaps, in the king of Spain's cabinet, or in the private collections of ſome of thoſe very able ſcholars, which in this century have done honour to their country, the coins of their firſt Gothic princes might be preſerved. I have ſeen only thoſe, which Le Blanc has given us, and even of theſe a ſingle ſpecimen will be ſufficient for our purpoſe. I ſhall exhibit one of Reccaredus's, their firſt Chriſtian prince, who began his reign A. D. 586, thirty years after Theodebert's death; becauſe this is another inſtance where the legend

on the reverſe is defaced, as not ſuiting the occaſion for which the dye [*k*] was now uſed:

The head is in a Roman dreſs, with a Corona radiata round it. The legend RECCAREDV REX. The reverſe, a croſs erected upon a globe, a common ornament upon the Byzantine coins. The legend VICTORIA AVIOIIV, which could be nothing elſe originally, but VICTORIA AVGVST. or AVGVSTORVM. But, as the legend in this ſenſe was not applicable to a ſole monarch, the letters were defaced, and ſome traces only left, without any real meaning. In the exergue CONOB. as in Theodebert's coins.

THAT endleſs inundation of barbarous nations, which ſucceeded thoſe conquerors, who made the firſt inroads into the Weſtern empire, differed much in their manners. The Franks and Goths, who had kept up a long intercourſe with the Romans, were much more civilized and humane, and had acquired a taſte for elegance and politeneſs above the reſt. The Huns [*l*], Alans, and Sclavi

[*k*] Le Blanc's Traité hiſtorique, p. 33.

[*l*] The hiſtorians repreſent the ſavage barbarity of theſe conquerors in a light that is almoſt incredible. I ſhall mention a few inſtances. Procopius ſays of the Sclavi: Ἔκλεινον τοὺς παραπίπλοντας, ἅτε ξίφει, ἅτε δόρατι, ἅτε τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰωθότι τρόπῳ· ἀλλὰ ζκόλοπας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πηξάμενοι ἰχυρόταλα, ὀξεῖς τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιϛα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τούτων ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ τοὺς δειλαίους ἐκάθιζον· τὴν σκολόπων ἀκμὴν γλυτῶν καῖα τὸ μέσον ἐνείργοντες, ὠθοῦντές τε ἄχρι ἐς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔγκαῖα, ἅτω δὴ αὐτοὺς &c.

&c. *i. e.* all thoſe people, whoſe original ſettlements were beyond the Tanais, between the Palus Maeotis and the Caſpian, the Tartars of that age, who made very conſiderable conqueſts, were the moſt barbarous of all. By this means, that univerſal barbarity, which by degrees overſpread all Europe, made a more rapid progreſs in ſome provinces than others. The manners of the age contributed not a little to theſe melancholy effects. Almoſt every prince was perpetually apprehenſive of a new inva-

ἀναχρήσασθαι ἠξίουν. καὶ ξύλα ἢ παχέα τέτταρα ἐπιπλῆξον ἐς γῆν καταρύξαντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἕτοι, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τε χεῖρας καὶ πόδας τῶν ἡλωκότων δεσμεύοντες, εἶτα ῥοπάλοις αὐτὰς καλὰ κόρρης ἐνδελεχίσαλα παιόντες, ὡς δὴ κύνας, ἢ ὄφεις, ἢ ἄλλο τι θηρίον διέφθειρον. *Morem habuerunt obvios occidere, non gladio, non haſta, nec ullo denique uſitato necis genere; ſed palos firmiter ſolo defigere, et cum eos feciſſent quam acutiſſimos in eos multa vi ponere miſeros, et cuſpidem in poſticum cavum eousque defigere, ut in viſcera intima penetraret, illis vitam extorquere: Saepe et craſſis ſudibus quatuor alligaverunt hi barbari pedes manusque captivorum, quos deinde, fuſtibus capita eorum ſine intermiſſione tundentes, velut canes, vel ſerpentes, aut alio quovis ferarum genere, perire cogebant.* De bello Gothico, l. iii. c. 38. p. 172. Impaling, as a puniſhment for ſtate-criminals, is uſed to this day among the Turks, who came originally from the ſame parts of Aſia as the Alans and the Huns: "Hunnorum gens, monumentis veteribus leviter nota, "ultra paludes Maeoticas glacialem oceanum accolens, omnem modum feri-"tatis excedit." Ammian. Marcell. l. xxxi. c. 2. p. 666. "Semicruda cujusvis "pecoris carne veſcantur, quam inter femora ſua et equorum terga ſubſertam "fotu calefaciunt brevi." Id. p. 667. "Alani ſunt orienti adclines, diffuſi "per populoſas gentes et amplas, Aſiaticos vergentes in tractus..... Hunnis "per omnia ſuppares." Id. p. 671, 672. The buſineſs of ſcalping was as much in practice among them, as among the Indians in our time: "Nec "quicquam eſt, quod elatius jactent, quam homine quolibet occiſo: proque "exuviis glorioſis, interfectorum avulſis capitibus, detractas pelles pro phaleris "jumentis accommodant bellatoriis." Id. p. 671. 673. How different were theſe people from the old German nations, the Franks and Goths! That deluge of barbariſm, which ſo rapidly overſpread almoſt all Europe, was brought on by theſe ſavage conquerors.

ſion. Every other occupation was loſt in arms. The politer arts found no encouragement. We ſee it in the coins of all theſe nations in the ages immediately ſucceeding; the models, from which they were firſt taken, were intirely forgot.

It is not to be expected, that the Saxons, who by their ſituation were more remote from the Roman frontier, and of courſe by their commercial intercourſe leſs acquainted with the cuſtoms of that people, ſhould, at their firſt ſettlements in Britain, ſet out with the ſame improvements in their coins. The laws of their firſt legiſlators, enacted almoſt an hundred and fifty years after their arrival in Britain, prove that they did not: We have no Saxon coins remaining for almoſt a century after the lateſt of theſe, which are here exhibited; and but one only, that I have ſeen, ſo old as the ſeventh century; when all the politer arts were declining apace, and barbariſm making a very rapid progreſs all over Europe. Sir Andrew Fountaine has exhibited a penny of Adulf's, who ſucceeded his uncle Æthelwald, and was king of the Eaſt Angles about A. D. 664. This is the coin [*m*]:

It is plain by this very coin, that the regard to the Roman manner of ſtriking their money was not then intirely

[*m*] Vid. Hickes, Theſaur. Septentrion. vol. II. p. 172.

laid

laid aſide in England. The head has that ſort of diadem round it, which was ſometimes uſed by the emperors; and the legend is AVDVLFIVS PRISIN. Sir Andrew Fountaine, who has explained the legends of moſt of the Saxon coins, ſays he does not know what to make of PRISIN; but ſuſpects it to be the name of the mint-maſter, or one of the principal nobles of Adulf's court. Mr. Thwaites [*n*], in reviſing the legends of theſe coins offered no conjectures upon this. As the whole legend is Latin on both ſides, and the coin evidently ſtruck in the Roman taſte, I ſhould conclude, that PRI.SI.N. belongs to the prince himſelf, and is the title that he aſſumed upon his coins, and muſt be read AVDVLFIVS PR*inceps* SI*geberti* N*epos*. Adulf was the ſon of Sigebert's couſin-german. The Romans uſed *fratres* [*o*] not only for brothers, but firſt couſins. In this view their deſcendants the next in degree were properly called *nepotes*. The ſame terms of relation continue even to this day in Wales; they are applied not only to the father's or mother's brother, but to the firſt couſins, who by their collateral deſcendants are uſually called uncles. The Romans expreſſed theſe relative diſtinctions in the aſcending line in the ſame manner. Suetonius [*p*] calls Julius Caeſar, *avunculus Auguſti*, who was his grandmother's brother. In the lower ages, and I believe I might ſay, much earlier, the word *nepos* was uſed in a ſtill greater latitude, and applyed to the ſons of ſecond

[*n*] In Appendice ad Conſpectum Theſauri Hickeſiani.
[*o*] Dr. Taylor's Elements of civil law, p. 334.
[*p*] Suetonius in Auguſto, c. 8.

couſins. William the Conqueror, at the ſiege of York, is ſaid to have given all the lands of the Saxon earl Edwin in Yorkſhire to Alan earl of Britanny.

" Ego Gulielmus [q], cognomento Baſtardus, rex An-
" gliae, do et concedo tibi NEPOTI meo Alano Comiti
" Britanniae omnes villas et terras, quae nuper fuerunt
" comitis Edwini in Eboraſcira, cum feodis militum, ec-
" cleſiis, &c."

HE calls him *nepos*, as being in the collateral deſcending line, one degree below him. Judith the Conqueror's grandmother was ſiſter to a duke of Britanny, who was Alan's great grandfather. Adulf was in a ſtricter and more uſual ſenſe *Sigeberti nepos*. The legend upon the reverſe of this coin is VICTVRIA ADVLFO [r]. The orna-

[q] Brady's Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 199. Here Dr. Brady obſerves, " that Alan married the Conqueror's daughter Conſtance; but why " he calls him nephew, I know not." The reaſon was the relation here mentioned. The Romans ſometimes uſed Nepos in a more extenſive ſignification, for any deſcendant, that was below another in the collateral line, how remote ſoever. Thus Ovid in his addreſs to Cupid:

" At tu ſic habeas ferientes cuncta ſagittas;
" Sic nunquam rapido lampades igne vacent;
" Sic regat imperium, terrasque coerceat omnes
" Caeſar, ab Aenea qui tibi fratre NEPOS.

De Pont. l. III. ep. iii. ver. 59.

[r] There was no great regard to orthography in theſe ages. Adulf's name is written differently upon the ſame coin: round the head AVDVLFIVS, pronouncing the A open, like a diphthong: on the reverſe ADVLFVS with two vowels omitted: in the preface to the council of Hatfield it is ALDVVLFVS. with two letters different from both the former. The reverſe ſhews, that they pronounced o in VICTORIA, like a diphthong, as the French do at preſent, though not as *oi*, but as *oo*, or *ou*; for the *u* had frequently that ſound, as we learn from Terentianus Maurus,

ments

ments are a croſs erected upon a globe, and a ſerpent twined round the top of the croſs, as intirely ſubdued. What this victory of Adulf's was, is impoſſible to ſay. The hiſtory of the Eaſt-angles is the leaſt known of any part of the heptarchy. They had apoſtatiſed, and returned to paganiſm. Adulf might poſſibly take up arms upon this occaſion, aſſert the ſubject's right to the liberty of uſing their churches, and by this means endeavour to re-eſtabliſh the chriſtian faith. Such an enterprize as this was no way unſuitable to Adulf's character. In this view the ornaments upon the reverſe of this coin are very proper emblems of his ſucceſs. He was certainly very active in promoting the religion he profeſſed. He aſſiſted at the council of Hatfield [s] under archbiſhop Theodore, A. D. 680; where the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, as one national church, was firſt eſtabliſhed.

"Græca diphthongus OE literis tamen noſtris vacat:
"Sola vocalis quod V complet hunc ſatis ſonum."
Gram. vett. p. 2393.

But in the coins of theſe barbarous ages there is ſometimes no knowing whether the legends are owing to the ignorance of the engraver, or their way of pronouncing the word. Thus in a coin of Attila's the head is attired with wings, like a Victory, and on the reverſe an unicorn with his head erect, the legend VLATOS; which probably meant nothing more than ALATVS, to expreſs the rapidity of his conqueſts; but whether they pronounced that word like VLATOS, or the V was by the engraver's ignorance or accident inverted, is dubious. This is certainly much more probable that Beger's conjecture, who ſuppoſes, that this coin did not belong to to Attila the Hun, but to one Attila, whoſe family-name was *Ulatus*: A perſon, whoſe age and country is intirely unknown, and whoſe exiſtence may very juſtly be diſputed. Beger's Theſaur. Brandenburg. vol. I. p. 313.

[s] Vid. Wilkins's Councils, vol. I. p. 52.

BUT whatever the reverſe means, the coin itſelf is remarkable. It does honour to the memory of both theſe princes. The great ſanctity of Sigebert's character, the high reputation he was in, both for religion and learning, made Adulf chooſe to diſtinguiſh himſelf as a collateral deſcendant from his family, who was, upon all accounts, one of the moſt reſpectable princes of that age. The care he took to promote the progreſs of learning in that kingdom was extremely laudable. Bede [*t*] informs us, that he founded an epiſcopal ſee at Dunmoc, now Dunwich in Suffolk, and that, under the care of their firſt biſhop Felix, a ſchool was opened there for inſtructing the youth of that country. The firſt nurſeries of learning in England were the cathedral churches. Auſtin and his followers began that practice at Canterbury: Sigebert followed the ſame plan: Bede ſays it was *juxta morem Cantuariorum*. Some members of this new cathedral were appointed for that purpoſe. This regulation continued for many ages afterwards. Among the offices aſſigned by ſtatute to the dignitaries of cathedral churches, the buſineſs of inſtructing youth belonged to the Chancellor: *Cancellarius debet ſcholas regere.*

THE hiſtorians of the following ages make Sigebert's munificence in the encouragement of learning more exten-

[*t*] "Inſtituit ſcholam, in qua pueri literis erudirentur; juvante ſe epiſ-
"copo Felice, quem de Cantia acceperat, eisque paedagogos et magiſtros
"juxta morem CANTUARIORUM praebente." Bedae Hiſtoria Eccleſ. l. iii. c. 18. p. 121.

ſive.

ſive. Malmeſbury [u], Huntinton, &c. ſay, that he erected ſuch ſeminaries in ſeveral parts of his kingdom. Nor is this inconſiſtent with Bede's account, who ſays, that he built a monaſtery [v] for Furſeus, who came from Ireland to aſſiſt in the converſion of his ſubjects; and that, before his death, he retired to another monaſtery, which he founded at Bury [w]. But we are not to conclude from hence, that there were (ſtrictly ſpeaking) any regular monaſtic foundations at that time in England. *Collegium* and *Monaſterium* were words of the ſame import, but none of them eſtabliſhed for the obſervance of any particular rule, or confined to votaries dedicated to the ſeverer auſterities of a monaſtic life. The Saxon monaſteries of that age were convents or colleges of ſecular clergy, married, or unmarried, where youth were inſtructed, and perſons of rank and even of a military profeſſion had the privilege of retiring for the ſake of a ſe-

[u] "Scholas literarum per LOCA inſtituit, quod pro magno certe debet "praedicari." De geſtis regum, lib. I. c. 5. 34. Hen. Huntingdon, p. 332. Matt. Weſtmonaſt. p. 115.

[v] "Erat autem monaſterium ſylvanum, et maris vicinitate amoenum, "conſtructum in caſtro quodam, quod lingua Anglorum CNOBHERESBURG, "i. e. urbs Cnobheri vocatur; quod denique rex provinciae illius *Anna*, "ac nobiles quique auguſtioribus aedificiis et donariis adornarunt." Bedae H. E. p. 122. now Burgh-caſtle, not far from Yarmouth.

[w] Bede does not mention the name of this monaſtery; but it appears from the regiſters of that abbey, and other authorities, that it was at Bury, then called Bedericſworthe. See Monaſt. Angl. tom. I. p. 291. Tanner's Notitia, p. 504. Burton obſerves from Abbo Floriacenſis, that it was called *villa regia*; and that the places, where there had been any *villas* or houſes for Roman governors were uſually made *villae regiae* by the Saxons.

queſtered

queſtered life, to be employed either in ſtudy or devotion. Along with theſe perſons, others of both ſexes, profeſſing the ſtricter diſcipline of a ſingle life, were equally admitted, and called Monks or Nuns; but, after this profeſſion, were allowed to marry, if they pleaſed. Of theſe mixed ſocieties muſt all theſe Saxon monaſteries [x] be underſtood.

THIS is all that is known of Sigebert's foundations. To extend them further, to place the Univerſity of Cambridge in this catalogue, ſeems, in all appearance, a very groundleſs ſurmiſe, and exerciſing a very arbitrary authority in explaining evidence. Our Univerſities, ſo eminent for their reſearches into all the great branches of uſeful learning, ſhould diſdain the mean office of appealing to any fabulous antiquities for their own original.

AFTER this there is a long chaſm in the Saxon coins. The next, I believe, are all of them of the eighth century, none older than Eadberht's of Northumberland, or Offa's of Mercia, when all the little appearance of a Roman taſte was intirely loſt. The engravers, inſtead of raiſing a relief for the head, were ſcarce able to cut a few letters for a legend. Theſe approaches to the laſt ſtages of barbariſm began as early, and made an equally rapid and effectual progreſs, in France [y]. The very thoughts

[x] This was Mr. Wharton's opinion, Ang. Sacra, tom. II. p. 91. Inett's Church Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 124. 127. In this view the ſurpriſing irregularities in what were called monaſteries, in Bede's time, may be accounted for. They were often private property, belonged to a family, and the ſame men were ſometimes abbots and captains. Bedae Epiſt. ad Egbert. edit. per Ware, p. 73. to 79.

[y] See above, p. 369.

of

of exhibiting any figures upon their coins, or preſerving the leaſt remains of their former taſte, were intirely given up. Charles the Bald, grandſon of Charlemagne, thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh this deſpicable practice by a law. In an aſſembly of the eſtates of France held at Piſtes, A.D. 854, not long after the union of the Saxon kingdoms, it was thought worthy the care of a great monarch to enact,

"Ut [z] in denariis novae noſtrae monetae ex una "parte nomen noſtrum habeatur in gyro, et in medio "nominis noſtri monogramma; ex altera vero parte no-"men civitatis, et in medio crux."

THIS was all the little ornament, which theſe princes required upon their coins. And ſure none of the French edicts were ever more readily or univerſally obſerved. It is no wonder that their neighbours the Saxons, who did not make ſo conſiderable a figure, ſhould ſoon fall into the ſame way of coining. Not but ſome obſcure traces of a better manner were ſtill preſerved among them. We ſee from almoſt the beginning of the ninth century ſome rude remains of that original, from which their coins were taken. We have there the *Imperial coronet* [a] the ſame as upon the Byzantine coins. The *ſcepter and mund* [b]. . . . The helmet and *diadem* [c]. The *Roman*

[z] Baluzii Capitularia, Vol. II. p. 177.

[a] Vid. Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables. Table iv. n. 1, Coenwulf. Tab. vii. 51, 52, Edw. &c.

[b] Tab. vii. 41, 42, Edw.

[c] Tab. viii. 1, 3, Harthacnut. 3, Offa. 2, Ecgbert. ii. 31, Athelred. viii. 1, Edwin.

habits

habits [d], as the Imperial robe and fibula upon the shoulder. *The symbols* of public Peace [e] and *Security*. The pontifical ornaments, as the pall upon the archbiſhop's [f] coins; and the *monograms* [g], ſuch as were frequently uſed on the Byzantine. One of them, where the head is adorned with an Imperial diadem and round it ÆLFRED REX [h] has a monogram or cypher on the reverſe, which Mr. Thwaites explains CIVIT*as* NORDVIC, or Norwich, and is a proof that the coin belongs to Alfred the great, and not Alfred of Northumberland, as Mr. Walker and Sir Andrew Fountaine had conjectured. This is a penny of Harold's [i], the laſt of our Saxon kings.

The Penny was ſometimes called Nummus by the Anglo-norman hiſtorians, being the moſt common coin by which their expences were adjuſted, and all the leſſer branches of traffic carried on. The beſt Latin authors uſe Nummus in the ſame manner for a particular coin. Thus,

[d] Tab. i. 9, Ethelred. Tab. v. 1, Edgar. Tab. iv. 9, Cnut.
[e] Tab. i. 9, 10, Ethelred. Tab. viii. 2, 3, Harold.
[f] Tab. ix. 1, Plegmund.
[g] Tab. i. 9, Alfred.
[h] Hickeſ. Theſaur. vol. II. p. 169.
[i] Tab. viii. 2.

when

when they ſpoke of the Athenian money, Nummus alone means the Drachma; when of the Roman, the Seſterce; becauſe their payments were uſually made, or their great ſums of money computed, by theſe two coins.

THE legal weight and eſtimate of the Saxon Penny continued the ſame invariably thro' the whole period of their government, tho' often very irregularly minted. It was always the 240th part of their pound, and the true weight ſhould have been about 22½ Troy grains. Their laws from the firſt mention of it to the laſt give it this uniform valuation, tho' in paying the larger ſums by tale there was a regular and ſtated *incrementum* about a 24th part of their pound.

THE Saxons had likewiſe a Hæfling, or Halfpenny, and Farthing, both of them moſt probably of ſilver; tho' my reaſons for this conjecture depend chiefly upon the practice of later times. All our princes from king John downwards certainly coined Half-pence and Farthings of ſilver. Mr. Folkes [*k*] ſays, that Edward I's Half-pence and Farthings are now very common. His grandſon Edw. III, expreſly provided by ſtatute [*l*], *That no Sterling Half-penny, nor Farthing, ſhould be molten to make any veſſel, or any other thing, by goldſmiths, nor other.* The penalty was forfeiting the money, that was ſo melted, and committing the offender to priſon. If it was the cuſtom to ſtrike theſe ſmaller coins in ſilver in much politer ages, and when the caſh of England was ſo conſiderably in-

[*k*] Tables, p. 7.
[*l*] Vid. 9 Edw. III. c. 3.

creaſed, we may very reaſonably conclude, that they were ſtruck in the ſame manner in the Saxon times.

Both theſe coins are mentioned in the Saxon Goſpels. *Are not five ſparrows ſold for two farthings?* Luke xii. 6. or, as it is in their verſion: Ne becypaþ fif ſpeappan to hælfunge. *for a halfpenny?* In the original it is ἀσσαρίων δύο: But what that ἀσσάριον was is uncertain. The progreſſive diminution of the Roman coins makes it ſometimes very difficult to determine and aſſign their real value in different ages. The vulgar Latin, where great part of the old Italic verſion was undoubtedly preſerved, tranſlates the ἀσσάριον in the Goſpels by As or penny. Thus Matt. ix. 29. *nonne duo paſſeres aſſe veneunt?* And in St. Luke xii. 6. *nonne quinque paſſeres veneunt dipondio?* i. e. for two Aſſes, or two pence. We render the Aſſarium as uniformly by the Farthing. The Saxon verſion is not ſo conſiſtent. In the former inſtance, it ſeems to follow the vulgar Latin, and makes the ἀσσάριον, the Penny: In the latter, it has the ſame appearance of agreeing with our tranſlation, and makes it the Farthing. But it is in appearance only: for the Saxon Penny and Farthing were of a different ſpecies from the Roman As and Quadrans, which were only braſs. The value of the ἀσσάριον was, in different ages, both what the vulgar Latin and our verſion have repreſented it. It appears by Polybius, that it was in his time the ſame thing as the As, or Penny. Suidas [*m*] makes it a Half-penny, ἀσσάρια, ὀβολοί:

[*m*] Suidas in voce.

The old Greek Lexicon quoted by Gronovius [n], a Half-farthing, ἀσσάριον, φόλλεως τὸ τέταρτον. But how it is uſed in the Goſpels is not certainly determined by any part of this evidence. There the κοδράντης ſeems to be different from the ἀσσάριον. As the Italic verſion was the moſt antient, and the authors of it beſt acquainted with the Roman money of that age, I ſhould conclude, that the ἀσσάριον in the Goſpels was the ſame coin as the Roman As, or penny.

The Saxon Hælfling was a little more than two grains leſs than the Roman Seſterce, when they ſtruck eight Denarii in the ounce; and juſt the ſame weight, as the Obolus of the Greeks, as appears by numbers of the Oboli now preſerved. There are two or three coins [o] in Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables, which, by their ſize and appearance, ſeem to be theſe ſilver Hælflings: But as this is mere conjecture; whether any of them are now remaining muſt be determined by the gentlemen, who are better acquainted with the cabinets of Saxon coins.

The Farthing is likewiſe mentioned in the Saxon Goſpels. *Thou ſhalt by no means come out thence, till thou haſt paid the uttermoſt farthing.* Matt. v. 26. æꝛ þu ageldoe hone ýtemeſtan feoꝛðling. This muſt be a very ſmall piece of ſilver not above five grains and a half.

But they had another coin, at leaſt another name for one of theſe ſilver coins, which requires a more particular explication, and that is the Sceatta. The word Sceatta is

[n] De pecunia vet. p. 439.
[o] Tab. viii. 4, Ecgbert. 1, Eodberchtus.

manifestly derived from the Greek [o]σκεύα[λ]α, and signified originally, among the Saxons, money or substance in general, as σκεύα[λ]α did among the Greeks. Thus in Ethelbirht's [p] Laws, hæfne ǽcc æge *dimidium facultatum habeat*? and in the Gothic Gospels, Luke ix. 3. *Take neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, nor money*; or as it is in that language, *nih walans, nih matibalg* (i. e. meat-bag, answering perhaps both to scrip, and bread) *nih scattans*, nor money. Here Junius and Dr. Mareschall [q] both observe, that the Dutch at present use *schab*, and the Germans *schatz*, in the same signification. But Sceatta, by degrees, came to signify a particular coin among the Saxons. Thus in Ethelbirht's laws just quoted, made about A. D. 600, all the fines and payments whatsoever are rated by the shilling, and the sceatta. The value of the shilling is well known; and from the proportion, which they bore to one another, the value of the Sceatta may be easily determined.

THE fine [r] for giving a blow, that left a mark behind it, was a shilling: If the stroke left a blackness in any part of the body, which was in sight, it was then thirty Sceattas; but if the blackness was out of sight, then only twenty. This is in all appearance considered, as the

[p] Peringskiold, in the life of Theodoric, has given a large collection of Gothic words, as derived originally from the Greek. See Vit. Theodorici, p. 356. ed. Stockholmiae, 1699, 4to.

[p] Wilkins's Legg. Saxon. p. 7.

[q] Junius says, "Belgis Schat est *thesaurus, gaza*; et superioribus Germanis idem significat." Vid. in voce. Dr. Mareschall observes that, "Scatt plerumque accipitur in codice argenteo pro denario." Vid. in Luc. xix. 24.

[r] Wilkins's Legg. Saxon. p. 6.

case

caſe firſt mentioned, as a blow leaving a mark, and conſequently is the ſame as that in the former ſection, viz. a ſhilling.

ANOTHER inſtance [s] makes this ſtill plainer. The fine for cutting off a thumb was xx ſhillings, for a thumb nail XII ſhillings. If the toes were mutilated in the ſame manner, the penalty was juſt one half leſs. The law ſays, *pro digitis pedis dimidium pretii ſicut de digitis manus datum eſt.* Thus, for cutting off the great toe, the fine was x ſhillings; for the great toe nail, xxx Sceattas; *i. e.* by the proportion given, one ſhilling and a half, and conſequently twenty Sceattas to a ſhilling.

BOTH theſe eſtimates are confirmed by another [t] in the ſame laws. The fines for committing fornication with the ſervant maids of a peaſant are thus diſtributed, according to their different ranks:

"Si cum plebei pocillatrice, quis concubuerit, VI ſoli-
"dis emendet. . . . . pro alia ſerva, L ſceattas, . . . pro
"tertiae ſortis [ſerva], xxx ſceattas ſolvet."

IF thirty Sceattas are, according to the cuſtomary diſtribution of theſe fines, a fourth part of thoſe in the firſt claſs, then thirty Sceattas are equal to one Saxon ſhilling and a half. That the numbers are right here, appears by the proportion given in the former ſections, except in the ſecond inſtance, where moſt probably for L Sceattas ſhould be read LX. But, from the whole, it appears that XX Sceattas made a ſhilling, or five pence; and conſequently that

[s] Wilkins's Legg. Saxon. p. 61.
[t] Ibid. p. 2, 3.

the

the Sceatta was the fourth part of a penny, or a Farthing. There are no other coins mentioned in theſe laws, but the Shilling and the Sceatta; and there is no appearance that the Saxons had any other at that time: Yet, during the poverty of the firſt ſettlements, there was, in this way of reckoning, an humble, though diſtant, imitation of the Roman cuſtoms. As the Solidus was then the great integer, to which all the Byzantine payments were reduced, the Shilling anſwered the ſame purpoſe among the Saxons: And as the Roman Solidus was then current for twenty Milliarenſes, the Saxon Shilling paſſed in exchange in the ſame manner for twenty Sceattas.

THE value of the Sceattas, as the loweſt coin they had, agrees exactly with a paſſage in the Saxon Pentateuch, quoted by Mr. Somner [*u*], in which the original is very emphatically, tho' not literally, tranſlated. Abraham tells the king of Sodom, that he would take nothing of his, *from a thread to a ſhoe-latchet*, as in our verſion: But in the Saxon, ne rceaz, ne rcillinz; nothing, even from the leaſt to the greateſt value.

As the Saxons became a more opulent people, the word Sceatt was transfer'd to a coin of a higher claſs, the Penny. We learn this from Athelſtan's [*w*] laws. There the king's Weregild is eſtimated at 30,000 Sceattas, which make a hundred and twenty pounds: Dividing that ſum by 240, the number of pence in the Saxon pound, it

[*u*] Gen. xiv. 22, 23. See Somneri Lexicon Saxonicum, in voce.

[*w*] "Regis ſimplex compenſatio capitis eſt ſex Thainorum compenſatio capitis juxta legem Merciorum, hoc eſt, xxx millia ſceattarum, et haec omnia faciunt cxx libras." Wilkins's Legg. Saxon. p. 72.

amounts

amounts to 125 pound. Hence it was, that Dr. Hickes, not attending to the difference of the pound by weight and by tale, reckoned the Sceatta, as one penny farthing. It is utterly inconceivable, that any people ſhould have two of their moſt common ſilver coins ſo near each other in value, that there was only a farthing difference between them: But of all people, the Saxons muſt be entire ſtrangers to ſuch a practice, ſince their pennies were often ſtruck ſo irregularly, that there was at leaſt this difference in their weight. The Sceatta therefore, in the language of Athelſtan's laws, was a penny:

SOME remains of the old Saxon way of reckoning by Sceattas are come down to us, and preſerved in the language and cuſtoms of the preſent age. All the boroughs in England were anciently in the hands of the crown, or ſome of the principal barons. The aids due from the military tenants of the crown, when they were rated in money, were called Eſcuage. Thoſe demanded from the burghers, Burgage or Tallage; or ſometimes, from the coins they were uſually paid in, their Sceatta, Scat, or Scot. Hence, in the barbarous Latin of that age, the perſons, who were obliged to make thoſe payments, were ſaid to be *in loto* [*x*], or *ad ſcotum*. Thus in one of the Conqueror's laws,

"Omnis Francigena [*y*], qui in tempore Edwardi pro-
"pinqui noſtri fuit in Anglia particeps conſuetudinis An-
"glorum, quod dicunt *ane hlot* et *ane ſcote*, perſolvatur
"ſecundum legem Anglorum."

[*x*] Madox's Firma burgi, p. 251. [*y*] Wilkins's Legg. Saxon. p. 217.

IN

the being regularly aſſeſſed to the public rates and contributions of the place, is, generally ſpeaking, the neceſſary qualification for being *participes conſultandis negotiis*; for enjoying the important privilege of ſending their repreſentatives to parliament, and aſſiſting in the great legiſlative aſſembly of the kingdom.

That the Saxons had their braſs coins is certain; Many of them are now remaining; otherwiſe this point might poſſibly have been diſputed: For I believe our moſt skilful antiquaries are agreed, that none of our Engliſh princes, for many ages before the acceſſion of James I, publiſhed any braſs coins at all. How the little traffic of the kingdom could be carried on without them, is a point that wants ſome explanation. Were our coins, like our peers, to be repreſented by nothing of any lower rank? When the Farthing was very nearly equal to three farthings of our preſent money, and moſt of the neceſſary articles in common life ſixty times cheaper than they are now, ſomething ſeems to be wanting, to make the exchange more convenient: Nor do I ſee how the little buſineſs of retail could be adjuſted, without ſome expedient analogous to what was afterwards called Tradeſmen-farthings, which circulated without ſcruple in ſuch a diſtrict. Our braſs coins, at their firſt utterance under James I, were called Farthing-tokens [z], which every body was at liberty to take or refuſe at pleaſure, i. e. they were not to be conſidered as a legal tender for paying a

[z] Mr. Folkes's tables, p. 64.

debt,

globe, which might be produced through some hemispheres.

The Roman practice during the greatest part of their government was very different from this. At the beginning of it, they had only brass money; and as it was declining, they found it necessary to strike and circulate immense quantities of the smaller brass coins. The first division of them, during the republic, was the As or Libella [a], the penny; the Sembella, or halfpenny; the Teruncius or Quadrans, the farthing. Under the Byzantine empire, and some time before the beginning of it, they were thus distinguished: the Denarius, or penny; the Obolus, or halfpenny; the Sestertius or Quadrans, the farthing; the Minutum [b], or half-farthing; besides some other names for their smaller coins, which are now not so well understood.

How far the Saxons followed the practice of the lower empire in this respect is uncertain; that they had their half-farthings is evident. All the coins in Sir Andrew Fountaine's brass table are of that sort, Stycas, or half-farthings, of the Northumbrian kings. But the Saxon

[a] "Haec quoque *libella*, exemplo majorum, in duos velut semisses, qui *singulae* vocantur; et quatuor velut quadrantes, qui *teruncii* vocantur, dividitur." Voluf. Maccian. ad finem Gronov. De pec. vet. p. 400. As these Semisses, or Half-pence were called *singulae*, this passage seems to imply that the Roman brass coins in the second century, if not earlier, were just as ours are at present. There was no As or Libella struck in one single piece; their Half-pence and Farthings were their only brass coins, which afterwards came so low as the fourth part of a Farthing.

[b] From Minutum (as Skinner has observed), by dropping the middle syllable, the several branches of the German language have formed the word MITE.

Gospels seem to be a sufficient evidence, that these coins were struck in other parts of the island. We cannot well suppose that they speak a provincial language only, or that this version was made in that kingdom. The two Mites, which make a farthing, Mark xii. 42, is there translated, ᵹpezen ꝛtycaꝛ, ꝧ ıꝛ, feorðunc penincer. The original is, λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης. The last words, though very probably a gloss, are in our version very properly translated; they do not seem to admit any other construction.

I HAVE now gone through all that variety of Saxon coins, which their laws, historians, and public instruments have transmitted to us, from the Mancus down to the Mite; and I shall close this account by exhibiting their names, weights, and values, in the following Table, without being so exact as to regard the fractions of a farthing:

SAXON GOLD COINS.

Names.	Weight in Troy Grains.	Value in their Money.	In our Money.
			£. s. d.
The Mancus,	about 54	6 Shillings	0 9 0
The Half-mancus,	27	3 Shillings	0 4 6
The later Mancus, Ora, and Anglo-Norman Shilling.	22½	12 Pence	0 1 9

DANISH ESTIMATES.

The first Danish MARK, five Ounces, or a hundred Saxon Pennies.

The ORA, twelve Pence.

SILVER COINS.

Names.	Weight in Troy Grains.	Value in their Money.	In our Money. l. s. d.
The Shilling at 5 Pence	about 112	5 Pence	0 1 2½
The Shilling at 4 Pence	90	4 Pence	0 0 11½
The Thrimfa	67½	3 Pence	
The Penny or Sceatta	22½	above 2	0 0 2½
The Halfling	11¼		
The Farthing	5½		

BRASS COINS.

Styca	2 to a Farthing.

It is very evident, from the few coins I have exhibited, that all the *firſt* Frank and Gothic princes ſtruck their money upon the Roman models, and that ſome of our earlier Saxon princes did the ſame thing. They had ſo much taſte as to be pleaſed with improvements, which they had not the ſkill to preſerve. The lower people in all theſe governments, who were trained up to manual arts, being moſt of them in a ſlaviſh dependence, had no ſpirit or encouragement to exert their talents, or keep up to the very coins and dies which were before them. All the little remains of Roman elegance were ſoon extinguiſhed and loſt. They ſunk by degrees into a ſtate of incredible barbarity in theſe reſpects, from which they never attempted to emerge, till the European princes by their Eaſtern expeditions had acquired ſomething of a better taſte, and the arts began to revive, which very ſoon afterwards appeared both in their buildings and their coins.

the principle of imitation or improvement by which our Saxon princes were induced to copy the Roman models, may be observed in many other instances, which regard the ancient customs and constitution of our country. I shall close this chapter with a few observations upon this subject, in which I am the more disposed to indulge myself, because it has often been said, that our Saxon ancestors, as working upon first principles, and forming their plans of liberty and independence in the wilds of Germany, were the great originals of almost all the national customs that prevailed in England; that the Feudal system [e] in particular was a Gothic structure, an everlasting monument of their military disposition and civil polity; and, to raise its character still higher, that, notwithstanding the many burthensome services annexed to it, the true principles of liberty were interwoven in its very frame.

It is very certain that, whoever laid the foundation of this military structure, the finishing this great work was entirely owing to the Franks and Goths. But the beginning of it is a little more uncertain and obscure. It is

[e] Craig, De jure feud. l. 1. tit. iv. 11. Wright on Tenures, p. 197. Hurd's Dialogues, p. 197. Montesquieu's Spirit of laws, l. xi. c. 6. The great advocate for this system, count Boulainvilliers says, that Charlemagne having taken the idea of Fiefs from the people of the North, was afterwards confirmed in that idea by the example of the Lombards. Account of the parliaments of France, p. 94. It is remarkable, that the Feudal system began to decline both in England and France about the same time, under two very able princes, Hen. II. and Philip Augustus; and, no doubt, for the same reason, because they found it a huge, unwieldy machine, perpetually out of order, and therefore not easily managed either to the people's advantage, or their own.

not

not improbable, that the same rational spirit of imitation prevailed here; and this being more suitable to their genius, or the neceſſity of their affairs, the very contrary happened to what was obſerved in the former inſtance: they improved, or at leaſt enlarged, what they had learnt practiſed before. To enquire into the ſtate and policy of the ancient Germans is of no moment in this queſtion. They knew nothing either of Tenures or Eſtates. Here we may appeal to the moſt unqueſtionable authorities, Caeſar [a] and Tacitus. Every ſept, or clan, in their frequent migrations, had their annual ſhare of paſturage allotted to them by their prince, which they enjoyed in common. They had indeed the firmeſt and moſt inflexible attachment to their princes: but tho' they were all ſoldiers, as there was no property, there could be no Fiefs.

In that long interval of about 350 years between Tacitus and their firſt code, the Salic law, many of the German nations, by a frequent intercourſe with the Romans, had acquired more civilized, and ſocial ſentiments. They were not ſo barbarous, but they were immediately ſtruck with that firſt and obvious improvement in human life, the uſe of private property and ſettled habitations. They ſaw, that, inſtead of that ſavage way of living in common, advancing to the excluſive rights of individuals, to the pleaſure and advantage of cultivating their own lands,

[a] "Neque quiſquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios." De bello Gallico, l. vi. c. 22. "Agri per vices occupantur . . . . Arva per annos mutant." Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 26.

were

were very conſiderable acquiſitions; that it improved the public happineſs, as well as their own. In their firſt laws therefore it was enacted, that eſtates ſhould deſcend [e] to the neareſt relations in blood, whether male or female: And that for want of heirs by the father's ſide, to thoſe by the mother's. Was not this the very ſame deſcent, which was preſcribed by the Roman laws? Even that celebrated clauſe in the Salic law [f], ſo uncertain in its origin, and ſo important in its effects, which prohibits the ſucceſſion of females, muſt be given up [g] as no evidence in this point. Baron Monteſquieu [h] ſays, that it was nothing more than a law of oeconomy, which gave the houſe and the land dependent upon the houſe, to the heir male, and had nothing to do with Fiefs. It is very certain that there is no mention of Fiefs in that code, and that the title, under which this diſputed paragraph ſtands, has a very different aſpect.

[e] Legg. Sal. tit. lxii. § 1, 2, 3, &c.

[f] Ibid. § 6.

[f] The moſt conſiderable French writers are not agreed about the meaning or authority of this law. Count Boulainvilliers, the greateſt bigot to the Feudal ſyſtem, does not ſcruple to ſay, that, if upon the death of Lewis Hutin, who left only a daughter, the queſtion about the ſucceſſion had been referred to the arbitration of the Peers of France, it would *not* have been decided in favour of the Salic law. Account of parliaments, p. 387. As much as to ſay, that this clauſe was never thought of immediately upon Lewis's death. Pere du Haillan inſinuates, that it was then inſerted, as an artifice of Philip the Long, to exclude his niece from the crown, and juſtify his own claim. But ſuppoſing it genuine, which is not very probable, many of them eſteem it as a forced application, when extended to the crown.

[h] Spirit of laws, Vol. II.

It therefore not the leaſt traces of the Feudal tenures can be found among the moſt ancient German cuſtoms, or primary laws, if they were not known among them till after their firſt ſettlements in the Roman provinces, they were moſt probably found there, and were part of the military regulations upon the frontiers of that empire.

The neceſſity of taking up arms for the ſervice of their country was by no means peculiar to the Feudal ſyſtem. The free men of all ranks among the Saxons [i], and all the allodial eſtates in France [k], before the Feuds had made ſuch a progreſs among them, were ſubject to the ſame ſervice. It was the univerſal practice of antiquity. The Greeks and Romans ſubmitted to it, unleſs their years, infirmities, civil or ſacerdotal employments, gave them a legal exemption. Arms was a neceſſary part of the Roman education. One of their old poets thus repreſents it.

" Expoliunt [l], docent literas, jura, leges.
" Ad legionem quom itant, adminiculum eis danunt
" Tum jam aliquem cognatum ſuum."

Their firſt ſtep was polite learning, which then lay in a very narrow compaſs, the Greek language and their own. The next, and an admirable one it was, acquainted the young Roman gentlemen with the cuſtoms, laws [m],

[i] Wilkins's Legg. Saxon. p. 23. § 54.
[k] Monteſquieu's Spirit of Law, Vol. II. lib. xxx. c. 13.
[l] Plauti Moſtellaria, Act. I. Sc. 2. vel. 45.
[m] " Diſcebamus enim pueri XII, ut carmen neceſſarium." Cic. De legg. lib. II. c. 58. Vid. Dr. Taylor's Elements of civil law, p. 23.

and

and conſtitution of their country. After this, to the army; where they were to be trained under the care and management of one of their mother's relations.

" Sub quo tolerare magiſtro
" Militiam, et grave Martis opus."

Their education was directed to the very ſtations they were to fill in life, to the great objects which were to raiſe their character and their fortune. As ſoldiers, they were furniſhed with military talents, capable of commanding armies, and defending the provinces committed to their charge: As magiſtrates, they were inſtructed in the knowledge of their own laws, formed with proper abilities for preſiding in their tribunals, diſtributing juſtice among the people, and deſerving the love and honour of the provinces, which they were ſent to govern. But arms was an eſſential ſtep to this advancement: Without this they were not qualified for obtaining the principal offices and poſts of honour in the ſtate.

" Unum [n] ubi emeritum eſt ſtipendium, igitur tum
" Specimen cernitur quo eveniat aedificatio."

All their proſpects of future eminence were taken from this ſcaffolding.

To ſupport theſe military expeditions, the Romans, among other reſources, had from the beginning *agri publici vectigales*, the domains of the Roman people, whoſe revenues were paid into the Exchequer for the ſervice of the ſtate. From theſe public appointments they came next to private donations, *agri militibus aſſig-*

[n] Plautus, ut ſupra.

nati;

nati; large diſtricts of land aſſigned to whole corps of veterans, as an honourable diſmiſſion, and reward for their ſervice. The next ſtep brought them to the firſt appearance of the Feuds: *Agri militibus aſſignati, quamdiu militarent.* Cuſtoms formed upon political principles are naturally progreſſive. Of this, the old Fiefs, and our modern Funds, and Exciſe laws are obvious and memorable inſtances.

MR. Selden, who very juſtly aſcribes the increaſe and progreſs of the Feudal ſyſtem to the Goths and Franks, does not ſcruple to impute the original of it to the Romans. I ſhall give his opinion in his own words [*n*]:

"Among the Romans I ſee not any thing ſo near "the juſt nature of Feuds, as thoſe poſſeſſions, which "were given to ſuch as were their *Duces limitanei*, or "Dukes of frontiers in the empire, and to others, that "ſpent their time with them in defence of theſe frontiers, "to be held only under military ſervice. And of thoſe "we find expreſs mention under Alexander Severus. He "(ſaith Lampridius) gave ſuch territories, as were gained "in the frontiers, LIMITANEIS DUCIBUS ET MILITIBUS, *ita ut eorum ita eſſent, ſi haeredes eorum militarent*, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent; dicens, attentius eos militaturos, ſi etiam ſua rura defenderent. c. 58. p. 1024. "Here we ſee that lands were given to be poſſeſſed, to "them and their heirs, under the tenure of military ſervice "to be performed by them. So Probus gave much land in Iſauria to his old ſoldiers, *addens* (as Vopiſcus ſays)

[*n*] Selden's Titles of Honour, Part II. c. I. § 21. p. 273. edit. 2.

"*ut eorum filii ab anno octavo decimo manes duntaxat ad*
"*militiam mitterentur* . . . So to the time of Alexander
"Severus an ORIGINAL or SOME USE of Feuds in the em-
"pire may be well referred."

ALEXANDER's grant has every property which conſtituted the eſſential nature of a Feud. The conditions are a military ſervice: The grant, a conveyance of an eſtate during that ſervice: In failure of it, the lands were no longer the property of the family, but returned to the lord. Theſe tenures aroſe from that very principle, which is allowed on all hands to have produced the riſe, progreſs, and full eſtabliſhment of the Feuds, *rei militaris neceſſitas*. Alexander endeavoured to eaſe his ſubjects by every method, which oeconomy could ſuggeſt, and more than his own prudence ſhould have approved. Theſe military tenures were eſtabliſhed as one of his laſt reſources, as an expedient for paying his armies without any expence to his ſubjects, and ſecuring the frontiers of the empire againſt the Franks and Goths. The very ſame reaſons, which induced Alexander to think of theſe appointments, obliged the Gothic princes to continue them. Such was the ſtate of Europe not long after their firſt ſettlements. Money [*o*] was become very ſcarce, and a ſwarm of barbarous invaders perpetually ſucceeding one another, ſtanding armies were neceſſary in every country: they were

[*o*] Charles the Bald, before his laſt expedition into Italy, about A. D. 875, could not find in the whole extent of his dominions, but 10,000 Marks of ſilver. Boulainvilliers's Account of Parliaments, p. 114. The whole ſum not quite 20,000*l.* Sterling. How he comes to reckon it by Marks, I know not; I ſuppoſe from the authority of a writer that lived ſome time after Charles's reign.

obliged

obliged to live sword in hand. These Feudal appointments were then much the easiest and most obvious way of paying these troops. The Roman empire was shivered into so many petty sovereignties that the greatest part of them was frontier, which these counts and officers were by these tenures obliged to defend. Along with these Feudal institutions came that great contempt of commerce, which was in some measure the cause and effect of these new tenures. The revenues of the Roman empire had suffered much by discouraging trade. It seemed to be a leading principle in their legislation, *indigna* [p] *et pudenda armato nomini negotiatio.*

THE Gothic customs [q], though not exactly the same, had in many instances a near resemblance with the Roman. There is, in the great outlines, in the principal and lending parts, such a similar formation, as if they came from that original. The Gothic titles of nobility, their DUKES and COUNTS, were certainly Roman. To look for the rise of these dignities in Germany is mistaking the fountain of honour, and searching for it in the woods. "The Romans, as Mr. Selden [r] observes, "were no great imitators of foreign nations: They gave "laws and customs, but rarely took any," except from Greece. The Saxons, whose situation was more remote, and intercourse not so frequent with the Roman provinces, copied their principal title of honour from a more

[p] Novellae Theodosii et Valentis, in Appendice Cod. Theodos. p. 20.

[q] Dr. Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 357.

[r] Titles of Honour, Part II. c. i. § 22. p. 273.

ancient dignity in that government. All their chief offices at Rome were from the beginning in the hands of Senators. This was at first their sole nobility; and this was the principal title of honour among the Saxons. The word *Alderman* [*s*] was nothing more than a translation of Senator: This was so obvious, that it did not escape the notice of the Saxon or Norman lawyers, even in that age of darkness, when they knew so little of the Roman antiquities or their own:

"Temporibus [*t*] Romanorum in regno isto Britanniae "vocabantur *Senatores*, qui postea temporibus Saxonum "vocabantur *Aldermanni*."

The Saxon Witenagemot was, like the Roman senate under the emperors, an aristocratical assembly, formed upon that plan which was so well known and had been so uniformly followed for many ages, viz. the property of the persons, and the favour of the prince. The first thing necessary, as appears by the *census senatorius*, or *collatio glebalis* [*u*], was an estate in land sufficient to support that dignity. The next was an office in the goverment, or a particular assignment of a seat in that assembly by the emperor [*w*] himself: This honour was attended with no hereditary claims, and limited by no ex-

[*s*] Titles of Honour, Part II. c. v. § 2. p. 502.

[*t*] Legg. Saxon. p. 204. § 35.

[*u*] Cod. Theodos. lib. VI. tit. ii. The lowest Senatorial census was *Septem solidorum collatio.* If their fortunes would not admit of this payment, they must resign that honour: "Senatoriam dignitatem non requirant." Ibid. t. iv.

[*w*] Cod. Theod. ut supra, t. ii.

clusions

clusions but to persons of lower rank. It lay open to every subject of sufficient property in the empire. How exactly were all these rules and methods observed in the Saxon Witenagemot? A certain estate was the first requisite, and then an employment at court, or a particular summons to that assembly by the prince: The estate was at first five hides [x] of land; afterwards, as is evident from Domes-day book, it must be above six [y]. After this, every person in the kingdom was capable of being admitted to this important office. For one of the Saxon laws says, "Si colonus [z] tamen sit, qui habet pleniter quinque "hidas de *sua propria terra*, ecclesiam et coquinam, cam-"panariam et atrii portam, *sedem et officium proprium* "*in aula regis*, ille in posterum sit jure Thani dignus."

[x] Legg. Saxon. p. 70. [y] Gale's XV Scriptores, p. 714. 716.

[z] Legg. Sax. p. 70. et Textus Roff. p. 46. Mr. Selden's translation, ubi supra, § 4. of this very remarkable law is not so accurate as might have been expected from a person of his great abilities. It is this: "If a Churl so "thrived, that he had fully five hides of his own land, a church, a kitchin, "a bell-house, a borough-gate with a seat, and any distinct office in the "king's court, then was he thenceforth of equal honour and dignity with "a Thane." The last members of this sentence are divided very differently in the original. There the seat belongs to the king's hall, and not to the court-gate. And so it stands in the Textus Roffensis, which is as old as the Norman times; "*Ecclesiam propriam*, et clocariam, et coquinam, et portam, "sedem et privatum profectum in aula regis." p. 46. The two last qualifications are thrown together, and belong to the same thing. Whether the court-gate had a seat in it, or not, was surely not worth mentioning. Mr. Selden observes further upon this law, that he cannot understand the v hides here mentioned, but as so much land held of the king by some military attendance; because another of Athelstan's laws, says, v *hidas ad utwaram regis*. But there is no appearance that the Feudal tenures had made such a progress in England at that time. All the proprietors of Allodial estates were obliged to take arms in defence of their country. This was

If there was no other evidence, it follows from the very nature of this law, that the Commons, as ſuch, had no ſhare in the Saxon legiſlature. The firſt clauſes of it ſhew the ſtate and figure of their nobility in thoſe ruder ages; that there was a ſort of inelegant hoſpitality, an appearance of rank and eminence, even in their country ſeats. The next inform us, that perſons of a lower claſs might become members of their Witenagemots, by improving their eſtates, and acquiring by their perſonal qualifications the favour of the prince. When we are ſearching into ruins, every fragment, which contains an intire ſentence, demands, and may deſerve, our attention. It may preſerve a name, a cuſtom, an office not known, or not ſo well underſtood as before. This ſeems to be the caſe in this fragment of a law. The Saxon eſtates being moſt of them intirely allodial, grants, purchaſes, teſtamentary donations, the marrying of heireſſes, the emoluments of public offices, the oeconomy of one proprietor, and the profuſion of another, muſt often make great and frequent revolutions in the landed property of the nation. All the freemen of inferior eſtates, from a Churl to a Thane, muſt by this means ſometimes acquire ſuch a property as would qualify them for their great councils. But how was this dignity to be obtained? It could not poſſibly in

a part of the *Trinoda neceſſitas*, from which there was no exemption. Here again the old verſion in the Textus Roffenſis clears up this point intirely. "Si colonus ita creviſſet, ut pleniter haberet v hidas de ſuo PROPRIO "ALLODIO," &c. It makes the whole ESTATE ALLODIAL; Dr. Wilkins follows Mr. Selden implicitly in dividing this paragraph, only he leaves outthe material word agener in his tranſlation.

theſe

theſe inſtances be hereditary: Nor was it Feudal; there were few, if any, ſuch tenures in England during the Saxon government: There was no pretence to claim this privilege, no attendance due for ſuch poſſeſſions. The temple of honour was indeed always open; their eſtates made them capable of acceſs to it; but there was no way of admiſſion without a royal appointment [*a*]. To compleat this title, to give the rank and dignity of a ſenator, *a ſeat and particular office at court* were neceſſary; and who could confer thoſe honours but the king? Thoſe concluding and important expreſſions, ret J rundennote in Lyngep healle, ſeem to have no meaning in any other view.

THAT this was the real prerogative of the Saxon princes appears by ſeveral other paſſages in their laws. In the *judicia civitatis Lundoniae* [*b*], the great councils in Athelſtan's reign are reckoned up in this order; firſt, that held at Greatanlea, another at Exeter, then one at Feverſham, and a fourth at Thunresfield, *coram archiepiſcopis, epiſco-*

[*a*] This is univerſally allowed with regard to Earls. Before patents were introduced, no tenure, no number of Knight's fees confer'd this honour without a creation, or appointment by the king. In Hen. I. time when the Feudal honours were in full obſervance, John de port had LVII. knights fees, and Walter de Wahal XXX, yet neither of them were Earls. Titles of Hon. Part II. c. v. § 26. The caſe was much the ſame with regard to Barons. For though the Conqueror introduced new tenures, yet his Barons were only thoſe gentlemen, whom he called upon to do homage, and hold their eſtates *per baroniam*, in which no certain number of Knight's fees was included. For ſometimes greater Feudal ſervices were annexed to eſtates of leſs value.

[*b*] Legg. Saxon. p. 69.

piſ,

pis, *et* ſapientibus ſuis, *quos rex ipſe* nominabat; or, as in the original, ÞE ÞE LYNG NAMODE. And ſo again, in the ſame account, *juxta regis* verbum, ÞEÞ LYNGEÞ ÞOÞDE.

THUS, at the concluſion of the council at Greatanlea [*c*]:

"Hoc conſtitutum erat in magna ſynodo Greatanlea-
"genſi, in quâ erat archiepiſcopus Wulſtanus cum om-
"nibus nobilibus et ſapientibus, quos Athelſtanus rex
"congregaverat."

ALL theſe ſeveral expreſſions can imply nothing leſs than a *naming*, a ſummons at the diſcretionary power of the king, to ſuch perſons, as were qualified according to law. This employment at court and a ſeat in that aſſembly gave them the honour of being LYNGEÞ ÞEGENEÞ, and, as Mr. Selden [*d*] has obſerved, in the room of this dignity, the title of Baron ſucceeded. It was that ÞURÞEN CYÞÞE [*e*] *ulterior regis notitia*, or *ad regem relatio* mentioned in Canute's laws, by which they were conſidered, as perſons of ſuperior rank, and paid greater Heriots. The Saxon practice ſeems to be the very ſame with that which took place in England, when the Feudal claims to a ſeat in Parliament were, by the mutual conſent of the king and peers, ſo unanimouſly relinquiſhed. When the crown called up Barons by writ, a ſummons [*f*], and, no doubt, a competent eſtate were eſſential to this honour, which was continued in the family, or intermitted, at

[*c*] Legg. Sax. p. 61. [*d*] Ubi ſupr. § 16. p. 567. [*e*] Legg. Sax. p. 144.
[*f*] "Omnes illi comites et barones regni Angliae, quibus ipſe rex dig-
"natus eſt brevia ſummonitionis dirigere, venirent ad parlamentum ſuum,
"et non alii." Camden, ex ſcriptore ſatis antiquo, p. 122. edit. 1607.

the

the king's pleaſure. Was there any ſort of difference between this and the old Saxon conſtitution? It is almoſt inconceivable, that this prerogative ſhould be ſo ſilently and univerſally admitted, that the ſummons to all the Barons *ſingly and by letter*, as ſtipulated in the ſeventeenth article of king John's Magna charta, ſhould be intirely dropped, and a new method of proceeding introduced, if it had not been the ancient and approved cuſtom of this kingdom before the Conqueſt. It was in all probability nothing more than the old practice of the Saxon princes revived; their Parliament conſiſting of perſons duly qualifyed by their property, and called up at the will and pleaſure of the prince. The crown and kingdom both had a real intereſt in this prerogative. It ſerved to balance the overgrown power of ſuch Aldermen and Thanes, as were moſt capable of raiſing diſturbances. It augmented the revenue; their Heriots were enlarged upon their admiſſion to any office under the crown: It encouraged and rewarded induſtry and merit, made the Commons, who had improved their eſtates and were diſtinguiſhed by their abilities, capable of the ſame privileges as the ancient Thanes.

BUT beſides this method of admiſſion into the Saxon Witenagemots, there was *one* or *two* more, which ſeem to have a more immediate relation to the intereſt of the Commons. One of Athelſtan's laws [*f*] ſays, "That a mer-"chant, who had freighted veſſels at his own expence, "and exported the produce of this country, in *three Je-*

[*f*] ꝛe þæꝛ þonne ꝛÿ ððan þegen þihteꝛ peoꝛðe. Legg. Saxon. p. 71.

veral voyages was *jure* THAINI *dignus.* What were the principal rights and privileges of a Thane, but a ſeat in their Witenagemot? He was by this means qualifyed for it, might receive a ſummons from the prince; and, no doubt, in all queſtions relating to commerce, his advice muſt be of ſpecial weight and ſervice in that aſſembly.

THE old treatiſe *De modo tenendi parliamentum* furniſhes us with another inſtance. Some of the principal members of the Cinque ports were, like theſe greater merchants, honoured with a ſeat in Parliament along with the members of the landed intereſt. The Saxon princes, perpetually harraſſed and diſtreſſed with the Daniſh invaſions, were effectually convinced that the maritime power of this kingdom was its chief and natural ſecurity. To have a conſiderable fleet always in readineſs was the moſt obvious expedient, and the beſt proviſion they could make againſt ſuch invaders: But how was this to be done without the aſſiſtance of the Cinque ports? Their importance was owing to their expedition in raiſing ſuch armaments, and their ſummons to Parliament was but the natural conſequence of this importance. We have ſufficient traces and marks of this privilege in that old treatiſe. The writer gives us the uſual proceſs in calling a Parliament; firſt, that the Peers had a perſonal ſummons [*g*]; ſecondly, that a writ was ſent to the Warden of the Cinque ports to cauſe their Barons to attend; and then another to the Sheriff of every county for the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes to be

[*g*] Manner of holding Parliaments, p. 4, 9.

choſen,

choſen, as directed by that precept. When the Parliament met, the manner of calling the members over was the ſame as the Peers now uſe in voting, or in their proceſſions at a coronation. They began with the youngeſt or loweſt order. The firſt day, the Burgeſſes and Citizens were called: The ſecond [*b*], the Knights only: The third day, the Barons [*i*] of the Cinque ports, and all the Peers. Here it is evident that the Barons of the Cinque Ports were looked upon as a different body from the Citizens and Burgeſſes; that, by their manner

[*b*] In all the Engliſh editions of this old treatiſe, which I have met with, this clauſe is intirely omitted. Upon what motive I cannot ſay; unleſs it was, that the Knights ſhould not appear to have an ancienter place or higher rank in that aſſembly, than the Citizens and Burgeſſes had. But whatever was the cauſe, this article is in ſeveral Mſſ. of this treatiſe in the Muſeum Brit.

[*i*] Ibid. p. 10. The Cinque Ports, in conſideration of their maritime ſervices, were in the Saxon times diſcharged from all other aids and ſubſidies whatſoever. Lambard's Peramb. of Kent, p. 115. The Roman ports mentioned in the Notitia, *ſub diſpoſitione comitis littoris Saxonici*, were nine. Othona, plim *Ithanceſter*, not far from Maldon in Eſſex, now overflowed by the ſea; Dubris, *Dover*; Lemanis, *Lime* in Kent; Branodunum, *Brancaſter* in Norfolk; Gariannonum, *Yarmouth* in Suffolk, or Burgh-caſtle near it; Regulbium, *Reculver*; Rutupis, *Richborough* in Kent; Anderida, *Haſtings*; Portus Adurni, *Shoreham* in Suſſex. The names of the ports upon the South coaſt from Anderida to Dover ſtand thus in the Ravenna Geographer; and though the book itſelf is very corrupt, the work of a barbarous age, yet it ſeems to place them in their proper order. Anderetio, *i. e.* Anderida, *Haſtings*; Miba, *Rye*; Mutuantonis, *Romney*; Lemanis, *Lime*; Dubris, *Dover*. Winchelſea is omitted, as not then in the number of the Cinque ports, or perhaps not diſtinguiſhed from Rye. Mr. Somner was long ago perſuaded, that Anderida muſt be *Haſtings*: Every circumſtance relating to it favours this conjecture. It appears from Huntingdon, that it was in the Eaſt of Suſſex, its Saxon name Þaſtingaceaſtep ſhews that it was a Roman port; and if it was, it muſt be their Anderida. It had the privilege of a mint in Athelſtan's time, is always named as the firſt of the Cinque ports, even before Dover, and,

of being called over, they had then the precedence of the Knights. This had never been the caſe, unleſs the members of the Cinque ports had been a part of the Parliament, before the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, had a place in it. Nothing elſe could have entitled them to this privilege. But this accounts for their whole appearance, their retaining the old appellation, being called the BARONS [k] of the Cinque ports; their walking at the coronation, and ſupporting the royal canopies there, where (except ſome of the King's more immediate domeſtics) none under the rank of Barons make a part of the proceſſion. Aſſiſting in the national councils, before the lower houſe was in being, was the ground of all theſe honours and diſtinctions; and ſhews the regard which the Saxon princes had to the natural intereſt of their country. For the moſt rational concluſion, which can be drawn from the dark remains of that age, is this, that the Saxon Witenagemot conſiſted of thoſe members, whoſe LARGE POSSESSIONS, MARITIME CONNEXIONS, OR COMMERCIAL INFLUENCE, recommended them as fit perſons to be called up by a royal ſummons, and inveſted with the legiſlative authority of the kingdom.

as ſuch, is diſtinguiſhed with ſuperior privileges at the coronation. If Mr. Baxter's etymology of Anderida is right, *au den rid*, the town between the two fords, or little ſtreams, though he places it at Chicheſter, this determines its ſituation to Haſtings.

[k] Mr. Selden obſerves, that the Barons of the Exchequer were ſo called, becauſe they were anciently made of ſuch as were Barons of the kingdom, or Parliamentary Barons. Titles of Honour, Part II. c. v. § 16. p. 570. No better reaſon can be given for calling the members of the Cinque ports Barons, than ſitting anciently with the Barons in Parliament.

SUCH

SUCH was the Saxon conſtitution; and this all the intereſt, which the Commons had in thoſe ancient Parliaments. No delegated repreſentation, and certainly no appearance of the whole community, was ſo much as thought of. Their weight and influence in theſe aſſemblies was owing to their Feudal eſtabliſhments; and their appearance there, as a repreſentative body, came on occaſionally, and by degrees.

BUT however this may be, to admit that levelling principle, that a Thane was not a title of honour, is directly contrary to all the records and monuments of that age. The word appears to have been uſed from the beginning of the Saxon government, as an honorary appellation. When Wulfhere, [*l*] king of Mercia, endowed and conſecrated the monaſtery of Peterborough, he aſſembled all his Thanes, þægnaſ, as ſubſcribers to the grant; or, as the chronicle ſays in other words, *omnes optimates regni*. The name continued in uſe at court among all the Norman princes. The Conqueror, in a grant of privileges to the church of Canterbury [*m*], directs it to all his Biſhops, Earls, and *Thanes*, or, in the language of the charter, ealle mine þegnaſ Fꝛencyꝛce ⁊ Engliſce. Henry I, in a donation [*n*] of the ſame kind, greets all his Biſhops, Earls, and *Thanes*. When theſe grants were in Latin, the form was, *omnibus Epiſcopis, Comitibus, et Baronibus meis*, which ſhews that Barons and Thanes were in the

[*l*] Chron. Saxon. p. 34, 35.
[*m*] Hickes's General preface to his Theſaurus, p. xv, xvi.
[*n*] Ibid. et Somner's Gavelkind, p. 205.

language

language of that age the ſame perſons, and that theſe terms were honorary titles. The word witenagemot implies an aſſembly of the nobles, as much as *Senatus* did at Rome. Aelfric, one of the Saxon archbiſhops, who muſt certainly underſtand their conſtitution, tranſlates [*n*] Thane, *Satrapa*: What was this but ſaying, that they were perſons of ſuperior rank, the nobility of the country?

As all my buſineſs with the Saxon Witenagemot was only to ſhew, that the original manner of forming it had a near reſemblance to the Roman Senate, I had cloſed the account here, if a late very worthy prelate had not placed this queſtion in a very different light. His opinion was, *that, during the Saxon conſtitution, the Commons had always a ſhare in the legiſlative authority* [*o*]. This had been often ſaid before; but as his Lordſhip has revived this controverſy in a train of diſcourſes [*p*] written to do honour to the liberties of his country, I think it neceſſary to examine what he has advanced with a particular attention. He begins with obſerving [*q*], "that it was but natural "to ſuppoſe this, conſidering the free-born ſpirit of the

[*n*] Gloſſar. ad finem Lexici Saxon. per Somner.

[*o*] The learned author of the Obſervations on the Statutes, ſo well acquainted with our old conſtitution, is of a very different opinion: "I will only "ſay, that no one can read the old hiſtorians and chronicles, who will obſerve "the leaſt alluſion of it [*i. e.* of the Commons making a part of the Saxon "Parliament], if he does not ſit down to the peruſal with an intention of "proving that they formed a component part. It is an indiſputable proof "that Feudal tenures were not known to the Saxons, by their having no "terms for ſuch tenures; and it is as ſtrong a proof, that there is no direct "mention of the intervention of the Commons by the old hiſtorians." ed. 2. p. 59.

[*p*] Ellys, Spiritual and temporal liberty of the ſubjects in England.

[*q*] Ibid. p. 187. ed. 1765.

"Saxons,

"Saxons, and the practice of thoſe people from whom "they were deſcended." But whatever ſpirit they were of, we know nothing of their civil polity, before they came into England. And even here, where many authentic remains of the Saxon conſtitution are preſerved; his Lordſhip ſets out with a remarkable diffidence of thoſe very authorities he is going to produce. He declares [q]; that he "will not promiſe that all of them are genuine; "that is to ſay, made at the very time, and by thoſe "perſons, to whom they are aſcribed." This was cautious and right: but, however, ſince no better are to be had, let us take them as they are, in the order they are given; and allow them all the credit they can poſſibly deſerve.

THEY are properly divided into two claſſes: Firſt, ſuch evidences as relate immediately to the Saxon conſtitution; ſecondly, ſuch as are taken from facts and incidents that aroſe long after the Saxon times: But as theſe cannot by any implication be extended further than the Norman Parliaments, I ſhall allow their full force, and have no controverſy about them.

THE firſt evidence, which is produced, to prove that the Commons were a part of the Saxon legiſlature, is the authority of a general council, ſuppoſed to be holden by Ina, king of the Weſt-Saxons, about A. D. 712. His Lordſhip gives it, as he finds it in Spelman [r], in theſe words: "Hoc factum fuit per commune concilium et aſſen- "ſum omnium epiſcoporum, et principum, procerum,

[q] Ellys, ut ſupra, p. 189.

[r] Spelmanni Concil. p. 74. ed. Wilkins. Ellys, ut ſupra, p. 189.

"comitum,

" comitum, et omnium ſapientum, ſeniorum, et POPULO-
" RUM totius regni; et per mandatum regis Inae."

To ſupport this evidence, he refers us to Bede [s], the moſt reſpectable hiſtorian of that age, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. I. as if we read there, that the great league of union between Britons, Saxons, and Picts, was concluded in this manner:

" Per commune concilium et aſſenſum omnium epiſco-
" porum, procerum, comitum, et omnium ſapientum, ſe-
" niorum, et POPULORUM totius regni."

Mr. Petyt [t] had ſaid this long ago; but I did not expect that his Lordſhip ſhould follow ſo implicitly in the ſame track, and ſet out with an evidence, which has not the leaſt ſhadow of truth. For I may venture to ſay, that there is no ſuch paſſage in the firſt book of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, nor in any other part of that work. This council, if ever it was held, muſt be held long before his death: An aſſembly ſo important, ſo univerſal as this is ſaid to have been, could not poſſibly eſcape the notice of a perſon, who gave ſo much attention to the hiſtory of his country; nor be paſſed over in profound ſilence by all the ſubſequent hiſtorians. What authority therefore have we for the fact? It reſts ſolely upon the authority of that inconſiſtent and interpolated compilation, called Edward the Confeſſor's laws [u]. The whole paſſage is too ridiculous to be inſerted any where but in

[s] Ellys, ut ſupra, p. 190.
[t] Preface to The ancient rights of the Commons aſſerted, p. 8.
[u] Legg. Saxon. p. 206.

a popiſh

a popiſh legend. Whoever reads the introduction only, "that Ina was elected king by an angel; that he mar-"ried Guala, who brought him all Wales as an inheri-"tance to be annexed to his crown for ever;" muſt be ſatisfied that ſuch an idle ſtory needs no other refutation. Sir Henry Spelman, who thought it his buſineſs to ſweep all before him, whether good or bad, has given this imaginary council a place in his collection; though, by his hiſtorical notes upon it, he certainly thought it deſerved no credit.

WE come next to the council of Cealcythe, where two Italian biſhops, legates from pope Hadrian I, preſided. This was the firſt inſtance of Legantine power in England. They came hither under the ſpecious pretence of enquiring into the ſtate of the Saxon church; but their chief buſineſs was to leſſen the province of Canterbury, and erect another archiepiſcopal ſee at Litchfield, in favour of Offa king of Mercia, who then profeſſed the higheſt veneration for the ſee of Rome. The legates, to diſguiſe their deſign, convened two ſynods; the firſt, at a place appointed by Aelfwold [*w*] king of Northumberland, where one of them only attended, *ad quem convenerunt omnes principes regionis, tam eccleſiaſtici, quam ſeculares.* When the council was aſſembled, the legate ordered the canons, already drawn up, to be read over, which were immediately aſſented to by the whole aſſembly. For thus the legates inform the Pope in the letter quoted by his Lordſhip:

[*w*] Spelmanni Concil. p. 146. about A. D. 785.

" Haec decreta [x], beatiſſime Papa Hadriane, in con-
" cilio publico coram rege Aelfwaldo, et archiepiſcopo
" Eanbaldo, et omnibus epiſcopis et abbatibus regionis,
" ſeu ſenatoribus et ducibus, et POPULO terrae propoſui-
" mus; et illi, ut ſuperius fati ſumus, cum omni devo-
" tione mentis juxta poſſibilitatem virium ſuarum, adju-
" vante ſuperna clementia, ſe in omnibus cuſtodire decre-
" verunt."

WHEN this was over, both the legates brought the ſame decrees to Cealchythe [y] in Mercia, *ubi glorioſus rex Offa cum ſenatoribus* [z] *terrae, una cum archiepiſcopo et caeteris epiſcopis regionis convenerant.*

HERE we have not a word ſaid of the people, though, no doubt, multitudes attended: The aſſembly which was ſummoned were all nobles, and all the ſubſcribers in both theſe councils of the ſame rank, *optimates et nobiles con-*

[x] Spelmann. ibid. p. 151. Ellys, ut ſupra, p. 190.

[y] It has been ſome queſtion where Cealchythe was: The Monk of St. Alban's, who wrote Offa's life, ſays it was in Mercia. I ſee no reaſon to queſtion his authority. Nor is it credible that Offa, the moſt conſiderable prince of the whole heptarchy, ſhould aſſemble this council, which met purely to ſerve his purpoſes, out of his own dominions. Biſhop Gibſon has obſerved, in his Index locorum to the Saxon chronicle, that there is a town in Lancaſhire, on the borders of Cheſhire, called Kelcheth. Mr. Johnſon, in his Engliſh collection of Saxon laws, approves of this conjecture, concludes that this was then part of Offa's dominions: He met the legate upon the frontiers of the kingdom of Northumberland, and was vain and oſtentatious enough to ſhew both the legates, that his kingdom extended almoſt from one ſea to the other. The buſineſs did not paſs ſo ſmoothly here as in the kingdom of Northumberland: Depriving the archbiſhop of Canterbury of great part of his provincial juriſdiction met with difficulties, and hence this council was ſtyled *Synodus litigioſa*. Chron. Sax. p. 63.

[z] Spelman. ut ſupra, p. 151.

ſentimus.

ſentimus. And is there any thing, in this whole relation, that has the leaſt tendency to determine ſuch an important point as the legiſlative authority of the Commons? Would they have been diſtinguiſhed with ſuch a privilege under a papal juriſdiction, when the aſſembly was properly ſynodical, and all the articles of an eccleſiaſtical nature? They had no other ſhare in this whole affair, than what might well be expected in a Legantine council, nothing more than an abſolute promiſe of an implicit obedience.

FROM Offa we come to Aethelwulph, to his general grant of tythes [*a*] made at Wincheſter about A. D. 855. There are four copies now remaining, which ſeem to have been tranſcribed from the original grant, and Spelman has given them all. His Lordſhip has only mentioned a ſmall part of one, the concluſion of Ingulphus's; which had ſome appearance of favouring his opinion. I ſhall exhibit them all, ſo far at leaſt as they relate to the perſons whoſe advice or conſent was given upon this occaſion. I ſhall begin with the enacting clauſe in Ingulphus's copy.

"Ego Ethelwulphus [*b*] rex Weſt-Saxonum cum con-
"ſilio *epiſcoporum et principum* meorum ..... con-
"ſenſimus, ut aliquam portionem, &c. ..... donari
"ſanctae eccleſiae dijudicavi."

[*a*] Spelman. ibid. p. 183. et ſeq. Florentius Wigorn. ad A. D. 855. mentions the fact only, without quoting the original.

[*b*] Ingulphus apud Scriptores poſt Bedam, p. 862.

THE preamble mentions the nobles only, but the concluſion is thus:

"Acta ſunt hæc . . . . . praeſentibus [et ſubſcribenti-
"bus (*c*)] archiepiſcopis et epiſcopis Angliae univerſis,
"necnon Beorredo rege Merciae, et Edmundo Eſtanglo-
"rum rege, abbatum et abatiſſarum, ducum, comitum,
"procerumque totius terrae, aliorumque *fidelium* infinita
"multitudine, qui omnes regium chirographum lauda-
"verunt; dignitates vero ſua nomina ſubſcripſerunt."

IT is plain that this laſt clauſe was no part of the grant, but an account annexed by the hiſtorian; and even here not a word ſaid which makes the Commons legiſlators. That *infinita multitudo* FIDELIUM, that numberleſs appearance of good chriſtians, could not be all ſenators. They were moſt probably of both ſexes; whatever was the privilege here intended, the ladies are equally entitled to it; for the abbeſſes are expreſly mentioned.

THE next account is Malmeſbury's [*d*]:

"Ego Ethelulphus rex occidentalium Saxonum cum
"conſilio *epiſcoporum* ac *principum meorum* . . . . . .
"affirmavi, ut aliquam portionem terrarum . . . . . .
"in libertatem perpetuam perdonari dijudicavi."

Then follow the eccleſiaſtical offices to be performed upon this account; viz. that the Monks and Nuns ſhould chant every Wedneſday in the year fifty pſalms, and every prieſt ſay two maſſes, "unam pro rege Ethelwlpho, et
"aliam pro ducibus ejus huic dono conſentientibus."

[*c*] His Lordſhip omits *ſubſcribentibus*.
[*d*] Malmeſbury, De geſtis reg. in Script. poſt Bedam, p. 22.

MR.

MR. Selden has given us another copy of this grant, tranſcribed from one of the chartularies in the Cotton library, that belonged to the abby of Abingdon, in this form: "Ego Ethelulph [*e*] cum epiſcopis, comitibus, et cunc-"tis optimatibus conſilium perfeci, ut decimam partem ... "darem;" and concludes, without mentioning the conditions, with the conſent of the nobles who attended; "Placuit autem Aelhſtano epiſcopo, Swithuno epiſcopo, "... et ducibus communiter," who ſubſcribed the grant.

THE laſt copy is Matthew of Weſtminſter's:

"Ego Aethelulphus [*f*] .... cum conſilio epiſco-"porum ac principum meorum .... affirmavi, ut ali-"quam portionem terrae .... poſſidendam concedam."

Then follows, as in Malmſbury, the ſervices to be performed, the chants, and maſſes, "unam pro rege, et "aliam pro ducibus ejus huic dono conſentientibus."

THIS is a fair view of the whole; and it is ſurpriſing that his Lordſhip ſhould appeal to an authority, which makes ſo manifeſtly againſt him. The uſe which he made of it was inconſiderable: He concluded nothing more from this account, than that *the people gave their conſent* [*g*], *if not by their ſubſcriptions, yet by their acclamations*, i. e. if not by voting in the aſſembly, yet by their loud applauſes out of it. This indeed is a privilege, of which they have never been deprived by the moſt arbitrary princes, and ſuch, as muſt for ever, upon all proper occaſions, be freely and indiſputably enjoyed. But

[*e*] Selden's Hiſt. of Tythes, ed. Wilkins, col. 1184.
[*f*] Matthaeus Weſtmon. p. 158.
[*g*] Ellys, ut ſupra, p. 190.

whoever

whoever impartially conſiders theſe charters, muſt conclude, that they are a clear and deciſive evidence againſt the legiſlative authority of the Commons. For though there is ſome little difference in the language of the enacting clauſes, yet the meaning of all theſe expreſſions is exactly the ſame: The Nobles only were the perſons, whoſe conſent was required in granting or confirming this donation. They were, in the language of theſe charters, *epiſcopi, principes, duces, comites, et optimates regni.*

WE come now to more intereſting, and, as his Lordſhip apprehends, more authentic authorities. He ſays, "that "beſides theſe charters, there are extant one or two pieces, "which appear to belong to the Saxon times, and which "indeed have ſo great marks of genuineneſs, that I can-"not but lay a good deal of ſtreſs upon them."

ONE is a letter or addreſs ſent from the council [*b*] of Feverſham to king Athelſtan. I ſhall not think it neceſſary to tranſcribe the whole; but ſo much only as ſhews with what view it was ſent, and by what authority. It begins thus:

"Kariſſime, Epiſcopi tui de Kent et omnis Kentweire, "Thayni, Comites, et *Villani* tibi domino dilectiſſimo "ſuo gratias agunt, quod nobis de pace noſtra praeci-"pere voluiſti, et de commodo noſtro perquirere . . . . "Et hoc incepimus, quanta diligentia potuimus, conſilio "horum ſapientum, quos ad nos miſiſti . . . . . Primum "eſt de noſtra decima, ad quam valde cupidi ſumus, et "voluntarii, et ſupplices gratias agimus admonitionis

[*b*] Ellys, p. 191. et Brompton, Chron. inter Decem ſcriptores, p. 850.

"tuae

" tuae . . . . . Secundum eſt, de pace noſtra, quam " omnis populus teneri deſiderat, ſicut apud Greateleyam " *Sapientes* tui poſuerunt, et ſicut etiam nunc dictum " eſt in concilio apud Faefreſham." . . . . . .

His Lordſhip's concluſions from this letter are, " That " as theſe regulations for the preſerving peace were made " by the conſent of the Villani [*i*], as well as the Thaines " and Comites, this could never have been, unleſs the " *Villani* had ſome ſhare in the legiſlature, as well as the " Thaines and Comites."

SURELY this is concluding from the ſlighteſt ſurmiſes imaginable. The true ſtate of the caſe is only this. The laws, which were paſſed by Athelſtan in a great council held at Greatanlea, and then at Exeter, were ſent down to Feverſham by commiſſioners from the king, who was not there in perſon, and were very dutifully received by that aſſembly. When the council was over, the nobles and others, who attended there in great numbers, joined in this addreſs to the king, to thank him for his princely regard to their welfare, to aſſure him, that they would effectually put the laws in execution, and deſire that, whatever more was neceſſary, he would direct the proper meaſures for that purpoſe, " hoc emen- " dare [*k*] habeas juxta velle tuum; et nos devota mente " parati ſumus ad omnia, quae nobis praecipere velis, " quae unquam aliquatenus implere valeamus."

[*i*] Ellys, p. 192. [*k*] Ellys, ibid. et Brompton, ut ſupra. Hence it appears that the Saxon Parliaments were often provincial, as they now are in France, and that the regulations made in one province were tranſmitted to others for their approbation, if the national intereſt was concerned.

THIS

THIS very dutiful and loyal addreſs, with a promiſe of putting the laws in execution, is ſurely no argument for the legiſlative power of the whole aſſembly. All the men of Kent, *omnis Kentweire*, could not poſſibly be members of Parliament. In what place could they aſſemble, and by what authority? But, of all this aſſembly, ſurely the *Villani* could have no title to this privilege. For, if we may truſt the greateſt oracles in the law, the *Villani* were ſo far from being legiſlators, that they were little better than ſlaves [*l*], had no right to enjoy the common liberties of their country.

THE preface to the *Judicia civitatis Lundoniae* [*m*] is produced as another evidence. It runs thus:

" Hoc eſt concilium quod Epiſcopi, et Praefecti, qui " ad curiam Londinenſem pertinebant, edixerunt, et jura- " mentis confirmaverunt *in noſtro fridgildo*, tam comites, " quam coloni, æġðer ġe eorlisce, ġe ceorlisce.

THERE is indeed a great affinity between this ordinance, and the former addreſs. It conſiſts of reſolutions and regulations for preſerving the peace: It was a voluntary

[*l*] Vid. Coke's firſt Inſtitute, cap. *Villenage*. But I muſt do the authors of this letter the juſtice to ſay, that I believe the Villani, properly ſo called, were never mentioned in it. The original was moſt probably Saxon, and the word tranſlated Villani, *Ceorls*, i. e. the whole claſs of Freeholders inferior to Thanes. Theſe were a very different ſet of people from the Villani, and much ſuperior to them. But as the Norman Conqueror had divided the Commons of England into two claſſes, the Military, and the Burgage or Socage tenants; theſe laſt were then looked upon in a very low light; and the word Villanus, introduced by the Normans, was by this means applied to the Saxon *Ceorl*, which meant a very different thing: The Saxons uſing ceorl for perſons of an ignoble, but not a ſervile condition.

[*m*] Ellys, p. 192. Legg. Saxon. p. 65.

aſſoci-

aſſociation for that purpoſe made in their free gild, ꝼꝛẏðgilðum. The very expreſſion ſhews that it was not a Great council, but a Gild, or court of judicature for that diſtrict. There, as the uſual place for theſe aſſemblies, they came to a reſolution for putting the laws in execution, for enforcing the penalties againſt thieves and robbers, and bringing them to juſtice; and conſequently the Ceorls, as well as the Earls or Aldermen, were very proper aſſociates upon ſuch an occaſion.

BUT to anſwer his Lordſhip's views, and diſcover who were veſted [*n*] with the legiſlative authority among the Saxons, the proper appeal had been, not to ſuch prefaces as theſe, but to the preambles of the laws themſelves, to the enacting clauſes in all the Great councils and Witenagemots, which are preſerved. There we might expect ſome light in this queſtion, and there we find it. Is there any ſurer way of knowing the legiſlature of this kingdom than by reading the preambles to our laws? *Be it enacted, by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by the advice and with the conſent of the Lords Spiritual and*

[*n*] See the preambles to all the Saxon laws. His Lordſhip, to omit nothing which had the leaſt appearance of being in his favour, appeals to the article *De apibus* in that trifling compilation called Edward the Confeſſor's Laws; where it is ſaid, "Haec conceſſa ſunt a Rege, Baronibus, et "*Populo.*" But if the Commons (as appears already) were never conſidered as legiſlators in the General grant of Tythes, it would be ridiculous to think they were called up to give their conſent upon ſo inconſiderable an affair as Tythe-honey, or that ſuch a particular and ſeparate donation was ever made. But theſe very laws, in almoſt the only article which alludes to the Saxon conſtitution, give us a very different view of it; "Rex debet "omnia rite facere per judicium PROCERUM regni." Legg. Saxon. p. 200.

Temporal, and of the Commons in Parliament aſſembled. Thus in the prefaces to the Saxon laws, before and after the Heptarchy, we have the ſame information, only with a little more variety of expreſſion. There we find that the laws were made and confirmed by the Saxon kings, by the advice, inſtruction, aſſiſtance, conſent, &c. of the *Biſhops*, *Aldermen*, *Wites* [*n*], *Elders*, *Nobles*, *Principal ſenators*, and *Great men*. Though the language is not uniform, it is full as expreſſive. The legiſlators were all of them men of ſuperior rank and dignity in the ſtate: Not a word of the Commons in any of theſe preambles; nothing that, by any implication, aſſigns them a part of the legiſlative authority among the Saxons. The author of *A diſcourſe about the riſe and power of Parliaments* [*o*], written at a time when their privileges were very warmly debated within and without doors, and by a perſon much attached to the rights of the Commons, very fairly confeſſed, that "whether the Commons (among the Saxons) were called

[*n*] The language of the titles of honour in that age is remarkable. The Saxons called the members of their Witenagemots, *Wites:* The aſſembly had its name from this very appellation. The Welſh called the aſſeſſors in their national councils, *Doethion*; both words exactly of the ſame import, *Sapientes*. This ſhews, that the advantages of a liberal education were then confined to perſons of rank and fortune; that all the little learning of that age was (excepting a few Eccleſiaſtics) in their hands. And from the ſame ſort of evidence, and the number of churches then built, we may conclude, that the nobility were at that time as much diſtinguiſhed by their religion as their knowledge; for Thanes, Twelf-hind-men, and Huſlgengan, *i. e.* goers to the Sacrament, were uſed as ſynonymous terms in the Saxon laws. The members of the Welſh Parliaments were ſummoned in the ſame manner as the Saxon, at the will of the prince.

[*o*] A diſcourſe of the riſe and power of Parliaments, printed 1677.

"to

"to this great aſſembly or no, I cannot find from the "imperfect regiſter of thoſe elder times . . . . . There "are ſufficient proofs, that the peers, *i. e.* the chief "of the clergy, and beſt eſtabliſhed gentry, were, as "often as the king pleaſed (for it was originally *edicto* "*principis*) ſummoned to conſult with him of the great "affairs of ſtate: Which council was, before the Con-"queror's time, called by ſeveral names . . . . and com-"poſed *ex epiſcopis, abbatibus, ducibus, ſatrapis, et ſapi-"entibus regni.*" Such were the ſentiments of this author; and what is here advanced may be ſupported with ſuch unqueſtionable authorities, that there is no great difficulty in eſtabliſhing the ſame concluſion.

I THOUGHT myſelf obliged to carry theſe obſervations ſo far, to obviate every thing that his Lordſhip had alledged in reviving this controverſy: But as the queſtion itſelf is of an intereſting nature, I ſhall make no apology for purſuing it a little further, and ſtating the cleareſt and beſt authorities, that I have met with, for the origin of our preſent conſtitution.

THE Norman Conqueror firſt gave the Commons of England a juſt notion of their own importance, and laid the foundation of thoſe rights and privileges they now enjoy. The new tenures, which he eſtabliſhed, were attended with conditions greatly in their favour, and added to the dignity of their former character; and the exact ſurvey, which he had taken of the kingdom, diſcovered how much the balance of power lay in their hands. The nation was then one great Seigniory, or

Fief: It conſiſted of two ſorts of eſtates; one held by Military, and the other by Burgage or Socage tenures. All the Military tenants of the crown *in capite* had a *right* to attend in the king's courts, where their own ſervices, or the Eſcuages ariſing from theſe ſervices, were eſtimated and depending. Whether the Conqueror and his immediate ſucceſſors paid a ſtrict and uniform regard to theſe legal claims is another queſtion. He had juſt given, or confirmed, all theſe eſtates to their then preſent poſſeſſors; and, when ſupplies were wanting, might preſume ſometimes (though perhaps not often [*p*]), upon their conſent, without the ceremony of aſking it. But that they had a juſt claim to this privilege can be no queſtion. In the ſtatutes of Clarendon [*q*], made under a prince as fond of high prerogative as any of his predeceſſors, and by a Parliament aſſembled for very different purpoſes, this privilege is expreſsly aſſerted. The eleventh article ſays, "Qui de rege tenent in capite, ha-"beant poſſeſſiones ſuas de rege, ſicut Baroniam; . . . . "et DEBENT INTERESSE CURIAE REGIS CUM BARONIBUS."

[*p*] Dr. Brady has given us from the hiſtorians a liſt of near thirty Parliaments holden by the three firſt Norman princes, and moſt probably they haye not mentioned all. For I find in the Regiſter of Battle abbey (Mſſ. in Sir Whiſtler Webſter's poſſeſſion) that William Rufus held a Parliament in his caſtle of Haſtings, A. D. 1094, not taken notice of in the hiſtories of that reign. The caſtle of Haſtings then ſtood below the Cliff, upon ground that has been long ago overflowed by the ſea. The Dean and Chapter of Haſtings petitioned Edward III, A. D. 1332, for leave to repair the caſtle-walls, to ſecure their chapel, "quae ſita eſt infra clauſtrum praedictum, quod "per frequentes inundationes maris pro majori parte devaſtatur." Rot. par. Edw. III. par. 1. m. 36.

[*q*] Brady's Introduction, p. 140.

We

We find ſome evidence of this right even during the Conqueror's reign. He had every year a ſolemn aſſembly of the ſtates at the three great feſtivals: he appeared there with all the dignity of a ſovereign, with his crown on his head, attended by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, THANES AND KNIGHTS [*r*] [þegnaſ ⁊ cnihtaſ]. Theſe aſſemblies anſwered the ſame purpoſe as Parliaments; many national affairs were, no doubt, tranſacted in them. Both theſe accounts evidently prove that theſe Military tenants had a right to aſſiſt in theſe aſſemblies: In conſequence of this right, two years after the council of Clarendon, A. D. 1165, Henry II. ſummoned them to the Parliament [*s*] at Northampton; *omnes*, qui de rege tenebant in capite, *mandari fecit*. They enjoyed the ſame privileges in the ſubſequent reigns. In the ſixth of king John, A. D. 1205, the patent Rolls [*t*] inform us, that the laws were then made *communi aſſenſu archiepiſcoporum, epiſcoporum, comitum, baronum, et omnium* FIDELIUM *noſtrorum Angliae*. A few years afterwards, A. D. 1214, the king ſummoned *quatuor diſcretos milites* [*u*] out of every county, to attend at Oxford, *ad loquendum nobiscum de negotiis regni noſtri*. This perhaps was new; it is, at leaſt, the firſt inſtance of a repreſentative that I have met with. As the king's affairs were then circumſtanced, it might be done with a popular view, to favour theſe Military tenants *in capite*, by ex-

[*r*] Vid. Chron. Sax. p. 190.
[*s*] Selden's Titles of Honour, Part II. c. v. § 20. p. 583.
[*t*] Selden, ut ſupra, p. 585.
[*u*] Id. ibid. p. 587.

cuſing

cuſing moſt of them from ſuch an expenſive attendance. It is certain, that the Peers gave this reaſon for chooſing a repreſentative in another Oxford Parliament, A. D. 1258, *pour eſparnier le cuſt del commun.* But, whatever was the cauſe at that juncture, the ancient practice of a general ſummons by the Sheriff was again revived and eſtabliſhed by the eighteenth article of king John's Magna charta; and if the Burgage-tenants of the crown had then enjoyed, or claimed, any right to be repreſented in Parliament, it had certainly been ſecured to them by that charter. Theſe Military tenants were ſummoned, not only to grant ſupplies, *ad providendum quale auxilium nobis impendere voluerint*; but ſometimes to account with the Sheriffs of the county for thoſe already granted [*w*]. Sometimes they had more extenſive commiſſions: Four of them were choſen out of every county, to enquire into all the injuries and exceſſes committed by the king's officers throughout the kingdom; and theſe inquiſitions, ſo made, were to be ſealed and delivered by *themſelves* in Parliament.

SUCH was the intereſt which the Commons had in the legiſlative authority long before the 49th of Henry III, which, by the meaſures then taken, was conſiderably enlarged. Before this, the Parliament conſiſted of Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and *Military-tenants in capite*; was one aſſembly, and one houſe: there was no thoughts of making any ſeparation. For though the Commons were

[*w*] See the cloſe Rolls of 4 and 38 Hen. III. in Atterbury's Rights, &c. of the Engliſh Convocat. p. 339.

not

not of the ſame rank as the Peers, yet they were all *liberi homines*, all gentlemen, many of them branches of the nobler families, and their eſtates and tenures always of the ſame kind, held *ſicut baroniam:* Ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of thoſe tenures they had a right to aſſiſt in granting the ſupplies. The Conqueror took care to ingratiate himſelf with them from the very beginning of his reign. Among the very firſt laws which were enacted, their Reliefs [*x*] were fixed at a fine certain: and in a ſubſequent ſtatute their rights and liberties were particularly ſpecifyed and ſecured, UT OMNES [*y*] LIBERI HOMINES TOTIUS REGNI .... HABEANT ET TENEANT TERRAS SUAS ET POSSESSIONES SUAS BENE ET IN PACE, LIBERE AB OMNI EXACTIONE INJUSTA, ET OMNI TALLAGIO, ITA QUOD NIHIL AB EIS EXIGATUR VEL CAPIATUR NISI LIBERUM SERVITIUM SUUM, ... PROUT STATUTUM EST .... PER COMMUNE CONSILIUM TOTIUS REGNI. After this law had paſſed, the plain conſequence is, that, beyond theſe ſtipulated ſervices, no legal ſubſidies, or ſupplies, could be granted without their expreſs conſent.

SUCH was the ORIGINAL CONTRACT between the Crown and the Commons, that CHARTER OF RIGHTS eſtabliſhed in the moſt ſolemn manner by the whole legiſlature of the kingdom. They were properly *liberi homines*, and enjoyed more freedom than even the Peers themſelves: for the Reliefs, which the Peers were to pay for their eſtates, were not limited,

[*x*] Legg. Saxon. p. 223. This was made a fixed and conſtant valuation by Hen. I. and continued even to Magna charta, where it was again eſtabliſhed.

[*y*] Legg. Saxon. p. 228. This is again confirmed by Magna charta.

but

but diſcretionary; and more or leſs taken, as they were in or out of favour at court. But there is no appearance that any thing like theſe rights and privileges were then indulged to the inferior tenants of the crown. It was indeed enacted in their favour by Magna charta [z], that the demeſne lands of the crown belonging to the cities and boroughs ſhould be tallaged or aſſeſſed by Parliament, and not rated at the will and pleaſure of the king's officers, as they had always been before. This was a great ſtep towards their liberty: they were now grown more conſiderable by the increaſe of trade. The earl of Leiceſter and the confederate Barons, in order to make their court to this riſing and popular intereſt, put them upon the ſame foot with the Commons of ſuperior rank. Writs [a] were now ordered, under the great ſeal, to empower many of the cities and towns in England to ſend deputies to Parliament, "quod mittant duos de "diſcretioribus et legalioribus et probioribus, tam CIVIBUS "quam BURGENSIBUS ſuis, ad regem London." A little more than twenty years before this event, about A. D. 1241, the deputies [b] from the cities and towns in France were admitted into their Parliaments. Leiceſter, who was by deſcent, though not birth, a Frenchman, might perhaps avail himſelf of this example; a ſtep, which was equally popular in both nations.

THIS in all appearance was the origin of our preſent excellent conſtitution: not that this precedent was uniformly

[z] Vid. Magna charta, article xvi. ed. Caſley in Rapin.
[a] Brady's Introd. p. 140.
[b] Boulainvilliers on the French Parliaments, p. 185. Engliſh edit.

formly followed in all ſucceeding Parliaments; there were many intermiſſions: it was almoſt thirty years before our great Engliſh Juſtinian fully eſtabliſhed it. But when this was done, two aſſemblies were formed, as there were probably, at the firſt ſummons, an Upper and Lower houſe; the Barons not chooſing to aſſociate with the inferior tenants of the crown; and the Knights and Barons of the Cinque ports, as an elective and repreſentative body, taking place in the Lower houſe.

WE ſee how difficult it is to get clear of prejudices. Dr. Brady, though excellently well ſkilled in the hiſtory and antiquities of his country, could not diſcover that the Commons had any ſhare in the legiſlature before Edw. I. Biſhop Ellys, Mr. Petyt, &c. &c. on the other hand, ſaw the Commons in full poſſeſſion of this privilege many ages before it was in being. A zeal for our anceſtors freedom, as well as our own, ſometimes carries us into ſuch concluſions, as are beyond the limits of truth. But if the right of aſſiſting in the legiſlative councils of this kingdom was not the original inheritance of the Engliſh Commons, was it ever the leſs beneficial, or leſs honourable, for being acquired?

THE Saxons eſtimated and divided their eſtates in ſuch a manner, and by the ſame proportions, as were made uſe of, for that purpoſe, by the Romans. All the Saxon and Norman names, *Hyde*, *Suling*, and *Carucate*, are nothing more than the *jugum* and *jugatio* of the lower empire. "A hide of land (ſays Mr. Selden [*c*]) was

[*c*] Titles of Honour, Part II. c. v. § 4. p. 516.

" as much land as might be manured with one plough, " together with paſture, meadow, and wood competent " for the maintenance of that plough, and the ſervants " of the family." This is the very eſtimate, which the Romans made of their Jugum. *Jugum* [*d*] *vel jugatio ſignificat modum agri, cui colendo per annum jugo boum opus eſt.*

THE taxes they paid, and the very preſents which were made at court, were expected according to the rank of the perſons, or the number of plow-lands they poſſeſſed. *Deſcriptione* [*e*] *facta pro capitatione vel jugatione.* Their aids and ſubſidies among the Saxons were rated in the ſame manner. *Terra geldabat pro quinque, decem, vel quindecim hidis:* the lands diſcharged from taxes were called *terrae non hidatae.*

THE buſineſs of repairing caſtles, part of the *trinoda neceſſitas*, or three ſervices, to which all eſtates were ſubject among the Saxons, was always rated in proportion to the number of their plow-lands. This was evidently the Roman practice. Their laws expreſsly enjoin it; *ut conſtructioni* [*f*] *murorum univerſi ſine ullo privilegio coartentur . . . . et proportione ſuae jugationis ad haec munia coartentur.*

ALMOST all their predial cuſtoms had the ſame original. The Romans tilled and occupied their farms by

[*d*] Gothofred, in Cod. Theodoſ. lib. XIII. p. 118. et Calvini Lexicon, in voce.

[*e*] Cod. Theodoſ. lib. XIII. tit. x. l. 3.

[*f*] Cod. Theodoſ. lib. XI. tit. viii. p. 239. et lib. XV. tit. i. p. 49.

perſons

perſons of a ſervile condition, who were transferred from one proprietor to another along with the lands they cultivated. They were called *coloni adſcriptitii*, or *glebae adſcriptitii*; and their laws were remarkably ſtrict in annexing them to the eſtates:

"Si quis [*g*] praedium vendere voluerit vel donare, "retinere ſibi transferendos ad alia loca colonos non li-"ceat."

THEY were called *coloni* from their occupation. The ſoil and the ſlaves upon it were inſeparable. The Saxons adopted theſe ſame methods of huſbandry upon their eſtates. The perſons they employed were called tylian, or eorðtyllian, *tillers of the ground*, from their employment; and ſometimes ðeornmen, or *men* only, *i. e.* their rural bondmen, which were diſpoſed of juſt in the ſame manner that the Roman *coloni* were. Thus, in Wulfar's will [*b*], eſtates were given to ſeveral perſons, mid mete, mid mannum, the whole ſtock and produce of the farm, men, and all. In a marriage ſettlement [*i*] between Godwine and Byrhtric, the men were conveyed along with the eſtate. They kept catalogues and accounts of them and their offſpring [ofteam] as part of their poſſeſſions, which they could diſpoſe of at pleaſure. The Romans diſtinguiſhed

[*g*] Cod. Juſt. lib. XI. tit. xlvii. Monſ. Boulainvilliers obſerves that, among the Ruſſians and Poles, the huſbandmen, even at this day, go along with the lands and villages which they occupy. Ancient parliaments, vol. I. p. 121.

[*b*] Hickes's Differtat. epiſtol. p. 54. et notae.

[*i*] Somner, on Gavelkind, p. 195.

between their *coloni* [*k*] and *ſervi*; the former were in a condition much above abſolute ſlavery. The Saxons, in all appearance, did the ſame thing. This diſtinction occurs frequently in Domes-day book, which of courſe brings us back to the Saxon times. We find there mentioned along with the eſtates, *Servi* [*l*], *Villani* and *Bordmanni*, or *Bordarii*, as perſons of ſome difference in their condition and circumſtances. It does not appear by the Saxon laws, what ſhare of freedom the *Villani* enjoyed. But perhaps we may receive the neceſſary information from the Welſh laws [*m*], which were made during that period. There the Villani had a houſe and ſmall property of their own, a right to what they acquired; but, like the Roman Coloni, might be transferred from one part of the eſtate to another. Their property, after the Norman government, was diſtinguiſhed [*n*] from

[*k*] Vid. Cod. lib. XI. tit. xlvii. l. 20. They were permitted to enjoy what was acquired by their own labour; paying only a certain rent to the lord; and might have an action againſt him, &c. But perhaps theſe liberties were owing to the indulgence of the Chriſtian emperors. The earlier accounts of the Roman agriculture ſeem to place it intirely in the hands of ſlaves.

"Vincto foſſore coluntur
"Heſperiae ſegetes." Lucan. vii. 402.
"Et ſonet innumera compede Tuſcus ager." Mart. ix. 23.

[*l*] Thus part of the biſhop of Chicheſter's eſtate in Domesday-book. "Ipſe epiſcopus tenet in dominico Aldyngborn, T. R. E. et modo ſe de-"fendit pro xxxvi hidis. Terra eſt xx carucatarum. In dominico ſunt "duae carucatae, et xvi villani, cum xiii bordmannis; habent v carucatae. "Ibi Eccleſia et iii ſervi, &c." Vid. Regiſtrum Willielmi Reed apud Archiva Ciceſtrenſia, fol. 8.

[*m*] Leges Wallicae, p. 140, 141.

[*n*] Somner, on Gavelkind, p. 192.

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the Lord's, and taxed ſeparately. But the Lord's privilege of having Team, *i. e.* a right of diſpoſing of theſe Villains [*n*] with their goods and chattels, was continued, and is frequently mentioned in grants from the crown. The heirs under wardſhip had this part of their eſtate ſecured to them by Magna charta [*o*]. The guardian was prohibited to commit any waſte HOMINUM *aut rerum*. It is moſt probable therefore that the Villani were treated in the ſame manner both under the Saxon and Roman governments; that they had a particular ſtock and property of their own, and at the ſame time took care of the Lord's eſtate, and were inſeparable from it. The Bordarii, as perſons of rather more freedom, had their little cottages upon the waſte, *parvis habitata mapalia tectis*; and from theſe Bordarii and Villani came, after the Norman times, the Copyholders of ſmall tenements at the will of the Lord. The rigour of their former ſervitude was, either by the dictates of humanity or religion, by degrees much ſoftened, and at laſt quite laid aſide. But the remains of it, in ſome form or other, continued much longer than is uſually imagined. I have [*p*] ſeveral

[*n*] Vid. Somner's Gavelkind, p. 204. Seldeni not. in Eadmerum, p. 198. et Cowel's Interpreter, voc. TEAM.

[*o*] Dr. Brady, in his verſion of this article of Magna charta, tranſlates *hominum*, Tenants, which gives us an idea very different from the true meaning. The learned author of the Obſervations upon the Statutes ſets it in a juſt light; *i. e.* that they were *bondmen*, diſpoſable at the will of the Lord.

[*p*] Vide Biſhop Sherburne's Regiſter inter archiva Ciceſtrenſia.

inſtances

inſtances of manumiſſion as late as the reign of king Henry the Eighth.

THE great ſurveys of the kingdom, made both by Alfred and William the Conqueror, were formed upon the Roman plan. Their rolls contained a particular of the eſtates of every province down to perſons of the leaſt property in land. They are thus deſcribed in the Code [q]:

"Quibus terrarum quantulacunque poſſeſſio, qui in "ſuis conſcripti locis libris cenſualibus detinentur."

PAYING great part of their rents in ſpecie, which continued through all the ſeveral periods of the Saxon government, was the common practice among the Romans, countenanced, and even directed, by their laws. One of the Imperial reſcripts ſays,

"Domini [r] praediorum id, quod terra praeſtat, "accipiant; pecuniam non requirant, quam ruſtici "optare non audeant, niſi conſuetudo praedii hoc ex-"igat."

I HAVE already obſerved that the cuſtom of having fairs and markets fixed by charter at particular places was taken from the Romans, who found it a neceſſary expedient for collecting ſome of their taxes. Corporations, though they were perhaps eſtabliſhed a little earlier in France than England, came originally from the ſame quarter. The numerous claſſes of bodies corporate [s] in the Roman empire are well known. To

[q] Cod. Juſtinian. lib. XI. tit. xlvii. § 4.
[r] Id. ibid.

unite

unite ſeveral of theſe under one charter, and inveſt all the freemen and burgeſſes of the ſame city with an equal privilege, was a very ſmall and natural alteration, eſpecially in ſuch little diſtricts, as moſt of their cities and towns were at the time of granting their firſt charters.

THE Saxon letters, whatever has been ſaid to the contrary, were undoubtedly the Roman alphabet [*t*] of the lower empire. Dr. Hickes and Mr. Wanley, more converſant in Saxon Mſſ. than any other perſons ever were, have put this beyond all diſpute.

THE cuſtom of having written laws was taken from the ſame people. Monteſquieu [*u*] obſerves, that, when the German nations ſubdued the Roman empire, they learned the uſe of letters, and, in imitation of the Romans, wrote down their own uſages in Codes. Bede, who was born within leſs than a century after our

[*s*] Cod. Theodoſ. De corporatorum urbis Romae et Alexandriae privilegiis, lib. XIV. tit. ii. p. 145. et tit. xxvii. p. 273.

[*t*] Hickes's Gram. Anglo-Saxon. p. 2. Wanley's Preface ad Catalogum Cod. Saxonicorum, and Gibſon's Camden, p. clxxviii. What Monſ. La Croze has advanced againſt this opinion is meer conjecture, "literas ſuas "Anglo-Saxones .... a Britannis accepiſſe; that the capitals were Roman, "but the ſmaller letters were very different." See his Vindiciae veterum ſcriptorum, p. 88. &c. It is impoſſible to think that either the Britains or Saxons ſhould be ridiculous enough to form two alphabets ſo different from one another. The Britains, who had been for ſo many years a Roman province, could be no ſtrangers to their way of writing. But whenceſoever the Saxons came by the uſe of thoſe letters, the fact itſelf is unqueſtionable. The Roman *capitals* appear upon all their coins; and Mr. Wanley, who had read ſeveral inſtruments of the lower empire, written in the ſame hand as the *ſmaller* Saxon, could not be miſtaken.

[*u*] Spirit of Laws, lib. ii. p. 251.

firſt Saxon laws were enacted, and conſequently well acquainted with their ancient cuſtoms, does not ſcruple giving up the honour of his country in this reſpect, and approve their laudable imitation of a politer nation. He commends Aethelbirht for forming a body of laws by the advice of his nobles, juxta [*w*] EXEMPLAR ROMANORUM.

[*w*] Bedae Hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica, p. 84. ed. Cant. Many other ancient cuſtoms of leſſer note were moſt probably owing to the ſame original. The FALDING-STOOL, a term uſed upon the moſt ſolemn occaſion, the coronation of our kings, and which none of the writers upon that late auſpicious ceremony have attempted to explain, was nothing more at firſt than the *ſella curùlis* of the Romans: it was then the *ſtool* of Majeſty, the ſeat of their Conſuls, principal magiſtrates, and moſt auguſt perſonages, as appears by their coins; and was ſo formed, as to ſhut up together, a FOLDING or FALDING-STOOL. Though the form of it has been long altered at court, yet the name was preſerved upon this ſolemnity, where ſeveral other parts of the Imperial inſignia are retained.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The ROMAN POUND. TABLES *for computing the* ROMAN MONEY.

AFTER all that has been ſaid about the Roman pound ever ſince the revival of polite learning, I find myſelf under a neceſſity of offering ſomething in ſupport of Mr. Greaves's eſtimate, which I have made uſe of, as a ſort of ſtandard, for adjuſting and comparing the ancient weights. This is chiefly to obviate any exceptions, that might be taken to this account, from the calculations which have been ſince made by Meſſrs. Eiſenſchmid [*a*] and La Barre; which, though very ſingular, and as widely different as the premiſes from which they are taken, have in general been well received by the public, and met with conſiderable approbation. Mr. Eiſenſchmid's [*b*] opinion is, that the Roman pound was one quarter leſs than the Greek; but as, according to his computation, the Athenian Drachmae were a hundred to the pound, and the Conſular Denarii only eighty-four, theſe coins might paſs cur-

[*a*] Joannis Caſpar Eiſenchmidii De ponderibus et menſuris &c. diſquiſitio. Argentorati, 1737. Diſſertation ſur la livre Romaine par Monſ. De la Barre, en les Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et Belles lettres, tom. viii. p. 372. And Monſ. Crevier's Diſputatio brevis De ponderibus &c. in praefatione ad editionem Livii, p. lxxiii. and Faber's Theſaurus, voc. SESTERTIUS.

[*b*] Eiſenchmidii Diſquiſitio, ut ſupra, p. 40. 45.

rently for one another, the Denarius not being quite one eighth leſs than the Drachma. But what is it that warrants theſe concluſions? how are they to be eſtabliſhed as facts? Mr. Eiſenſchmid ſets out a little unfortunately, and reaſons from a corrupt paſſage in Livy, which is thus repreſented.

"Argenti [c] probi duodecim millia Attica talenta "dato intra duodecim annos penſionibus aequis: talen- "tûm ne minus pondo LXXX Romanis ponderibus "pendat."

FROM hence he concludes, that as eighty Roman Librae were equal to an Attic Talent of ſixty pounds, the Roman pound muſt be one fourth part leſs than the Attic: or, to reckon by coins [d], as 6000 Attic Drachmae, of a hundred to the pound, made an Attic Talent, not leſs than 6720 Roman Denarii, of 84 to the pound, would be equal to it. The paſſage in Livy, from whence he draws ſuch ſtrange concluſions, had been corrected long before, from an authority equal, if not ſuperior, to Livy himſelf. Polybius [e] from whom Livy moſt probably took this article, is very clear in his account of it, that Antiochus was to pay twelve thouſand Talents ἀργυρίᾳ Ἀττικῇ ἀρίστῳ, *argenti Attici optimi*; Attic Silver, not Attic Talents. The Romans, excellent at making treaties for their own advantage, fixed upon the Attic ſtandard for the fineneſs of the

[c] Liv. Hiſtor. l. xxxviii. c. 38.
[d] Eiſenſchmid, ut ſupra, p. 40.
[e] Polybii Excerpt. Legat. p. 321. ed. Caſaub.

money,

money, and upon the Egyptian Talent for the weight; which was one fourth part heavier than the Attic. Antiochus muſt be very well acquainted with this Talent, uſed probably as much in Syria [*f*], as in Egypt; taken from the pound of ſixteen ounces, the ancient commercial pound of all theſe nations. This is all that appears from this treaty, that the Roman nummulary pound was one quarter leſs than that by which this payment was adjuſted; but, the point which Mr. Eiſenſchmid had in view, the proportion between the Greek and Roman pounds, is ſo far from being determined by this treaty, that it is not ſo much as alluded to in it.

To ſupport this lame paſſage from Livy, and prove that ſeventy five Attic Drachmae were equal to the old Roman pound, he appeals to the moſt unexpected and ſurpriſing evidence imaginable, to two authors (if they muſt be reckoned as two) who expreſsly aſſert the contrary. Theſe are Fannius and Priſcian. What the ſuppoſed Fannius ſays is this:

> " Haec [*g*] major Latio libra eſt, gentique togatae;
> " Attica nam minor eſt. Ter quinque hanc denique drachmis
> " Et ter vicenis tradunt explerier unam."

And Priſcian, as directly to the point:

" Libra [*b*] vel mina Attica, drachmae ſeptuaginta quin-
" que. Libra vel mina Graia, drachmae nonaginta ſex."

[*f*] " Horum talentorum uſum in Syria, tam vicina Aegypto, frequentem " fuiſſe omnia ſuadent." Gronov. De pec. vet. p. 143.

[*g*] Fannius, vel potius Priſcian, apud Graevii Antiqq. Rom. vol. XI. p. 1694.

[*b*] Priſcian, apud Gram. vet. vol. I. p. 1348.

WHAT is it that theſe authors advance, but only this, that the Attic pound was different from the Greek, contained ſeventy five Drachmae, and was about a quarter leſs than the Roman? But Mr. Eiſenſchmid, to avail himſelf of their authority, bad as it is, and which, as he truly ſays, does *aliquid monſtri alere*, inverts the evidence in the moſt arbitrary manner, and makes them ſpeak directly contrary to their own ſentiments. "Fannius and "Priſcian, ſays he, undoubtedly found [*i*] in ſome "ancient authors that ſeventy five Drachmae were equal "to a Roman Libra; but having given a different eſti-"mate of that pound, to ſave appearances, they imagined "that this proportion muſt belong to ſome other pound, "or Libra, and ſo called it the Attic. But who ever "heard of an Attic Libra? they could only mean, by "an Attic Libra, the Roman pound eſtimated in Attic "coins." Such are Mr. Eiſenſchmid's explanations of theſe two paſſages. But this, inſtead of appealing to antiquity, is perverting it; though no art or violence whatſoever will force theſe authors into his ſentiments. Had he given the whole paſſage, there had been no room for ſuch a wild conjecture; it had ſufficiently ex-

[*i*] "Haud dubie in veterum ſcriptis invenerunt libram, ſcil. Romanam, "drachmis Atticis LXXV aequalem eſſe, cui ex propriis hypotheſibus attribue-"runt paulo ante drachmas XCVI. Aliud itaque agere haud potuerunt, quam "fingere libram a Romana diverſam, Atticam nimirum. Quis vero unquam "inaudivit de libra Atticis uſitata, ſaltem ante Romanorum in Graecos impe-"rium? Per libram igitur Atticam, non alia hic intelligenda eſt, quam Ro-"mana in drachmis Atticis aliove pondere Attico expreſſa." Eiſenſchmidius, ut ſupra.

plained

plained itſelf. Theſe are the lines immediately following:

" Accipe [*k*] praeterea patrio quam nomine Graii
" Μνᾶν vocitant, noſtrique Minam dixere priores.
" Centum hae ſunt drachmae: quod ſi decerpſeris illis
" Quatuor, efficies hanc noſtram denique libram:
" Attica quae fiet, ſi *quartam* dempſeris hinc, Mna.

Nothing is plainer: if you take away the fourth part of the Greek pound, *i. e.* twenty five Drachmae, it made the Attic. Inſtead of agreeing with Mr. Eiſenſchmid they aſſert the very contrary, and give us an eſtimate, which, like his, has no evidence to ſupport it, *viz.* that the Attic pound was one fourth part leſs than the Greek; not the Roman. This diſtinction between the Greek and Attic pounds was a meer fancy of Priſcian's, which, I believe, is no where elſe to be met with in any of the ancients.

WHAT Mr. Eiſenſchmid obſerves about the uſe of the word Libra is either not true, or not to his purpoſe. The Athenians perhaps might never uſe λίτρα during the power and independency of their ſtate: but the words Mina, and Libra, like the weights they belonged to, paſſed for many ages as equivalent terms. Priſcian, in this very paſſage, when he is aſſigning the ſpecific weight to the Roman and Attic pounds, and making them ſo widely different, uſes both the words indiſcriminately. He did not even then think it neceſſary to ſpeak with more preciſion. But the later writers

[*k*] Fannius, ubi ſupra, p. 1694.

about

about weights and meaſures, when all the liberties and even ſtates of Greece were ſunk under the Roman government, diſtinguiſhed the Mina and Libra another way, making Mina ſignify the commercial, and Libra the nummulary pound. But this was nothing to a more ancient uſage; when the expreſſions, like the ſums they ſpecifyed, paſſed currently for one another. Words are much more changeable than weights.

THE proportions, which Mr. Eiſenſchmid has aſſigned to the Denarius and Drachma, muſt be highly inconvenient in almoſt all commercial purpoſes: though the ſingle coins might often paſs with an original difference of almoſt one eighth in weight, yet when they were thrown into large ſums, it would be ridiculous to think they could have an eſtabliſhed and perpetual currency for one another. A hundred and twenty pounds in every thouſand would be too conſiderable a diminution to be reckoned as equivalent in any accounts whatſoever: But even this proportion, which Mr. Eiſenſchmid hath fixed between the Denarius and Drachmae, is purely imaginary, or taken perhaps from ſome particular coins, which are in general no proofs of the regular and legal weight. Beſides, in making this eſtimate he miſtook the nominal Greek pound for the real, and ſuppoſed that an hundred Drachmae were coined out of it, during that long intercourſe with Rome. But this is contrary to the expreſs teſtimony of thoſe ancients, who gave the moſt attention to the difference of weights and meaſures, and were conſequently the beſt judges

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in ſuch queſtions. The phyſicians, who preſcribed by the nummulary weights, muſt, above all others, be moſt exact in obſerving their proportions. Scribonius Largus repreſents it, as quite indifferent whether you preſcribed either by the Denarius, or the Drachma; "Erit [*k*] "nota denarii unius, pro Graeca drachma; aeque enim "in libra denarii octoginta quatuor apud nos, quot "drachmae apud Graecos incurrunt." This ſhews that the coins muſt be very nearly equal: Celſus and Pliny ſay the very ſame thing. This is their account: "Grae-"ci [*l*] pondera medicamentorum ad drachmas redi-"gunt; quae quia ad denarium conveniunt (LXXXIV "enim in libram incurrunt) pro nota Graecae drachmae "notam denarii poſui, et ad ejus pondus drachmas "redegi." "Drachma [*m*] Attica (fere enim Attica ob-

[*k*] Edit. Patavii, 1655. Scribonius was ſo much a Roman, that he preſcribed always by the Denarius, Victoriatus, and Quadrans. He never mentions the Drachma, but in this addreſs to his patron Calliſtus. Is it not a matter of ſome pleaſantry to ſee Gronovius accuſe him for not writing Latin correctly, becauſe he ſaid *pondo dua* in his preſcriptions? He was the favourite court-phyſician, attended the emperor Claudius into Britain, and mentions ſome occurrences in that voyage, *cum Britanniam peteremus cum* DEO *noſtro Caeſare*. This infamous manner of adulation began as early as the beginning of the Roman empire; and this is one evidence, among others, that the appellation of *domus divina* for the Imperial family began long before the time where the late Mr. Profeſſor Ward (in his Remarks upon the Chicheſter Inſcription in Horſley's Britannia Romana, p. 338.) was diſpoſed to place it. We have the very words in Statius's Proem to the fifth Book of his Silvae: "Latus omne *divinae domus* ſemper demereri pro mea medi-"ocritate connitor." Edit. Markland, p. 131.

[*l*] Celſi Epiſtola ad Natalem.

[*m*] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vol. II. lib. xxi. p. 263. et lib. xxxi. p. 627. And therefore, when Pliny ſays, "Mna, quam noſtri Minam vocant, pendet drach-

"ſervatione

"ſervatione medici utuntur) denarii argentei habet "pondus . . . cum juſtum ſit LXXXIV e libris ſignari." Galen [n] likewiſe has obſerved, that this was the practice of the ancient phyſicians, and is certain, that in his own time the Denarius and Drachma were but different names for the ſame weight.

HENCE it was, that, in all payments whatſoever, it was the ſame thing whether you reckoned by the Denarius or Drachmae; they paſſed conſtantly in exchange as coins of the ſame value from one to a hundred millions. Gronovius has cleared up this matter beyond all diſpute, and had reaſon to ſay, "probat [o] hoc conſpiratio Graecorum et Romanorum omnium, quotquot "ſunt quibus Latinam pecuniam ad Graecam, Graecamque ad Latinam, redigere uſus fuit."

WITHOUT this evidence of the number of coins ſtruck in the pound, nothing could have been done to any purpoſe about determining the weight of the ancient Greek and Roman pounds. All calculations made from an hundred Denarii or Drachmae to the pound would have led us into endleſs difficulties, and produced nothing but confuſion. We reſt therefore this principal point, the number of coins in the Greek and Roman pounds, upon their authority. Hence it follows, firſt, that the ancient pounds,

"mas Atticas centum." vol. II. p. 263. or Pollux, Μνᾶ δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἑκατὸν ἔχειν δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς. vol. II. p. 1025. 1068; this is to be underſtood of the nominal nummulary pound, which paſſed, in both theſe governments, at an hundred Denarii or Drachmae.

[n] Galen, De compoſ. medic. κατὰ γένη, lib. iii. c. 3.

[o] De pec. vet. p. 91. and Taylor's Marmor Sandvicenſe, p. 27.

of

of an hundred Denarii and Drachmae, were merely nominal, introduced for the eaſe and advantage of trade; ſecondly, that the Denarius and Drachma, during the Conſular and part of the Imperial government, were only ſeven in the ounce. They began to leſſen under Nero: What Pliny ſays of the Aurei is equally true of the ſilver coins; "paullatim principes imminuere pondus." But there is no certain account that they came to eight in the ounce, till an hundred years after Nero, till Galen's time. A Drachma has ever ſince been reckoned as the eighth part of the ounce, and probably [p] was ſo *ſome time* before. The word Drachma was adopted, becauſe the Greek phyſicians were in the higheſt repute at Rome, and theirs the moſt faſhionable way of preſcribing; they eſtabliſhed it as a weight, becauſe the Denarius was not long after applied to coins of a lower claſs, and loſt its former eſtimate.

As theſe facts are certain, they enable us to make further concluſions. Hence the age and authority of ſome ancient writers upon this ſubject may be determined. Thoſe verſes, which have been ſo often aſcribed to Fannius, cannot belong to the old Rhemnius Fannius Palaemon, becauſe they were not written till after this alteration in the coins, when the Drachma or Denarius was certainly reduced to eight in the ounce; which was not ſo early as Claudius's reign. This fragment of a poem was at firſt diſcovered among Priſcian's works, and was generally thought to be his: Aſcribing it to old Palaemon was

[p] Galen, ut ſupra, l. viii. c. 3.

a fancy of Politian's. Sentiments ſo uniformly ſingular, ſo different from all the other ancient authors, muſt be the work of the ſame hand. By comparing theſe verſes with the treatiſe *De ponderibus et menſuris*, there is no making any other concluſion. Every reader muſt ſee, that varying the manner of writing does not always conceal the author; that it is the ſame Priſcian, whether in verſe or proſe.

THE reſpectable appearance of two ſuch authors as Palaemon and Priſcian, mutually ſupporting theſe ſentiments, has occaſioned many difficulties in theſe enquiries: But, by reducing them to a ſingle evidence, what is ſaid will be examined with leſs ceremony and more diſpatch. The great thing, which Priſcian here advances, is, That, during the long and frequent intercourſe between Rome and Greece, the Mina Attica was one quarter leſs than the Roman Libra. But, ſenſible that he was advancing a paradox, he ſets out with a proper caution, and ſays, *Neceſſarium* [q] *exiſtimavi, ad confirmanda ſupradicta, a diverſis auctoribus de his dicta ſubjicere.* The authors he appeals to are authors of the firſt claſs, Livy and Seneca. Of the three paſſages from Livy, the laſt has been already examined, *viz.* "Talentum ne minus "pondo &c." and it appears to have no ſort of relation to the point in queſtion, the proportion between the Roman and Attic pounds.

[q] Gramm. Vet. vol. I. p. 1348.

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The ſecond is certainly much more to the purpoſe, whatever is the true reading. "Signati [r] argenti "octoginta quatuor millia fuere Atticorum, tetradrach-"mum vocant; trium fere denariorum in ſingulis ar-"genti eſt pondus." The concluſion which he makes from hence is very obvious; that if three Roman Denarii were equal to an Attic Tetradrachm, the Denarius muſt be one fourth larger than the Drachma, *i. e.* the Denarius containing twenty Scruples, the Drachma eighteen. But this argument, like the former, depends upon the authority of that reading, which is here repreſented; and which, if you would make Livy conſiſtent with himſelf, muſt be given up. This appears from the very paragraph, which Priſcian had juſt before quoted from Livy, where, mentioning the incredible number of Roman citizens delivered from ſlavery upon Quintius's return to Italy, he adds,

"Multitudinis [s] eorum argumentum ſit, quod Po-"lybius ſcribit *centum* talentis eam rem Achaeis ſtetiſſe, "quum quingenos denarios pretium in capita, quod "redderetur dominis, ſtatuiſſent. Mille enim ducentos "ea ratione Achaia habuit."

HERE it is evident, as Gronovius [t] and others have ſhewn long ago, that Livy tranſlates the τετρακοσίας δραχμὰς of Polybius by *quingenos denarios*, and that 6000 Denarii were the very ſame ſum as 6000 Drachmae,

[r] Liv. Hiſt. l. xxxiv. c. 52.
[s] Id. l. xxxiv. c. 50.
[t] Gronov. De pec. vet. p. 101. 133.

which were undoubtedly the true Attic Talent. For if 1200 (the number of ſlaves redeemed in Achaia only), is multiplyed by 500, the number of Denarii allowed for each of them, the whole will be 600,000 Denarii; which divided by a hundred, the number of Talents it coſt the Achaeans, will leave juſt 6000 Denarii to every Talent. This calculation proves that this paſſage in Livy is very correct, that there can be no error in the eſtimate, and conſequently in aſſerting that he certainly looked upon the Denarius and Drachmae as equivalent coins. It is a little ſtrange that Priſcian ſhould not ſee the inconſiſtency of the two paragraphs he appealed to, that one of them muſt be wrong. To make Livy's ſentiments conſiſtent, and agreeable to the univerſal ſuffrage of all the ancient writers (except Priſcian), and I believe, I might ſay, of all the ancient Tetradrachms now remaining, it is neceſſary that the former paragraph ſhould be corrected. Mr. Greaves [*u*] very juſtly ſaid, "I ſhould correct the copies, by the coins, "and inſtead of III fere denariorum make it thus, IV "fere denariorum: where the figure V being reſolved "into two lines, and being left a little open (or leſs "legible) at bottom, might be eaſily taken by the ſcribe "for the figure III." *Fere*, in this place, is not what Monſ. Crevier ſays, *paene* or *propemodum*, almoſt; as if Livy was giving an exact eſtimate of their weight; but it ſignifies *plerumque*, that for the moſt part, or in general, they weighed four Denarii, allowing, what muſt ne-

[*u*] Roman Denarius, p. 83.

ceſſarily

ceſſarily happen, that many of them had loſt ſomething of their weight. It is plain therefore that Priſcian in appealing to Livy, appealed to an evidence againſt himſelf; and he will be found to ſucceed no better with Seneca. All that Priſcian makes Seneca ſay (for the paſſage [w] is careleſsly and incorrectly quoted, the ſon inſtead of the father) is that *viginti* [x] *quatuor ſeſtertia*, i. e. *talentum Atticum* PARVUM, 24,000 Seſterces were 6000 Denarii, or the true Attic Talent. And who ever ſaid the contrary? *Parvum* indeed is not in Seneca. Gronovius, who was perſuaded, that this Attic Talent was the *Talentum magnum*, rejects it very juſtly, as an interpolation. Quoting in authors what was never there is certainly a moſt unjuſtifiable practice. But the point was of no moment; for this nummulary Talent was certainly leſs than the commercial, though neither Seneca nor Priſcian had ever made any ſuch diſtinction. But the principal error in Priſcian is of another ſort: the Attic Talent was ſixty pounds, and if the pound conſiſted only of 75 Drachmae, their talent would only be 75 times 60, or 4500 Drachmae; not 6000, at which the Attic Talent is always rated. This paſſage therefore, like that in Livy, proves that the Athenian and

[w] "Error memoriae Priſciani, aut certe librariorum, qui ex decimo "epiſtolarum L. Senecae petiere, quod petitum ex libro decimo Controverſiarum Marci." Gronov. De pec. vet. p. 100.

[x] "Aſinius, qui bellum cum omnibus Atticis gerebat, cum donaret illi "Caeſar talentum, in quo XXIV ſeſtertia ſunt, Athenienſium more, ἢ ὠροδίκης, "φησὶν, ἢ ἄφελε, ἵνα μὴ Ἀτθικὸν ᾖ." Controv. l. x. Cont. 5. quae inſcribitur PARRHASII PROMETHEUS.

Roman

Roman pounds were equivalent, and their coins of the ſame value.

But though the authorities, which Priſcian has ſo unluckily appealed to, decide the point againſt him; yet I have ſo much regard for his credit, as to believe, that he had met with an Attic pound of ſeventy odd Drachmae; but whether *ſeventy-five*, *ſeventy-three*, or *ſeventy-two*, may be a queſtion. Plutarch [*y*] ſays, that Solon raiſed the Mina Attica to a hundred Drachmae, which before his time conſiſted only of *ſeventy-three*. The editors of Plutarch have not obſerved, that any of the Mſſ. differ, as to the number here ſpecifyed: but Scaliger [*z*], and Rualdus [*a*] giving too much credit to Priſcian, are for correcting Plutarch by his authority; and Rualdus went ſo far as to ſay, "dixerat, vel certe "dicere debuerat ἑβδομήκοντα ὠέντε:" Hotoman [*b*], in a more reaſonable way of thinking, is for correcting both Plutarch and Priſcian, by reading ἑβδομήκοντα δύο; which was moſt probably right. For the ancients, in ſtriking their coins, uſually made them aliquot or even parts of their pound. Thus the Drachmae at ſix in the ounce were ſeventy two in the pound; at ſeven in the ounce, eighty four; at eight, ninety ſix in the pound. The Attic Mina therefore, before Solon, conſiſted of ſeventy two

[*y*] Ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν πρότερον ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν ὄσαν. Plutarch. in Solon. vol. I. p. 189. edit. Bryan.

[*z*] Scaliger, De re nummaria, p. 33. edit. Plantin.

[*a*] Rualdi Animadverſiones in Plutarchum ad finem tom. I. p. 40.

[*b*] Hotoman, De re nummaria, p. 156. edit. 1589.

Drachmae,

Drachmae, or ſix in the ounce. They were poſſibly at that time only *laminae argenti*, ſmall and long pieces of ſilver, which, agreeably to the original meaning of the word Drachma, might be graſped in the hand. Sperlingius [c] imagines, that Solon was the firſt perſon, that coined money at Athens. Plutarch [d] was certainly miſtaken, who aſcribes it to Theſeus. There is nothing in Homer, who lived ſo long after Theſeus, that has the leaſt appearance that the Greeks knew any thing of coining money in his time. When or where it firſt began is very uncertain. But whatever was the form of the Athenian money, we need not ſcruple to ſay that, before Solon, it conſiſted of ſeventy two Drachmae in the pound, which, by his celebrated σεισάχθεια, he altered to a hundred. Plutarch refines much upon this popular ordinance; that it was for this reaſon called σεισάχθεια, becauſe by this means the heavy weight of the people's debts was removed; that it relieved the poor without injuring the rich. This, I own, is a little beyond my apprehenſion; it is taking ſuch a ſtep as was ſcarce poſſible for all Solon's wiſdom to effect. The moſt ſenſible account, which Plutarch has given of this matter, is Androtion's opinion, that the debtors were by this means enabled to pay their intereſt with more eaſe. This is credible enough: for if the original ſtipulation was to pay ſo many Drachma's intereſt in pro-

[c] Sperlingius, De nummis non cuſis, p. 123.

[d] Ἔκοψε γὰρ καὶ νόμισμα βοῦν ἐγχαράξας, ἢ διὰ τὸν Μαραθώνιον ταῦρον, ἢ διὰ τὸν Μίνω πρωΐηγὸν, ἢ πρὸς γεωργίαν τὸς πολίτας παρακαλῶν. Plutarch. Theſeus, p. 23.

portion

portion to the ſum; when the coins were reduced, though the contract was literally obſerved, the ſum was leſs. However this was, I do not queſtion but ſeveral of Solon's popular conſtitutions were included under this term, σεισάχθεια· this was reckoned as the Era of their commencement; and among the reſt that great inſtance of humanity, ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μηδένα δανίζειν, that they were not at liberty to ſeize their perſons, ſo as to make them ſlaves. But whatever popular ordinances might be included under this general term σεισάχθεια, one of them ſeems not to be very well explained in Plutarch's account, which, without having recourſe to metaphor and refinement, might have been eaſily done. Solon raiſed the pound from ſeventy two Drachmae to a hundred, *i. e.* he introduced a nominal pound inſtead of a real one. For that the Athenian pound had no more than eighty four Drachmae coined out of it for many ages afterwards, appears by the evidence already given: it appears as ſtrongly by the Roman pound. For the Romans, from the very beginning of their coining ſilver, accommodated themſelves to the Grecian practice, made a mutual currency between the coins of both nations: their pound in weight was certainly only eighty four Denarii, in tale always a hundred. Solon therefore who eſtabliſhed this cuſtom of paying an hundred Drachmae to the pound, introduced a nominal pound, inſtead of having recourſe to the ſcale. This was a real σεισάχθεια, what the word literally implies, *ſhaking off the weight*. This new ordinance gave a mercantile people much

greater

greater eaſe and diſpatch in tranſacting buſineſs; made a large proviſion for any want of weight or fineneſs in their coins, and was of courſe eaſily and univerſally admitted. This, moſt probably, is one reaſon for that obſervation, which Xenophon makes in his Πόροι [e]. To encourage all foreign traders, he obſerves, that, in caſe they refuſed to export the Athenian goods in return for their own, by receiving ſilver in exchange for them, they would receive more than they did ANCIENTLY, what would paſs for more than they took it for at Athens.

THE real Attic pound, whether before or after Solon, whether it conſiſted of ſeventy-two or eighty-four Drachmae, was the very ſame. This new regulation added ſomething to the value, greatly improved their traffic, both upon that account and this more expeditious method of payment. Priſcian's diſtinction between the Mina Attica and Graia; his eſtimate of the old Attic pound, being ſo much leſs in weight, as it was in the number of Drachmae which were coined out of it, are opinions taken up without evidence, equally groundleſs and imaginary.

So much deference was due to theſe ancient writers, as to give their miſtakes, whether owing to the tranſcribers or the authors themſelves, a more particular examination. But I ſhall not think it neceſſary to attend Monſieur La Barre ſo minutely through all the parts of his elaborate

[e] Οἱ ἀργύριον ἐξάγοντες καλὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐξάγουσιν. ὅπερ γὰρ ἂν πωλῶσιν αὐτὸ, πανταχῆ πλεῖον ἢ ἀρχαίᾳ λαμβάνουσι. Xenoph. Πόροι, c. iii. § 2. The Athenian money was by this means more valuable than the coin of any other nation, not only for its fineneſs, but its weight.

Diſſertation upon metrical and ſcale-pounds; but ſo far only as they relate immediately to the preſent queſtion. After ſo many attempts for diſcovering the true weight of the Roman pound, the thoughts of ſtarting a new principle, that would ſolve all the old difficulties, was a pleaſure not to be reſiſted. He indulged himſelf in it; and, in a nation not averſe to novelties, it ſucceeded. Monſieur Crevier has adopted his concluſions, honoured them with a place in his edition of Livy [*f*], and given an abſtract of them at the end of his Preface, as the only proper way of eſtimating the Roman pound. The whole of what Monſieur La Barre has advanced depends entirely upon the eſtabliſhment of this new principle, and the conſequences which he has drawn from it, which are given us in this order. Firſt [*g*], he obſerves (what is not ſtrictly true) "that the common eſtimate of the Ro-
"man pound was ſupported *only* by the Congius, as a
"metrical vaſe, which certainly contained ten pounds in
"weight; that this was taken as a fundamental prin-
"ciple, confirmed by the authority of Fannius, Feſtus,
"Priſcian, and even the inſcription upon the vaſe itſelf.
"But, if this proves to be a miſtake; if an opinion,
"ſeemingly ſo well ſupported, ſhould deſerve no credit,
"how cautious ſhould we be in not truſting to appear-
"ances, in letting nothing paſs without the moſt ſcrupu-
"lous examination, though it had in it many of the faireſt

[*f*] Preface to his edition of Livy, p. lxxiii. Paris, 1735.

[*g*] La Barre's Diſſertation, tom. VIII. de les Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et Belles lettres, p. 376.

"marks

"marks of truth! for that this univerſally received opi-
"nion was not true, might be proved by the infallible
"teſtimony of ancient writers." After ſuch an open-
ing, we have reaſon to expect nothing leſs than demon-
ſtration, and theſe are the premiſes upon which it is
formed. He begins with a very precarious, not to ſay
groundleſs [*b*], obſervation. "That there was at Rome
"two *different* pounds, one for weighing dry goods, the
"other for meaſuring liquids; theſe were called the
"*metrical* and *ſcale* pounds, each of them conſiſting of
"twelve ounces, and each ounce of eight Drachms:
"that the metrical vaſes were ſo well adjuſted, that they
"diſcovered not only the quantity, but the real weight
"of the liquors contained in them: but as liquors dif-
"fered much in their ſpecific gravity, it was neceſſary
"to have ſome fixed ſtandard, by which the weight
"contained in theſe metrical veſſels might be exactly
"known. One would have imagined, that the eaſieſt
"and moſt obvious method had been, to have taken
"one of the moſt common liquids, either wine or water,
"for this purpoſe, and fixed this metrical ſtandard by
"their weight. But the Romans were of a different
"opinion; they made choice of oil; the veſſel that
"contained a pound of oil was made a ſtandard meaſure
"for all other liquors. Galen [*i*] often mentions it in

[*b*] La Barre, ut ſupra, p. 377.

[*i*] Ἔστι δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς μέτρον, ᾧ τὸ ἔλαιον μέτρῶσι. De compoſit. med. κατὰ γένη, l. iii. c. 3. Τὴν τῦ ἐλαίυ καλαμένην λίτραν, ἣν διὰ τῦτ καλαλέλμημένων κεράτων μέτρῶσιν. Ibid. l. vi. p. 398. edit. Baſil.

"in this light, *the pound by which we meaſure oil, the "pound called the oil-pound*; and ſays, that the weight "of the oil contained in any one of theſe metrical veſſels "was to the ſcale-pound as ten [*k*] is to twelve: the "joint authorities of Fannius and Galen put this out of "all doubt. If the Romans therefore only knew the "difference there was in the ſpecific gravity of oil and "wine, which was eaſily known, and then allowed to "be as nine to ten, the weight of wine contained in "any one of theſe metrical oil veſſels would be eaſily "determined by this proportion."

AFTER all this apparatus he comes to the Congius, where all theſe premiſes are to produce that demonſtration we begin ſo impatiently to expect. "It is clear, "ſays he, from Fannius [*l*], that the Congius contained "nine metrical oil-pounds: For as the Sextarius con-"tained a pound and a half of oil, the Congius, which "was ſix Sextarii, muſt contain nine pounds. But "theſe were only metrical, not ſcale-pounds, as is evident "from other inſtances. Hence it follows, that the "Congius contains only nine metrical pounds, which "were in weight but ſeven pounds, ſix ounces. The "ſame Congius filled with wine, according to the pro-"portion already given, would contain only eight pounds, "four ounces, ſcale-weight; *i. e.* an hundred ounces, "not an hundred and twenty, as is commonly thought.

[*k*] Βελόμεν☉ μαθεῖν ὅποσον ἔχει ϛαθμὸν τῦ βάρυς, εὕρομ ἢ Ϝ ϛαθμικαῖς, δέκα εἴγίας ἴσας ταὶς μέτρικὺς τῦ ἐλαίυ ις. De compoſit. med. κατὰ γένη, l. vi. p. 398. ed. Baſil.

[*l*] Priſcian. apud Graev. Antiqq. Rom. vol. XI. p. 1349.

"But

"But, after all this, he confeſſes, that there was one "difficulty to be got over, occaſioned by the inſcription "on the Congius, and enforced by ſeveral ancient au- "thorities. How could this Congius be ſaid to con- "tain ten pounds, when, if filled with either water, "wine, or oil (the true eſtabliſhed ſtandard), or any "other liquid whatſoever, it could not poſſibly hold ten, "either metrical or ſcale-pounds." This, I muſt own, ſeems to be a difficulty; but the objection was, in his opinion, eaſily removed by ſaying, that it contained as much wine, as was equal to ten metrical pounds of oil; and upon this account might be rightly eſtimated, as a ten pound meaſure. The concluſion therefore which he draws from all this variety of very precarious ſuggeſtions is this, "that the Congius really contained an hundred "ounces, ſcale-weight; not an hundred and twenty, as is "commonly imagined." Then he adds "that Monſ. "Azout [*m*], making a very accurate experiment upon "this very Congius with ſpring water, found it to con- "tain an hundred and eight ounces, ſeven groſſes, and "forty eight French grains. But ſpring water is heavier "than wine, and the capacity of the veſſel ſomething "enlarged by the ruſt eating away ſomething from the "inſide. Monſ. Azout's eſtimate was rather too high; "making therefore the proper deductions, the pro- "portion between the Roman and Paris pound would "be as twelve Paris ounces to twelve and a half, or,

[*m*] Diſſertation ſur la livre Romaine, ut ſupra.

"reduced

"reduced to the Engliſh way of reckoning, the Roman "pound would be 5800 Troy grains, almoſt an ounce "and quarter more than Mr. Greaves's eſtimate." A conſiderable difference; but I am not ſo much ſurpriſed at the difference between theſe eſtimates, as at his extraordinary talents for traverſing and confounding all the ancient rules and methods for diſcovering the old Roman pound, and extracting evidence out of nothing. For what an imaginary proceſs is here? What nice arithmetical proportions aſſigned, purely for the ſake of weighing a ſhadow? What a labyrinth muſt we go through, to be able to explain P. X. upon a common metrical veſſel? That it was not ten pounds of any one liquid whatſoever, but held as much of one ſort of liquor as were equal to ten pounds of another? Can we believe, that the Roman people formed their metrical veſſels upon ſuch principles, or tranſacted ſome of the moſt common buſineſs of life, ſuch as buying oil, and wine, and vinegar, by adjuſting the proportion that one liquid bore to another in its ſpecific gravity? Alas! they knew almoſt nothing of this matter; they had given ſo little attention to this kind of diſquiſitions, that they very probably bought and ſold all their liquors from the ſame metrical vaſe, made originally for a pound. For all that appears from Galen is this: But it is ſuch an appearance as utterly overthrows all Monſ. La Barre has advanced. Galen found, by making experiments upon the metrical vaſes and ſcale-weights, that the metrical oil pound, or the horn made uſe of for meaſuring oil at Rome, was one ſixth part leſs in weight than their

Libra.

Libra. But this metrical horn [n] was divided into twelve parts or ounces like the Libra, and each of these divisions was commonly supposed to be equal to an ounce, scale-weight; they passed for such in this estimate. He thought, therefore, this discovery worth mentioning, that it might be of use in his profession, especially to a people where the use of oil was one part of their constant regimen. The tradesmen had no objection to this short measure; it was perhaps a custom long established: But the physician thought it requisite to interpose some caution; that, in prescribing oil, they ought to distinguish by what ounces they prescribed, whether the scale-ounce, or what was called the twelfth part of their metrical pound, πότερον [o] τὰς μετρικὰς, ἢ τὰς σταθμικάς. This is all that can be proved from Galen, all that he has said.

NOR is there the least foundation for saying that, in measuring liquids, the oil-measure was always the legal standard. It is so far from being true, that the very contrary is established by one of their ancient laws: Oil is not so much as mentioned in it. The Plebiscitum preserved in Festus, and made by two Tribunes of the Silian family, A. U. DIX, is a demonstration that wine was fixed

[n] Μέτρον, ᾧ ἔλαιον μετροῦσι, διῃρημένον γραμμαῖς διαφούσαις τὸ ξύμπαν εἰς μέρη ιβ', καὶ καλεῖται μὲν τὸ ὅλον μέτρον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, Λίτρα· τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον δ' αὐτῆς, Οὐγγία. De compos. med. κατὰ γένη, l. iii. c. 3. That these weights and measures were supposed to be equal, appears by a variety of instances. Thus, Ἐμβαλεῖς ἐλαίου λίτρᾳ μιᾷ Ῥωμαϊκῇ οὐγγίαν μίαν εὐφορβίου, ὅπερ ἐστὶν δωδέκατον μέρος τῆς ἐλαίου. De compos. med. κατὰ τόπους, l. i. c. 2. And again, Καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁμωνύμως ὁ λίτραῖος σταθμὸς τῶν ξηρῶν σωμάτων τῷ λίτραίῳ μέτρῳ τῶν ὑγρῶν. De compos. med. κατὰ γένη, l. i. c. 14.

[o] De compos. med. κατὰ γένη, lib. vi. p. 398.

upon

upon at Rome, as the metrical ſtandard for all liquids. I ſhall give it at large, becauſe it will determine ſome other important points in this queſtion, beſides the ſtandard-meaſure for liquids:

EX PONDERIBVS [p] PVBLICIS
QVIBVS HAC TEMPESTATE POPVLVS OETIER SOLET,
VTEI COAEQVENTVR SINE D. M.
QVADRANTAL VINEI OCTOGINTA PONDO SIET,
CONGIVS VINEI DECEM P. SIET,
SEX SEXTARII CONGIVS SIET VINEI,
DVO DE QVINQVAGINTA SEXTARII QVADRANTAL SIET VINEI,
SEXTARIVS AEQVVS CVM ARIDORVM SEXTARIO SIET,
SEXDECIMQVE LIBRAE IN MODIO SIENT.
SIQVIS MAGISTRATVS ADVERSVS HAEC D. M. PONDERA,
MODIOSQVE, VASAQVE PVBLICA MODICA, MINORA, MAIORAVE,
FAXIT, IVSSITVE FIERI, DOLVMVE ADDVIT, QVO EA
FIANT, EVM QVIS VOLET MAGISTRATVS MVLTARE,
VTEI DVM MINORE PATRIS FAMILIAS TAXAT, LICETO,
SIVE QVIS IN SACRVM IVDICARE VOLVERIT, LICETO.

Is it not evident from hence, that the Roman meaſure for liquids was the wine-meaſure? that this meaſure was at firſt adjuſted and determined by the ſcale-pound, and conſequently that no diſtinction was intended by their laws, between the metrical and ſcale-pounds? They were originally both the ſame; this was a ruled caſe, as appears from Priſcian, Galen, and others of that faculty: Priſcian ſays [q],

[p] Feſtus, in Publica pondera, and the corrections in the notes.

[q] Priſcian, ut ſupra, Graev. Antiqq. Roman. tom. XI. p. 1349.

"Illud

" Illud praeterea tecum cohibere memento,
" Finitum pondus varios ſervare liquores.
" Nam librae, ut memorant, beſſem ſextarius addit,
" Seu puros pendas latices, ſeu dona Lyaci:
" Addunt ſemiſſem librae liventis olivae."

Here the very ſame proportions are obſerved as in the Silian law. The Sextarius held *libram et beſſem*, or twenty ounces of wine; and conſequently ſix Sextarii were *congius vinei*, an hundred and twenty ounces, or ten ſcale-pounds. In meaſuring oil, the ſame Sextarius held only *libram et ſemiſſem*, eighteen ounces; *i. e.* was one ounce in ten leſs, and the Congius of courſe held only nine pounds of oil inſtead of ten. But the pound by which Priſcian, as well as Galen, eſtimates theſe veſſels is the *Libra*, the Scale, not the Metrical, pound. They ſay nothing of a legal Metrical vaſe, or pound for liquids, one ſixth part leſs than the Libra. This is meerly imagination; there is no colour in any ancient authorities for this diſtinction. Had Galen known of any Metrical pound different from the Libra, eſtabliſhed by their laws, he had never given that caution to the faculty, or aſſigned that reaſon, which immediately follows this obſervation, *that the Scale-pound determined the weight of bodies; the Metrical, only the contents, or quantity of ſpace they filled.* After all Monſ. La Barre's appeals to Galen, there is not a word ſaid of oil's being the ſtandard for meaſuring liquids; he only obſerves the great defect in the horns by which it was retailed at the ſhops. For had oil been meaſured by the ſame pound-veſſel which was uſed for wine, there ought to have

been above ten ounces and three quarters in it; oil being only one ninth, and not one ſixth leſs in weight than wine. As therefore, neither of theſe aſſertions have any ſort of foundation, nothing can be done with them towards determining the weight of the Roman pound, or towards any other purpoſe whatſoever. But by comparing the weight contained in theſe Metrical vaſes, the *Congius*, *Sextarius*, &c. by the eſtimates of them given in very diſtant ages, *i. e.* from the tribuneſhip of the two Silii down to Priſcian, for above ſeven hundred years at leaſt, we have a ſtrong preſumption, that the Roman Libra was the ſame, or very nearly the ſame, during all that period. Wine, the ſtandard meaſure for liquids, could alter little or nothing in its weight, and therefore the Roman pound muſt be the ſame; there could be no alteration, unleſs all their meaſures of capacity were altered along with it, from the *Ligula* to the *Culleus*, that is, from the forty-eighth part of a pint to almoſt one hundred and forty four gallons; theſe meaſures having always the ſame proportion to each other, and conſequently to the ſame pound.

HENCE likewiſe we may as certainly conclude, that there was no difference in the nummulary pound, as Monſ. La Barre [*r*] ſuppoſes, whether eighty-four or ninety-ſix Denarii were ſtruck out of it. There was indeed a difference of one ſeventh in the coins, and almoſt one ſixth in the nominal pound, which ſoon after this leſſening of the Denarii was ſcarce ever mentioned.

[*r*] Diſſertation ſur la livre Romaine, ut ſupra, p. 374, 375.

As

As this expedient of Monſ. La Barre's for diſcovering the weight of the Roman Libra ſerves only to embarraſs all the former enquiries upon this ſubject, and proves nothing, a ſhort review of thoſe principles, which induced Villalpandus, Mr. Greaves, &c. to conclude that the Roman pound was always the ſame it is at preſent, may ſerve to place this matter in a clearer light.

THE methods made uſe of for diſcovering the weight of the old Roman Libra were chiefly [s] theſe; *their coins*, *their concave meaſures*, and the *old pounds* now remaining.

THE coins had a very plauſible appearance; the number of them, that was ſtruck in the ounce at different times, was well known. The experiment was eaſy, there was nothing more to do, but to weigh them. But as eaſy as this appears to be, weighing the Roman coins

[s] Some other methods have been made uſe of for this purpoſe; as weighing the ſeeds of the Siliquae or Lupins abroad, which were eſtimated at a certain number in the ſcruple. For thus Priſcian:

" Semina ſex alii ſiliquis latitantia curvis
" Attribuunt ſcriplo....
....." triſtesve lupinos
" Bis duo....

But here the difference of ſoils and ſeaſons in the ſame country would make ſome difference in the weight; and the leaſt miſtake in ſetting out, when you began your computation from ſo ſmall a principle, would occaſion a conſiderable difference in the whole. The cube of the Roman foot, which contained eighty pounds, has been another expedient. But it is rather more difficult to determine the exact length of the Roman foot, than the weight of the Libra: For the different pounds and ounces from the ſeveral modules of the Roman foot, ſee Hooper's Inquiry, p. 87.

has produced very different concluſions. Villalpandus [*t*], after many experiments at Rome, found them ſo different, that he thought nothing could be done with them. This was concluding much too haſtily. It is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the different ages of the coins, and as neceſſary to conclude, that, as none of them were ſcarce ever ſtruck above weight, the heavieſt now in being will bring us neareſt to the proper eſtimate. Mr. Greaves therefore, by repeated experiments upon ſome of the faireſt conſular Denarii now remaining, found that they weighed ſixty two Troy grains [*u*]: ſeven times 62 is 434, and conſequently a Roman ounce, formed upon theſe premiſes, would be 434 Troy grains; four grains only leſs than their preſent ounce. But Dr. Bernard [*w*] afterwards found ſome of Druſus's Denarii, which weighed above 66$\frac{1}{4}$ Troy grains, which fell in exactly with the weight of the preſent Roman pound.

IF we compute by the weight of the Aurei, the point will be more undetermined. The Conſular Aurei were forty in the pound, a little above the duplicate proportion of their Denarii. They gave them this ſmall addition in weight, that they might paſs currently in exchange with

[*t*] "Cum plures denarios ejuſdem *formae*, *inſcriptionis*, et pene *magnitudinis* appenderemus, atque ita ſimiles, ut non [ſolum] eodem tempore, "ſed eodem prorſus die percuſſos fuiſſe conjiceres, tamen eos deprendimus "quinis, novenis, aut denis granis pondere a ſe invicem diſtare. Ex quo, "&c." De apparatu urbis et templi, par. II. lib. ii. diſp. 2. c. 13. p. 357, et 498.

[*u*] Denarius, p. 78.

[*w*] "Denarios conſulares aeſtimat Graevius granis Anglicis 62$\frac{4}{7}$. "De denar. p. 94. quantos quidem vidi Druſi aliquot." Bernard. De menſuris et ponderibus, p. 195.

the

the Attic Aurei, which regularly weighed two of their Drachmae. The faireſt Conſular Aurei, that I have ſeen exhibited, are thoſe in Lord Pembroke's [x] and Dr. Mead's cabinets.

	Troy Grains.
One of Julius Caeſar's weighs,	127
Others of the Cornelian and Caſſian families, the ſame,	127
One of the Julian family,	126$\frac{1}{2}$
Several of Auguſtus's, Brutus's, Mark Anthony's, &c.	125

Theſe coins were, no doubt, originally intended for the ſame weight; but the pound that ariſes from the heavieſt of them would be only 5080 Troy grains, almoſt half an ounce leſs than the former.

IF we come to the lower empire, when the Solidi or Aurei were ſix in the ounce, or ſeventy-two in the pound, the faireſt that Mr. Greaves [y] met with, or appear in any of theſe cabinets (except one in Lord Pembroke's of ſeventy-five), are but ſeventy Troy grains: a pound taken from theſe coins would be forty grains leſs than the former.

BUT if we admit in both theſe inſtances, what is indiſputably neceſſary to be allowed, that all theſe coins, ſtruck in ſo ſoft a metal, muſt, after a few years currency, loſe ſomething of their weight, this would make a conſiderable difference in the eſtimate. If we put a hundred of our guineas into the ſcale, after forty or fifty years circulation, they will loſe at an average not

[x] Numiſmata Pembrochiana, fol. 8, 9. 12. Dr. Mead's Catalogue p. 3. &c.

[y] Denar. p. 112. Numiſm. Pembroch. fol. 37.

leſs

leſs than three or four grains in their weight. Suppoſe therefore, as a reaſonable poſtulatum, that theſe Solidi of the lower empire weighed originally but three grains more, 73 times 72 would make 5256 grains, the preſent Roman pound. And the Conſular Aurei, at a very little more than four grains allowance for loſs, would come exactly to the ſame weight.

MR. Greaves, not entirely ſatisfied with theſe experiments upon the coins, was perſuaded, that the moſt certain way to diſcover the weight of the Roman pound was from their concave meaſures, eſpecially from an old Congius [z], now preſerved in the Farneſian family, which

[z] This celebrated vaſe, ſo often appealed to, and engraved by different hands, has not been uniformly repreſented in the legend. Montfaucon and Gruter exhibit it in this manner:

IMP. CAESARE
VESPAS. $\overline{VI}$. COS.
T. CAES. AVG. F. IIII
MENSVRAE
EXACTAE IN
CAPITOLIO.

P. X.

Mr. Greaves, who has ſo accurately given us the ſize and form of this veſſel, places the letters in this manner:

IMP. CAESARE
VESPAS. $\overline{VI}$.
T. CAES. AVG. F. $\overset{cos.}{IIII}$
&c.

This pompous legend written in ſilver letters and in ſo queſtionable a form has given an air of impoſture to the whole. One of Gruter's correſpondents intimated his ſuſpicions, that the vaſe was not antique; and Dr. Langwith ſaid, that *the omiſſion of* cos. *in the third line before* IIII *is ſufficient for me to judge it ſpurious*. Obſervat. on Arbuthnot, p. 8. If we

was

was made to contain, what the inſcription upon it demonſtrates, X. P. *decem pondo*; and claims the honour of being one of the original ſtandard-meaſures, made, by Veſpaſian's order, at Rome. Villalpandus [*a*], filling it with water, and weighing it in all appearance with the greateſt care and ſkill imaginable, found it to contain ten ſuch pounds as are now uſed at Rome. Angelus Colotius [*b*], who had frequently made the ſame experiment both with

may depend upon Mr. Greaves's copy, cos. was at firſt omitted in both lines, and crowded in afterwards in ſmaller characters between them; but in ſo improper a manner, that it juſtly makes the whole legend ſuſpicious; for, whatever line cos. belongs to, the numerals are inſerted before it. The Romans indeed, when they expreſſed the number of magiſtrates or perſons in any office, placed the numeral firſt, as III. VIR. R. P. C. *reipublicae conſtituendae*; and IV, or III. VIRI. A. A. A. FLANDO FERIVNDO; *the maſters of the mint*. But when they ſpecifyed how often a perſon had born any office, the numerals always followed the office; as in one of J. Caeſar's medals. IMP. QVAR. COS. QVAR. DICT. QVAR. This rule was ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that, even when it created an ambiguity, they never altered it. Thus in one of Mark Antony's medals: COS. DESIG. ITER. ET TER. III VIR. R. P. C. Upon this principle Mediobarbi corrects a legend of Patin's in his Familiae Romanae. M. ANT. IMP. COS. DESIG. ITER. ET TER. III. That either the laſt numeral was not upon the coin, or VIR was added to it. The language itſelf has not quite the appearance of antiquity: MENSVRAE EXACTAE looks more like a copy than an original; and though we meet with the models of weights and meaſures kept in their temples, as TEMP. OPIS AVG. *the temples of Caſtor and Hercules*, yet I think not in the Capitol. But though the inſcription might be added to inhance the price to the purchaſer, there can be no queſtion but the vaſe itſelf is antique.

[*a*] "Quo factum eſt, ut eadem aqua Congii menſurae, ſextariorum numero, ac decem librarum ponderi omnium (i. e. adſtantium) probante judicio ex aequo reſpondere probaretur." Villalpand. in Ezechiel. vol. III. p. 351. There were many people preſent at the experiment, and ſeveral of them perſons of rank.

[*b*] "Exacta ſaepe menſura, tum vino tum aqua, Angelus Colotius comperit eſſe decem librarum." Gruter. Inſcript. vol. I. p. CCXXIII.

wine

wine and water, aſſerted the ſame thing. Monſ. Peireſk procured [c] two models of the Congius to be made by the beſt hands at Rome; and Gaſſendus, filling them with water, found they came up to Villalpandus's eſtimate, and almoſt half an ounce more. But experiments of this kind, ever ſo accurately made, are not, like the weight of coins, indiſputably admitted as certain facts. Paetus, who, before Villalpandus, had made the ſame experiment with the Congius, was perſuaded that it held leſs than ten Roman pounds. Villalpandus [d] and Fabretti condemn Paetus's experiment, as careleſsly and inaccurately made: Savot [e], on the other hand, treats Villalpandus with the ſame freedom; and Monſ. Azout comes afterwards, goes through the ſame experimental proceſs upon the Congius, and concludes, from the weight of it, that the Roman pound was almoſt half an ounce leſs than Villalpandus's. Such inequalities as theſe will often attend experiments of this ſort, either by ſome defect in the balance, or ſome difference in the gravity of the waters, which frequently differ from one another, and ſometimes from themſelves. But, not to reſt this point upon the evidence of a ſingle veſſel, Pere Bonani [f] exa-

[c] Greaves's Denar. p. 94. "Deprendimus autem aquam, quae pondere "Romano eſſe debuit decem librarum ſeu unciarum cxx, eſſe pondere Pa-"riſienſi librarum ſeptem minus unciae quadrante." Gaſſend. vita Peireſk. p. 10. Gaſſendus makes the Paris weights to the Roman to be nearly as ſeven to ten, and the Provincial as nine to ten.

[d] De apparatu urbis et templi, vol. III. p. 351, 352. et Fabretti in Montfaucon's L'Antiquité expliquée, tom. iii. part. i. p. 150.

[e] Savot. apud Graev. Theſaur. Antiqq. Roman. vol. XI. p. 1265.

[f] Montfaucon ut ſupra, tom. iii. par. i. p. 150.

mined

mined the weight of water in an ancient Sextarius, and found it contained twenty Roman ounces, was exactly, as its name implyed, the ſixth part of the Congius, and confirmed Villalpandus's account of that veſſel, and the Roman pound.

THE experiments made upon the concave meaſures and the coins had given Mr. Greaves [*g*] ſo much ſatisfaction, that he took little notice of the ancient pounds, which differ ſo widely from one another. They had indeed this diſadvantage in common with the coins, that there was no expecting to find any of them, which had not, by length of time, or other cauſes, loſt ſomething of their weight. For here the temptations to fraud were rather greater: the iniquitous practice [*b*] of leſſening their weights was a juſt ſubject of complaint in the Roman empire, which could not poſſibly be redreſſed. Beſides this, the provincial cuſtoms muſt, no doubt, take place in Italy, as well as England. Though our ſtandard weights are ſo exactly eſtabliſhed by public authority; yet, ſuch is the force of cuſtom, that in ſeveral parts of England, eſpecially at a diſtance from the metropolis, ſeveral articles are ſent to market by a pound of eighteen or twenty ounces. But notwithſtanding the great inequalities, which upon all theſe accounts are obſerved in the ancient pounds now remaining, ſome of them come very near the preſent Roman pound. The faireſt

[*g*] Denarius, p. 95. [*b*] "Ponderaque per regiones inſtituit univerſas, "cum aviditati multorum ex libidine trutinas componentium occurri nequi-"ret." Ammian. Marcell. p. 542. ed. Gronov. 4to. Hadrian made it equally penal to falſify weights as to forge a will. Many of the old pounds now remaining muſt be the mercantile pound, which occaſions difficulties.

of theſe exhibited by Gruter [*i*] are ſomething heavier than the pound taken from the Aurei; and thoſe in Monſ. Peireſk's [*k*] collection riſe higher ſtill, and make the Roman ounce 433 grains, but a grain ſhort of Mr. Greaves's eſtimate: and above all, our Averdupois pound, which appears, by ſeveral ancient writers [*l*] *De ponderibus et menſuris*, to have been the commercial pound of the lower empire, adds ſuch a deciſive evidence in this queſtion, as is not to be rejected: twelve ounces of it ſo exactly coincide with the preſent Roman pound, that there is not above half a grain difference.

SUCH are the premiſes from which the eſtimates of the ancient Roman Libra have been formed; and ſuch are the inequalities with which they are attended. None of them perhaps, taken ſingly, carry ſo much weight with them, as to determine the point indiſputably againſt all the reſt: and yet almoſt every perſon, who has examined this queſtion, has purſued his particular method, and formed a calculation upon *a ſingle principle*, not conſidering, that, as far as any of theſe experiments are deciſive evidence, they muſt fall in with one another and eſtabliſh the ſame concluſion. In ſuch a variety therefore of experiments, premiſes, conjectures, and concluſions made from each of them, what is to be done? How are theſe difficulties to be got over, and the point at laſt determined? Not in Monſ. Savot's [*m*] method; who

[*i*] Corp. Inſcrip. f. ccxxi.
[*k*] Gaſſend. vita Peireſk.
[*l*] See the Averdupois pound, in Chap. II. p. 89.
[*m*] Savot, apud Graev. Antiqq. Rom. vol. XI. p. 1249.

proceeded

proceeded upon a ſingle principle, and deduced his pound from the coins, and chiefly thoſe of the lower empire. Here ſomething ſhould have been allowed for a deficiency in weight, which by the coins themſelves could not poſſibly be adjuſted. Not in Paetus's [n]; his pound was taken from the cube of the Amphora, made by a Roman foot, a ſingle principle as before, and, what is worſe, a principle full as uncertain as the pound he would deduce from it. And more eſpecially, not in Monſ. Eiſenſchmid's or La Barre's. The firſt of them forms his concluſions from corrupt or miſtaken paſſages in ancient authors; or from the weight of a ſingle coin. The other makes his calculations from an imaginary ſtandard-meaſure, which never had any exiſtence, and which conſequently cannot be a proper foundation for any eſtimate whatſoever. Mr. Greaves proceeded in a more judicious method. He examined all the different premiſes, which had any known relation to this queſtion; he obſerved the calculations made from the *Coins*, the *Concave meaſures*, and the *ancient Weights*; found *ſeveral* of them the very ſame as the preſent Roman pound; that *others* had but a trifling difference; that *all* of them came near the ſame eſtimate, and contributed to form this rational concluſion, *viz.* that the preſent Roman pound, of ancient and immemorial uſage in that city, was certainly the pound of the lower empire. Each of theſe premiſes, allowing for ſuch neceſſary alterations as time and other cauſes would inevitably occaſion, *united* in this deciſion. Mr. Greaves

[n] Paetus, ibid. p. 1619.

agreed therefore with Villalpandus, and thought he had reaſon to ſay, "Conſtanter [o] aſſerimus antiquam Ro-"manorum libram, unciam, ac pondera tot aetatum "ſucceſſione ac Romani imperii perturbationibus mi-"nime immutata fuiſſe, ſed eadem per manus tradita ad "noſtra uſque tempora perduraſſe."

MONTFAUCON indeed, who had conſidered this ſubject with particular attention, was of opinion that the ancient Conſular pound was *une* [p] *peu plus forte, que celle d'aujourd'hui*, a trifle heavier than the preſent Roman pound. Admitting this, which has often been the caſe of ancient pounds, and was remarkably ſo in our old Saxon pound, by the different eſtimates in the times of Edward III and Henry VII; the wear of the pounds being not ſufficiently attended to; yet this ſmall defect makes no difference at all in the principal point we have in view, *i. e.* the eſtimating the *value of the Roman money*. For as their pound was merely nominal, a ſum paid in tale by coins, which were originally ſtruck with no great exactneſs, this *tantillum gravior* occaſions no difficulty in the general eſtimate. Mr. Smith [q] has drawn up very accurate Tables for reckoning the Roman money, ſuppoſing that there were an hundred De-

[o] Villalpand. p. 351.

[p] Montfaucon publiſhed, near thirty years before his Antiquities, an anonymous Greek author, who compared the Roman weights and meaſures with the Greek, which I could never meet with; but what he has ſaid in his Antiquities was, I ſuppoſe, the reſult of his enquiries upon this ſubject. tom. III. par. i. p. 152. It is not improbable that there had been ſome little diminution; but, by comparing the Silian law with Priſcian, it appears to be a very trifle.

[q] Smith's Letters De re nummaria, p. 273.

narii

narii in the pound, and the full legal weight of each coin was to be exactly eſtimated. But this was not the caſe. The real pound both in Greece and Rome conſiſted only of eighty-four Drachmae or Denarii; there was an *incrementum* or addition of ſixteen more to make it a round number, to ſave the trouble of weighing, and to give more than an equivalent for any deficiency in the weight or fineneſs of the coins. Something therefore ought to be allowed for this deficiency in making a proper eſtimate; and there ſeems to be no way of doing it ſo well, as by following their example, bringing the eſtimate to a round number; beginning at the *Seſtertium pondo* or a thouſand Seſterces, and ſtriking off the odd ſhillings in all the following computations. This will certainly bring it much nearer the real value of their money. I have therefore taken the liberty of altering Mr. Smith's Tables into this new form, and cannot but obſerve that ſome perſons [*r*] of approved taſte and judgement in theſe matters, have already introduced the ſame method of eſtimating the Roman money.

[*r*] Melmoth, in his Tranſlation of Pliny's Epiſtles, &c. The being unacquainted with the methods of reckoning the Roman money has led ſome very conſiderable authors into great miſtakes. Sir George Wheeler, in his Travels, mentioning an inſcription upon an arch at Jadera, or Zara, ſays "it coſt "630 Seſtertia, which is a piece of money that weigheth about two-pence "halfpenny, and amounts to about twelve pounds ſterling; which was a great "deal of money in thoſe days." But, in his Preface, he corrects this eſtimate, as rather too high; that a Seſtertium, or Seſtertius, weighed not above two-pence of our money, ſo that the whole coſt was about five pounds five ſhillings of our money. If the numerals are read right, LLS. DCXX, the ſum could not be leſs than 5040 *l.* This arch was erected by Melia Anniana, to the memory of her huſband, and adorned with ſtatues.

Mr.

Mr. SMITH'S TABLES,

CORRECTED and ENLARGED.

Roman money.	English Pds.	
1,000	8	MILLE Seſtertii, or Mille Seſtertiûm, or Mille nummûm.
2,000	16	Duo or Bina Seſtertia, or Duo Millia [Seſtertiûm], or Duo Millia Seſtertiûm [nummûm].
3,000	24	Tria or Terna Seſtertia, or Tria Millia [Seſtertiûm].
4,000	32	Quatuor or Quaterna Seſtertia, or Quatuor Millia [Seſtertiûm].
5,000	40	Quinque or Quina Seſtertia, or &c.
6,000	48	Sex or Sena Seſtertia, or &c.
7,000	56	Septem or Septena Seſtertia, or &c.
8,000	64	Octo or Octona Seſtertia, or &c.
9,000	72	Novem or Nona Seſtertia, or &c.
10,000	80	DECEM or Dena Seſtertia, or x Millia [Seſtertiûm nummûm].
11,000	88	Undecim Seſtertia, or Undecim Millia [Seſtertiûm nummûm].
20,000	160	Viginti or Bis dena Seſtertia, or xx Millia [Seſtertiûm nummûm].
30,000	240	Triginta Seſtertia, or Triginta Millia [Seſtertiûm nummûm].
40,000	320	Quadraginta Seſtertia, or &c.
50,000	400	Quinquaginta Seſtertia, or &c.
60,000	480	Sexaginta Seſtertia, or &c.
70,000	560	Septuaginta Seſtertia, or &c.
80,000	640	Octoginta Seſtertia, or &c.
90,000	720	Nonaginta Seſtertia, or &c.
100,000	800	CENTUM Seſtertia, or Centum Millia [Seſtertiûm nummûm].
101,000	808	Centum Seſtertia ſemel.
200,000	1,600	Ducenta Seſtertia, or Ducenta Millia [Seſtertiûm nummûm].
300,000	2,400	Trecenta, or Ter Centena Millia [nummûm].
400,000	3,200	Quadringenta, or Quater Centena &c.
500,000	4,000	Quingenta, or Quinquies Centena &c.
600,000	4,800	Sexcenta, or Sexies Centena &c.
700,000	5,600	Septingenta, or Septies Centena &c.
800,000	6,400	Octingenta, or Octies Centena &c.
900,000	7,200	Nongenta, or Novies Centena &c.
1,000,000	8,000	DECIES, or Decies centena [Millia], or Decies Seſtertium.

1,100,000

Roman money.	Engliſh pds.	
1,100,000	8,800	Undecies ſemel.
1,200,000	9,600	Duodecies, or Bis et decies.
1,300,000	10,400	Tredecies.
1,400,000	11,200	Quaterdecies.
1,500,000	12,000	Quindecies.
1,600,000	12,800	Sedecies.
1,700,000	13,600	Decies ſepties.
1,800,000	14,400	Decies octies.
1,900,000	15,200	Decies novies.
2,000,000	16,000	VICIES Seſtertium, or Vicies Centena Millia.
2,100,000	16,800	Vicies ſemel, or Vicies et centum Millia.
2,200,000	17,600	Bis et vicies Seſtertium.
3,000,000	24,000	TRICIES.
4,000,000	32,000	QUADRAGIES.
5,000,000	40,000	QUINQUAGIES.
6,000,000	48,000	SEXAGIES.
7,000,000	56,000	SEPTUAGIES.
8,000,000	64,000	OCTOGIES.
9,000,000	72,000	NONAGIES.
10,000,000	80,000	CENTIES Seſtertium.
11,000,000	88,000	Semel et centies, or Centies decies.
12,000,000	96,000	Centies vicies.
20,000,000	160,000	DUCENTIES.
21,000,000	168,000	Ducenties decies.
30,000,000	240,000	TRECENTIES.
40,000,000	320,000	QUADRINGENTIES.
50,000,000	400,000	QUINGENTIES.
60,000,000	480,000	SEXCENTIES.
70,000,000	560,000	SEPTINGENTIES.
80,000,000	640,000	OCTINGENTIES.
90,000,000	720,000	NONGENTIES.
100,000,000	800,000	MILLIES [Seſtertium].
101,000,000	808,000	Millies decies.
102,000,000	816,000	Millies vicies.
110,000,000	880,000	Millies centies.
200,000,000	1,600,000	Bis millies.
210,000,000	1,680,000	Bis millies centies.
300,000,000	2,400,000	Ter millies.
400,000,000	3,200,000	Quater millies.
500,000,000	4,000,000	Quinquies millies.
600,000,000	4,800,000	Sexies millies.
700,000,000	5,600,000	Septies millies.
800,000,000	6,400,000	Octies millies.
900,000,000	7,200,000	Novies millies.
1,000,000,000	8,000,000	DECIES MILLIES [Seſtertium].

1,100,000,000

Roman money.	Engliſh pds.	
1,100,000,000	8,800,000	Decies millies ſemel.
1,200,000,000	9,600,000	Bis et decies millies.
1,300,000,000	10,400,000	Ter et decies millies.
1,400,000,000	11,200,000	Quater et decies millies.
1,500,000,000	12,000,000	Quinque et decies millies.
1,600,000,000	12,800,000	Sex et decies millies.
1,700,000,000	13,600,000	Septem et decies millies.
1,800,000,000	14,400,000	Octo et decies millies.
1,900,000,000	15,200,000	Novies et decies millies.
2,000,000,000	16,000,000	VICIES MILLIES, or Bis decies millies.
2,100,000,000	16,800,000	Vicies millies ſemel.
2,200,000,000	17,600,000	Vicies bis millies.
2,300,000,000	18,400,000	Vicies ter millies.
2,400,000,000	19,200,000	Vicies quater millies.
2,500,000,000	20,000,000	Vicies quinquies millies.
2,600,000,000	20,800,000	Vicies ſexies millies.
2,700,000,000	21,600,000	Vicies ſepties millies.
2,800,000,000	22,400,000	Vicies octies millies.
2,900,000,000	23,200,000	Vicies novies millies.
3,000,000,000	24,000,000	TRICIES MILLIES.
3,100,000,000	24,800,000	Tricies millies ſemel.
3,200,000,000	25,600,000	Tricies bis millies.
3,300,000,000	26,400,000	Tricies ter millies.
3,400,000,000	27,200,000	Tricies quater millies.
3,500,000,000	28,000,000	Tricies quinquies millies.
3,600,000,000	28,800,000	Tricies ſexies millies.
3,700,000,000	29,600,000	Tricies ſepties millies.
3,800,000,000	30,400,000	Tricies octies millies.
3,900,000,000	31,200,000	Tricies novies millies.
4,000,000,000	32,000,000	QUADRAGIES MILLIES.
5,000,000,000	40,000,000	QUINQUAGIES MILLIES.
6,000,000,000	48,000,000	SEXAGIES MILLIES.
7,000,000,000	56,000,000	SEPTUAGIES MILLIES.
8,000,000,000	64,000,000	OCTOGIES MILLIES.
9,000,000,000	72,000,000	NONAGIES MILLIES.
10,000,000,000	80,000,000	CENTIES MILLIES.
11,000,000,000	88,000,000	Decies et centies millies.
20,000,000,000	160,000,000	DUCENTIES MILLIES.
30,000,000,000	240,000,000	TRECENTIES MILLIES.
40,000,000,000	320,000,000	QUADRINGENTIES MILLIES.

THOUGH

THOUGH the method, by which the Romans expreſſed their ſums of money in SESTERCES, has been often explained, yet it may not be amiſs to repeat it here, that the Reader may have a clearer apprehenſion of the terms made uſe of in the foregoing Table. Under this head I follow Gronovius, it being a province in which he muſt be allowed to reign without a rival; and I appeal to his authority with the greater pleaſure in the concluſion of this work, as I have differed from him ſo often in the former parts of it.

I. *Seſtertius*, in whatever Caſe, Gender, or Number, it appears, is always an Adjective. The Romans borrowed this mode of expreſſion from the Greeks; who *often* expreſſed a Fraction, not by adding it to the *Integer* preceding, but by deducting it from the *Integer* following; and denoted the Quantity of that Fraction, not by the Cardinal, but by the Ordinal Numeral; as, τρίτον ἡμιωβόλιον, τέμπ]ον ἡμιτάλαντον, &c. meaning *two oboli and a half, four talents and a half* [a]. Thus *Seſtertius* originally ſignified *the half third As*, or *two Aſſes and a half*, when the As was really a pound, and ſo it became the fourth part of the Roman Denarius, which was originally worth ten Aſſes; and always bore that proportion to the Denarius, till the Romans changed their nummulary language, and the Denarius itſelf ſunk into a braſs coin. But even then the original analogy of *Seſtertius* was preſerved; it was reckoned as the fourth part of this new *As* or *Denarius*, and was no more than a farthing.

II. As far as a thouſand, they uſed *Seſtertii* or *Nummi*, jointly or ſeparately, in the Maſculine, with a numeral *Adjective* in the ſame Gender and Caſe: As, *Duo* or *bini*, *viginti* or *bis deni*, *mille Seſtertii*, or

[a] Beſides this form of expreſſion, the Greeks uſed τὸ ἥμισυ, or, by contraction, ἡμι, as an *Integer* not fractioned, and ſaid τρία ἡμιωβόλια, *three half-oboli*, juſt as we ſay *three half-pence*, where the word *half-penny* is conſidered as an *Integer*, as being of one uniform claſs. Theſe two modes of expreſſion the great maſter of Northern Languages has confounded, when he makes þꝛeo healf and þꝛiþþe healf to ſignify the ſame thing. Gram. Anglo-Sax. c. vi. vol. I. p. 33. And Iſ. Caſaubon himſelf, who, with great accuracy, pointed out the difference between the two forms, did not ſufficiently attend to it, when he interprets *quinus ſemipes* in Plin. N. H. xvii. 11. *i. e.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, to be the ſame with τέμπ]ον ἡμιπόδιον, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. He probably miſtook *quinus* for *quintus*, the cardinal for the ordinal number; for *quinus ſemipes*, in Greek, is τρίτον ἡμιπόδιον, not τέμπ]ον. In Theoph. Char. c. vi.

nummi, or *Seſtertii nummi*, i. e. two, twenty, a thouſand Seſterces. This was ſo uniformly preſerved, that even the excurrent parts of a ſum, under a thouſand, when ſubjoined to an *Integer* above a thouſand, were expreſſed in the Maſculine, though the *Integer* was in the Neuter: As, *Seſtertiûm viginti millia* QUADRINGENTI. Cic. ad Att. i. 7. which Manutius was not aware of, when he explains it *quadringenta*, in the Neuter.

For a thouſand Seſterces they uſed not only *mille Seſtertii*, as above, but *mille Seſtertiûm* or *mille nummûm*; which different conſtructions aroſe from *mille* being uſed either as a Subſtantive or Adjective; as they ſaid equally *mille paſſus*, or *mille drachmarum*, Ter. Heaut. III. iii. 40.

III. But all higher ſums, under a million, were expreſſed by *Seſtertia* [*b*] in the Neuter Plural, without *mille* or *millia*. If *millia* was added, *Seſtertia* was omitted, and *Seſtertiûm* (for *Seſtertiorum*) was ſubſtituted in its place, or was underſtood; as *Millia quinque rapit*, Mart. 1. iii. 62. denoting five thouſand Seſterces; which might have been expreſſed by *quinque* or *quina Seſtertia*,—or *quinque millia Seſtertiûm*, —or *quinque millia nummûm*,—or *quinque millia Seſtertiûm nummûm*.

But not by *quinque mille Seſtertii*;—much leſs by *quinque millia Seſtertia*,—or *Seſtertia quinque millia nummûm*,—or *Seſtertii quinque millia*.—The firſt mode was rejected, becauſe though *mille Seſtertii* was uſed for a thouſand Seſterces, yet they left off there, as the ultimate limit of the Maſculine *centenary* Numeration. The Millenary numeration was by *Seſtertia*, ſcil. *pondera*. They could not add *millia* to *Seſtertia*, becauſe, that Neuter plural being always a Subſtantive, would require a Genitive caſe after it: For though MILLE *viginti quatuor paſſus* is XXIV miles; MILLIA *viginti quatuor paſſuum* is XXIV thouſand miles, i. e. XXIV *mille paſſus*. Gron. ad Liv. Epit. LV.—The difficulties about the Roman way of expreſſing ſums of money are contained within theſe limits, between *mille Seſtertii* and *decies*, or between a thouſand and a million.

IV. The Romans reckoned by Decads juſt as we do, till they came to ten hundred thouſand, or a million, for which, having no new

[*b*] The French writers in general call *Seſtertia* the *Great Seſterce*. I know not for what reaſon. In this, from an ill-placed complaiſance, they are followed by ſeveral of our countrymen; particularly by Mr. Gordon, in his tranſlation of Tacitus.

term

term or denomination, they multiplied their higheſt numeral term by the *Decad* ADVERB in *es*, and ſaid DECIES *centena millia*, or *Decies centena*; leaving *millia* to be underſtood; as *Decies centena dabuntur*, Juv. x. 335. which, when fully expreſſed, is *Decies centena millia Seſtertiûm nummûm*. But, to avoid this circumlocution by *Centena millia*, they had recourſe generally to a new term, and denoted this ſum by *Decies Seſtertium*; uſing *Seſtertium*, in all numerations from *Decies*, not as a Genitive plural, which it was in the inferior numerations, but as a Neuter ſingular, agreeing with *pondus argenti* underſtood.

That in this form it is a Neuter ſingular appears, 1. Becauſe *nummûm* is never added to it, with which it might agree, and therefore was probably not underſtood; for though they uſed *Decies centena millia Seſtertiûm nummûm*, they never ſaid *Decies Seſtertium* NUMMUM, or *Decies* NUMMUM. *Nummum* was excluded from the Adverbial Million claſs. 2. Becauſe *Decies*, *Vicies*, &c. *Seſtertium* is always joined with a Verb ſingular, and with an Adjective and Relative both ſingular and neuter: As, *Seſtertium ſexagies*, QUOD *advexerat Domitius*, ALLATUM *ad ſe Corſinienſibus reddit*. Caeſ. B. C. I. 23. *Huic Senatus decrevit Seſtertium centies quinquagies*—CUJUS *honore contentus fuit*. Plin. Ep. VII. 29. where ſee Caſaubon. 3. Becauſe it is uſed in the oblique caſes ſingular, where there can be no ſuſpicion of its being a plural: as, *In* SESTERTIO *vicies*, QUOD *a patre acceperat*, Corn. Nep. Attic. c. 14. *Sexagies* SESTERTIO, — *tricies* SESTERTIO, Val. Max. IX. c. i. 4. *Accepto centies* SESTERTIO, Vell. Pat. l. ii. 48. and Tacitus, *diſpoſito per menſas millies* SESTERTIO, Ann. vi. c. 17. *Syngrapha* SESTERTII *centies*, Cic. in Philip. ii. *Libertinus* SESTERTII *ter millies poſſeſſor*, Tac. l. XII. To ſuppoſe with ſome, that, in theſe and many more inſtances, all the Mſſ. are corrupted, is begging the queſtion, againſt evidence; to ſay with others, that, in *accepto centies Seſtertium*, we muſt underſtand it in the Genitive, *centenorum millium nummorum pretio*, the queſtion ſtill remains, why they uſed the ſingular, not with the numeral *Adjective*, but with the Millionary *Adverb* only; why they never ſaid *accepto binûm*, *denûm*, *centenûm nummûm* [pretio]; but *accepto decies* [pondere]. *As* then in the firſt claſs, *pondera* in the ſecond, and *pondus* in the third, uniformly ſolve all the difficulties of conſtruction. This is a ſhort view of the whole; allowing

for ſuch inconſiſtencies as incorrect paſſages may poſſibly occaſion. But ſee Gronovius more fully on this head, Pec. Vet. l. ii. c. 3, 4.

This Adverbial Decad form was regularly preſerved from *Decies*, *Vicies*, *Tricies*, &c. to *Centies*, which was ten times as much as *Decies*, or ten millions; and *Millies*, ten times as much as *Centies*, or an hundred millions. If a numeral-Adverb of an inferior denomination is placed before one of a higher, the former becomes the multiplier of the latter; as, *bis decies* is two millions: But if it follows, or is diſtinguiſhed by the Copulative *et*, it denotes the number only of its ſpecific claſs: as, *decies bis* or *bis et decies*, is one million two hundred thouſand Seſterces, as if it were, *Decies ſeſtertium et bis centena millia nummûm.* So *Decies millies* is a thouſand millions; but *Millies decies*, only an hundred and one millions.

The different ways of writing theſe larger Sums in Roman *Numerals* is a point that does not ſeem to be ſufficiently explained.

THE END.

The Author being tired with attending the foregoing ſheets through the preſs, prevailed upon a friend to draw up the following Index; to whoſe management he entirely left it.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

AD numerum, ad penſum, ad pondus, ad ſcalam, how they differed, p. 140. 146, 147.

Adulfius, his character, and the word PRISIN on his coin explained, 417—419.

Aelfric, Abp. his expreſs teſtimony that the Saxon ſhilling was a coin, 205.

Aerei, the diviſion of them, in the latter age, into Denarius Aeris, Follis, and Seſtertius, 172. which are confounded together by Salmaſius and Gronovius, *ibid. i.* 173, *l.*

Aeſtel of Alfred, what it probably was, 291, *s.*

Aethelwith, Q. her will miſtaken by an ignorant tranſlator, 2.

Alderman, of the ſame import with Senator, at firſt the chief nobility of the Saxons, 444.

Alexandrine money of the ſame weight and proportion with the Attic, 211. 241, *d.* incredible that the Alexandrine Drachma ſhould be double to the Attic, and yet paſs under a name which expreſſed but half its value, 212.

Alfred's will, the Latin tranſlation of it made after the Saxon times, 227. a prince that gave great proofs of his genius and magnificence in the moſt difficult times, 281. what the *aeſtel*, or *ſtele*, which he gave to every cathedral in England, was, 291.

Arbuthnot falls into a wrong opinion, with others, that there were different Attic pounds in different ages, *Antiqua*, *Media*, &c. 83. 86. ill repreſents the Ponderal Jewiſh Maneh, and the Nummulary of different weight, 33, *e.* miſtaken in ſuppoſing that the Roman Aureus was worth xxv Denarii and the Grecian xx, at one and the ſame time, 258.

Argenteus, in the old Latin verſion of the Scriptures, rendered *Shilling* by the Saxons, in diſtinction to *Peningi*, 225. denoted the ſame as Siclus, 225. 228.

Argentum blancum, the meaning of it, 146. the ſame with Argentum in the Notitia, 176.

Argonautic expedition, one of the earlieſt in the Euxine ſea, but poſterior to that of Phryxus, 53, *y.*

Ariſtophanes, Concionat. explained, 135, *c.*

As, from the middle of the third century to the beginning of the fourth, called a Denarius, 171, 172. its ſubdiviſions into Follis and Seſtertius, 172. in the ſecond century, probably, no As or Libella in a ſingle piece, but, like our preſent coin, conſiſted of Half-pence and Farthings, 433.

'Ασσάριον, of different value in different ages; in ſome, equal to an As, or Penny; to an Obolus, or Half-penny; to a Quarter-follis, or Half-farthing, 425—427.

Aſſer, Life of Alfred, corrected, 279, *note*.

Assize of bread regulated by ſtatute, 51 Hen. III. the firſt public Act now remaining, after cities and boroughs were repreſented in Parliament, 21, *g*.

Athenæus, his extraordinary comment on Neſtor's cup in Homer, 220.

Athens, its trade over the Euxine ſea, 54—56. honoured the princes of Thrace with admitting them to be its citizens, 56. this compliment repaid by Leuco with ſolid advantages, 59. their policy in making themſelves maſters of Delos, *ibid.*

Attila, the legend on one of his coins explained, 419, *note*.

Auguſtus, his character placed in too low a light by Monteſquieu, as appears from his admirable work *Rationarium imperii Romani*, 192, *note*.

Aureus, at firſt and during the Conſular times, XL coined out of the pound, 123, 126, 253. at which rate, ſtating the Roman pound according to Mr. Greaves, it contained near CXXXII grains, while the Greek Aureus was not quite CXXXVII, 136, *d*. leſſened by the emperors at firſt to XLII, ſo as to be equal in weight to two of their own Denarii, 133. 137. reduced by Nero to XLV, 133. under Elagabalus, to XLVIII; and ſunk gradually till Conſtantine's time, when they were at LXXII in the pound, 139. 509. the common Aureus of the Greeks was the Stater or Tetradrachm, 135. other ſpecies of it, which bore a relation to it, of more or leſs value, 135, *c*. the Roman Aureus, by being Didrachmalis, paſſed in common exchange with the Greek gold coins, 137. the Aureus exchanged for XX Drachmae in the time of Pliny, and the Half-aureus for X, 185. 253. for XXV Denarii under Galba, 136, *c*. 254. and probably as early as Claudius, 255. and ſo continued to Severus Alexander, 256. Denarius aureus, in Pliny, applied to expreſs the Half-aureus, in diſtinction to the whole Aureus, which weighed two Denarii, 129. Under Heliogabalus, Aurei of one pound and two pound pieces coined, 131. brought by Conſtantine from between four and five to ſix in the ounce, 165. 260. the word Aureus alone denoted the Solidus, or principal gold coin, 171, 172. 254. Aurei Antoniniani what, 172, 173. two ſorts of Aurei under the emperor Henry II. the Italian Mancus, and the French Sols, 282.

Aurum ad reſponſum, and *Aurea maſſa*, in the Notitia, explained, 177, *f*.

B.

Baluzii Capitularia corrected, 330, *c*.

Barbari, thoſe who, in proceſs of time, were called ſo, were originally Grecians, and not diſtinguiſhed from them till after Homer, 72. the name, without any reproach, denoted only difference of language and deſcent, 74, *f*.

The Barbarous nations, which overran the Weſtern empire, different from one another in their manners, 44, *l*.

Barons, for many years after the Conqueſt, coined their own money, though ſcarce any of it now remaining, 202. in what particulars they contended for the reſtoration of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, 359, *c*. 361, *note*. when they were

were created by writ, a royal mandate was neceſſary to call them to a ſeat in Parliament, 448.
Batteley, his opinion of the ſituation of Lapis tituli, 302.
Barrington, the Hon. Mr. See *Obſervations on the Statutes.*
Bentley, Dr. Richard, his emendation in Horace, of *et male ter natos*, refuted, 130, *w.* applauds without reaſon Gronovius's eſtimate of the Talentum magnum, 396, *note.*
Bezants, what they were, and whence ſo called, 381, 382.
Biſhops, by the old laws of the land, not to be depoſed but by LXXII witneſſes, 82.
Bolingbroke, from too great refinement of taſte, treats all inquiries into the origin of nations as groundleſs, 118.
Books, one of the ancient exports at *Athens*, 56, *f.*
Bordarii, what they were, 477.
Boſporus, ſee *Euxine.*
Bouteroue, his miſtakes concerning the word Milliarenſis, 158, *r.*
Brady, Dr. at a loſs to account for Alan, who married the Conqueror's daughter, being called his nephew, 418. miſtaken in the ſenſe of *hominum* in K. John's Magna charta, 477, *o.*
Braſs Coins, ſee *Coins.*
Brompton, miſtaken in his verſion of Canute's law, 355, 356, *note.* ſhews that Reliefs were as early as his time at leaſt, 354.
Bullion, method of paying in it introduced by Conſtantine, and encouraged by Valentinian, 144, 145. adopted in the Norman times in our Exchequer, 145.
Burgundians, none of their coins now remaining, 206.
Buſhel, German and Engliſh, the ſame with the Greek Medimnus, 30, 31.
Byzantine emperors introduced a new ſtandard, by which payments were rated in *Solidi* or gold only, but which might be paid either in ſilver or gold, 398.
Byzantine hiſtorians, the tranſlators of them tranſlate the word ἀργύριον wrong, 180, *i.*

C.

Cambridge, the opinion that an Univerſity was founded there by Sigebert, without foundation, 422.
Canutus, his law enjoining one ſort of money, *ut una moneta valeat*, explained, 353. made the firſt ſtep towards the introduction of Feudal tenures in England, 338, 339. his law concerning Heriots explained and corrected, 335—361.
Caſaubon, Iſaac, his obſervation (c. Bar. Ex. XVI. Ann. 34. num. 15.) that the price for which Chriſt was ſold was the price of a ſervant, 209. miſtaken in his emendation of Hiſt. Aug. Script. under Valerian, 173, *k.*
Caſaubon, Meric, one of the firſt who traced out the etymology of the Northern languages from the Greek, 51.
Caſſiodorus explained contrary to Muratori, 339, *s.*
Cealchythe, where ſituated, 458, *y.* the council there affords no proof of the Commons being members of the Saxon parliament, 457—459.
Celts, not the original of the Germans, 107. diſtinct from the Scythians, 109. originally Tyrian or Phoenician colonies, 111.
Centenarius, denoted what contained an hundred pounds, 176, *note.*

Centenionales communes, under Conſtantine, the ſame with Denarii, 168. in what the ſame with Milliarenſes, in weight the hundredth part of a pound, 175, 176, *note*. under Honorius, the only current ſilver coin of the eaſtern empire, 175.

Ceorls, among the Saxons, perſons ignoble, but not of a ſervile condition, 464, *l*.

Chancellors, in Cathedrals, appointed to inſtruct youth, 420.

Charters Latin, of the Saxon times, often ſuſpected of being forged, 286. one of the church of Chicheſter manifeſtly ſo, 287, *h*.

Chicheſter inſcription, the antiquity of it defended againſt Dr. Ward, 487, *k*.

Cinque-ports, Barons of them, members of the ancient Parliament, before Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, had a place in it, 452.

Code, Theodoſian, corrected, 260.

Coins, the knowledge of them when firſt thought neceſſary to illuſtrate the antiquities of a country, and by whom chiefly promoted, 1, 2. the Roman and Saxon coins not preciſely of one uniform weight at the ſame time, 17. 20. the inconvenience of that variety removed by making great payments by weight, or by an allowance in tale, 18, 19. See *Money, Coins, Gold, Aurei*. the names of the Roman braſs coins applied in time to ſilver, and of their ſilver coins to gold, 187. the diviſion of ſilver and gold coins in books and catalogues into *Maximi moduli*, *Medii*, and *Minimi*, not ſo ſkilful as it ought to be, 200, *a*. coins of ſome of our kings ſtruck, which have never yet been diſcovered, 201. old coins, till the xvith century, were conſidered as treaſure-trove, and due to the Exchequer, 203. no denominations of coins but what were at firſt real coins, 207. 210. 342. the weight and value of them among all nations have undergone various alterations, 350. 357. coins of the ſame nation extremely different in taſte from each other, 369. the ſilver coins ſo diminiſhed in the reign of K. William, that an hundred pounds in tale were not worth fifty, 400. After Adulf, no Saxon coins remain but of the eighth century, 422. fabricated in a barbarous taſte, and even that ſupported by a law, 423. the Romans made choice of old reverſes on coins, which were moſt ſuitable to the events of the year, or defaced them if they were not ſo, 412, 413.

Coins, braſs, in uſe among the Saxons, 432. firſt, ſince the Conqueſt, uttered in England under James I, *ibid*. the ſeveral ſpecies of them under the Roman and Byzantine empire, 433. under the Saxons, we meet with Styca, or Half-farthing, *ibid*.

Commons had no ſhare of the legiſlative authority in the Saxon conſtitution, proved againſt Bp. Ellys, 454—467. the foundation of their importance laid in the Norman Conqueſt, 467, 468. 471. See *Parliament*.

Congius at Rome, ſaid to be one of the original ſtandards made by Veſpaſian, 511. the vaſe antique, tho' the inſcription on it fictitious, 510, *z*.

CONOB on coins denoted them to be of the Conſtantinopolitan ſtandard, 410—412.

Conſtantine altered the gold coin, not the ſilver, 165. 169. 260. his reign of great affluence and expence; 167. 262. his character vindicated againſt the author at the end of the Notitia, 262. fixed the money to a certain ſtandard, which was followed by his ſucceſſors, and expreſſed on their coins, 411.

Copernican ſyſtem falſely ſuppoſed to have been known to Pythagoras, 113.

Crevier, in his edition of Livy, adopts Monſ. La Barre's wild hypotheſis of the Roman pound, 481. 498.

Cumberland, Bp. miſtaken in ſuppoſing the Troy pound was introduced hither by the Normans, 99, *g.* and in his value of the Jewiſh money, 240.

Cuſtoms, in the Roman government, very various; at two and a half, five, and twelve and a half per cent. 91—94. occaſioned, for the advantage of the ſtate, the alteration of the groſs weight of the hundred, 93.

Cyphers, on the French coins, to what places they relate, 371.

D.

Danes, their great devaſtations over all Europe, 156. introduced the cuſtom of reckoning by Marcs and Oras, 310. when in England, had probably no mints of their own, as appears by their treaties with the Saxons, 315. the progreſs of their invaſions ſurpriſing, 317, *e.* their Weregilds a fifth leſs than thoſe of the Saxons, 314. after Athelſtan's reign, the balance of power was altered in their favour, 352.

Days of the week whence denominated from the ſeven planets, 112—116. the preſent order of them accounted for from the Diateſſaron, 116. this denomination of them late adopted by the Greeks and Romans, 117. from them by the Saxons, 118.

De apibus a ſuppoſed law of Edw. the Confeſſor, but of no authority, 435, *n.*

Delos, the ſuperſtitious regard paid to it converted by the Athenians into political advantages, 61, 62. now a melancholy inſtance of the inſtability of trade, 62, *b.* a judge or ſuperintendant of trade fixed there, one of whom is recorded in the Arundelian Marbles, 62, 63, *d.*

Denarii, brought to VII ℔ under Nero, 139. undoubtedly brought down to VIII in the ounce in the time of Galen, 90, *q.* 489. when VII in the ounce, and conſequently LXXXIV in the pound, yet an hundred were paid for a pound in tale, which neither Salmaſius, Gronovius, nor Smith, could account for, though conformable to all ancient practice, 148, 149, 393. the weight of the Denarius as found by the ſcale, 508.

Denarius aereus, the As ſo called under the Byzantine emperors, 172, 173, *note.* 339.

Denarius Aureus, ſee *Aureus*.

Denmark, whence the name, 302.

Deut. xxvii. 17. juſt the ſame with a law in the XII tables, 301.

Didrachmus, a Roman as well as a Grecian coin, 196—198.

Digamma Aeolicum, uſed by the Saxons in the ſame manner as by the Greeks, 42, 43.

Δικέραιον and Δίκρουσον, another name for the Κεράτιον or Siliqua, being a Half-

Half-Milliarenſis, 189. aroſe from the Roman Quinarius, 351.
Dio Caſſius, l. xxvii. explained, 6, *b.*
Dio Halicarn. ix. 27. explained, 90.
Δίχρυσος, in the Byzantine empire, ſucceeded the Roman Quinarius, 351.
Domesday book, the ſeveral ways of payment mentioned in it explained, 140. ſets in a ſtrong light the devaſtations made in England by the Normans, 141, *n.* retains the old payment of five pence, when the ſhilling was diſuſed, which contained five pence, 152, *d.* Mr. Gale's copy of it corrected, 188, *c.* formed upon the plan of the old Roman Rationarium, 345, *d.* ſhews that ſix hides of land were a qualification for a perſon to be a member of the Great council, tho' heretofore but five, 445.
Drachmae always underſtood by the Greeks after numeral adjectives, when the ſpecies is not expreſſed, 237. till Solon, at VI in the ounce; afterwards, VII in the ounce; 487. 496. in the time of Galen, VIII in the ounce, 489. uſed promiſcuouſly in exchange with the Roman Denarius, 487, 488. eſtabliſhed at Rome by the Greek phyſicians, who were in the greateſt repute there, 489.
Ducat, received its name from being firſt ſtruck in Italy, when the principal cities there were ſubject to Dukes of their own chuſing, 292. was afterwards called *Mancus*, ibid. ſtruck probably in Roman dies, as its weight, being VIII in the ounce, was an aliquot part of the Roman pound, 293. a fourth part leſs than the Solidus, 297. its currency encreaſing, it received different names in different countries, 293. introduced into the empire by Phocas, inſtead of the Aureus, 297.
Du Freſne miſtakes the meaning of the Engliſh *Solt* in the Conqueror's laws, 154.

E.

Eaſt India trade, ſmall progreſs made in it by the Egyptians, till the time of the Romans, 63, *f.*
Edward the Confeſſor's laws, why wanted by the Barons to be reſtored, 359, *c.* 361, *note.* a trifling unauthentic compilation of them, from whence the clauſe *De apibus* is cited, 465, *n.*
Edyngton, Bp. and Lord Treaſurer, his ill-judged policy in leſſening the number of coins in the pound, 143, *p.*
Egbriht's Dialogue explained, 225, 226.
Egyptians, whence they had no genius for trade, 63, *f.* the worſhip of Egyptian gods introduced into Rome by Veſpaſian, 118, *c.*
Eiſenſchmid makes a fallacious eſtimate of the Greek pound from a ſingle coin, 20, *f.* his obſervations on the German pound compared with the Saxon, 23, 24. his opinion that the Roman pound was a quarter leſs than the Greek, examined, 481, &c.
Eleuſinian myſteries, ſee *Myſteries.*
Ellys, Bp. his arguments to prove that the Commons, under the Saxons, had a ſhare in the legiſlative authority, examined, 454—467.
Epiphanius, de ponderibus, corrected, 91, *note.* full of incurable errors, *ibid.* explained againſt Gronovius, 189, *d.*

Eſtuage levied by Henry II, of military tenants in lieu of perſonal ſervice, 362, *note*. 431.
Eſſay upon money and coins, that author's opinion, that of the two metals, gold and ſilver, one only can be the ſtandard of money in a country, ill founded, 397, *k*.
Ethelwerd, in the Script. poſt Bedam, corrected, 157, *o*.
Ethelwulph, his grant of tythes ſo far from proving that the Commons ſat in the council held on that occaſion, that it proves the contrary, 459—462.
Euxine, the trade on it anciently of the utmoſt conſequence, 54. 56. a dangerous ſea, contrary to the report of ſome modern travellers, 57, *m*. known to the Greeks before they were acquainted with the extent of the Mediterranean, *ibid*. the trade of the Euxine removed from Greece to the Alexandrians and Romans, 65. along the Weſtern coaſt, the inhabitants half Greeks, others of Greek extraction, 64, 65.
Exchequer, the terms anciently made uſe of in the accounts there explained, 140—148. only two different ways of payment in it, by tale or by weight, 148.

F.

Fairs, from what occaſions they roſe, 188, *c*.
Fannius, ſee *Priſcian*.
Falding or Folding ſtool, uſed at coronations, whence ſo called, 480, *w*.
Fees for pleading ſtated under Claudius, 255.
Feſtus, a paſſage concerning the Talent ill ſuppoſed to relate to the nummulary Talent, corrected, 210, 211.
Feuds, the firſt appearance of them in England under Canute, 359. the ſurrendring up of arms to a ſuperior lord one proof of their exiſtence, 357, *a*. few under the Saxons, 359, *c*. began to decline in England and in France at the ſame time, and under able princes, 436, *c*. though they grew up under the Goths and Franks, their origin owing to the Romans, 441.
Feverſham, the council there falſely alledged as a proof that the Villani were members of it, 464.
Fines among the Saxons conſiſted of aliquot parts of the pound, 123, 124. and eſtimated by ſuch real coins as were in uſe among them, 207.
Fleetwood, Bp. unſettled in his opinion of the Saxon pound, 10, 11. miſtaken in a correction of the Saxon laws, 233, *b*. and, with all others, in ſuppoſing they had no Shilling, 200.
Florens, the ſame with Ducats, VIII in the ounce, 294. received their name from a lily being on the reverſe, 294.
Folkes, Martin Eſq. his diſcovery of the weight of the Saxon pound the foundation of this work, 2. has ſhewn it to be the ſame with the Tower-pound, 15. miſtaken in fixing the uſe of the Troy pound in the mint, to 18 Hen. VIII, 99. his diſcovery of the weight of the Tower-pound proves demonſtrably that XLVIII ſhillings were coined out of it, 151, 152. eſtimates the Cologn weight as heavier than the Tower pound; but, by the Chamber of accounts at Paris, the Engliſh pound was as heavy as the Cologn, 325, *t*.

Follis,

Follis, originally a purſe, but in time denoted a braſs and ſilver coin of the lower empire, 351, *s.* whence the word derived, 391.

Foot, Roman, its proportion to the Engliſh, which is the ſame as the Greek, 30. and the Ptolemaic the ſame likewiſe, 83.

Fountaine, Sir Andrew, the only antiquary, who ſeems to have ſuſpected that the Saxon Shilling was a coin, 200. at a loſs to explain the word PRISIN in a legend, 417. miſtakes, with Mr. Walker, in aſſigning a coin of Alfred the Great to Alfred of Northumberland, 424.

Forma, uſed in the mint both for the dye and the money coined, 430. *formae centenariae* the ſame in Lampridius with *centum ſolidi*, 131.

Franks, at their firſt ſettlement, followed the Roman way of reckoning and coining money, 327. 342. 401. ſoon reduced their gold Solidi of XL pence to Solidi of XX pence, 328. but ſtill the old Solidi continued in payments with the new, till the time of Charlemagne, 329. adopted, at the beginning of their government, the ſeveral ſpecies of the Roman Aurei, a Solidus of VI, a Semiſſis of XII, a Tremiſſis of XVIII; and, after that, a Solidus of XX in the ounce, 342. though more diſtant from the Roman provinces than the Goths, yet had connexions with them, and copied their arts, 406, 407.

Frater, uſed by the Romans to denote firſt couſin, 417.

G.

Gauls, originally Celts, diſtinct from Germans, 109.

Ge, uſed as an expletive by the Saxons as by the Greeks, 43.

Gen. xiii. 1. explained, 77, *o.* XX. 14. 16. explained, and corrected from the LXX, 216, 217.

Gerah, the twentieth part of a Shekel or Didrachma, (and conſequently equal to the Roman As, when ten Aſſes made a Denarius) is rendered ὀβολὸς by the LXX, 241, *d.*

German princes, retained as allies to the Romans, by annual ſubſidies, 5. Germans and Goths branches from a common ſtock, and colonies of the Getae, 76. the name firſt mentioned by J. Caeſar; the meaning of it, 105. ſaid by Tacitus to be of late original, 107, *y.* received variety of names in their different ſettlements, 107. not derived from the Celts, as ſome have imagined, 108—110. nor the authors of Feudal tenures, as has been ſuppoſed, 436.

Gloſſae baſilicorum, a reading defended in them, 169.

Gold, more plentiful in regard to Silver under Conſtantine than before, 160. the reduction of Egypt and the Eaſt brought great quantities of it into the Roman treaſury, 125. Gold when firſt coined (as there were 336 Seſterces in a pound of Silver, and 5760 Seſterces in a pound of Gold) was to Silver nearly as XVII to one, 248, 249. 386. under the Republic and firſt Roman emperors, as X to one, the Aureus being in weight ii Drachms, in value XX Drachms, 185. 386. which was the old Aſiatic proportion, 251. reduced under J. Cæſar to about VIII½ to one, which was the loweſt proportion

proportion it ever bore, a pound of gold being then worth 3000 LLS. and a pound of ſilver worth 400 LLS. 249, 250. from Claudius to Severus Alexander, at XII ½ to one, the Aureus being then exchanged for XXV Drachmae, 254—257. under Conſtantine, at X½ to one (the Solidus of VI in the ounce weighing LXXIII Troy grains, in value XIV Denarii of VIII in the ounce, which weighed DCCLXVI grains) but brought by him nearly to its old ſtandard of ten to one, 262. before A. D. 360, at XIV to one, a pound of Silver being then worth five Solidi, and a pound of Gold worth LXXII Solidi, 263, 264. and continued ſo from the middle of the fourth century, till after Juſtinian's reign, 268. at the end of the ſixth century, when the Solidus was reduced to XII pence, and XX of them to the pound, at XII to one, 284. 313. from Henry I, to K. John, at IX to one, the loweſt *regular* proportion ever known in Europe, 372. the proportion of it from 27 Edw. III, to the preſent time, 374, *o*.

Gold coins, three ſorts of them current in Europe ſome ages before the Norman Conqueſt, 246. and among the Saxons, though ſcarce any of them are now remaining, 273. that they had Gold enough for that purpoſe proved from the purchaſe-money, paid for eſtates, *ibid.* from legacies ſpecified in gold coins, 275. from the offerings made to churches, *ibid.* from the weight and value of their ornaments, 276. from a law of Canute, which has been brought to prove the contrary, 353. Saxon gold coins generally ſtyled Mancuſes, 280. ſee *Mancus*. the firſt gold coins, under Edw. III, to Edw. IV, were ſtruck as parts of the Marc, 325. the firſt which Edw. III coined, the Double Ducat, or Double Floren, 325. from Henry VII, ſtruck as parts of a pound ſterling, 316. from the reign of William Rufus till toward the end of Henry III, A. D. 1257, no gold coins were ſtruck, 372, 373. a gold coin of that year in Mr. Hodſol's collection, 374. the Byzantine emperors and the Northern nations eſtimated their payments in gold, 298.

Gothic princes, their friendſhip and alliance eſteemed by Auguſtus, 7. ſtruck very early on their coins the emperor's head on one ſide, and their own on the other, *ibid.* which cuſtom was revived under the Byzantine emperors, 404, 405. Gothic or Getic tongue derived from the Greek, 45. was the original of the Teutonic in all its branches, 46, *m*. Goths ſeated themſelves on the Weſt of the Euxine, 53. the origin of their trade, 52. Getae and Gothi the ſame, 76. deſcended from the Thracians, 66. not from Sweden and the Baltic, as Grotius and Sheringham thought, 100. Jornandes and Wanefridus the firſt authors of this conceit, 102. their principal god, Odin or Woden, was the ſame among the Thracians, 103. the Goths in Italy cultivated a connexion with the Byzantine emperors, 404. ſeveral of the Gothic princes, who made their firſt ſettlements in the Roman provinces, learnt from them the art of coining, 401. few only of the

coins of the firſt Gothic princes of Spain are yet come to light, 413.
Graevius miſtakes the ſenſe of Lampridius, 128. adopts too haſtily Harduin's interpretation of Pliny, 387.
Grains, whence applied to nummulary weights, 281, *t*.
Greaves, his eſtimate of the Roman ounce, 26. by ſome thought too high, but without reaſon, 28. his proof of the weight of it from coins, and from the Congius at Rome, examined, 509, 510. 515. his correction of Livy defended, 492.
Greeks, their weights, meaſures, and language, diffuſed among the Germans and Saxons, 25, &c. the progreſs of the laſt obſerved principally by Joſ. Scaliger, Salmaſius, Fr. Junius, and Meric Caſaubon, 50. received their religion and letters from the Thracians, 66—72.
Groat, the name given to the old Engliſh Shilling, when the Norman Solidus took place and was called a Shilling, 155. 229.
Gronovius, James Frederic, unjuſtly blames Scaliger for uſing Libra in the ſenſe of As, 13, *t*. without premiſes aſſerts that, in the mint, a Journey of Gold implied a leſs ſum than a Journey of ſilver, 33, *e*. rejects without reaſon Salmaſius's emendation of Lampridius, 132. aſſerts againſt Pliny, that more than XL Aurei were coined out of a pound, 134. that a Stater weighed a pound of Gold, 136, *c*. no where takes the leaſt notice of the difference between the Roman Libra in weight and tale, 149. will not allow the Roman Aureus to be double the weight of the Drachma, 134. 136. and yet inconſiſtently contends that there were always, at leaſt till the reign of Elagabalus, XL Aurei in the pound, which proves that duplicate proportion, 136. his eſtimate of the Byzantine Miliarenſis examined, 158. *et ſeqq*. ſhewn to be inconſiſtent, 163. aſſerts without any proof that Conſtantine made an alteration in the ſilver coin, 164. and that there were LX Miliarenſes in the pound, and yet that it was no other than the Denarius, 169. that Gold was more ſcarce under Conſtantine than before, 164. 166. greatly at a loſs to explain the braſs coin of the Byzantine emperors, 173. his opinion that Miliarenſes were heavier than the old Denarii, without foundation, 184. as are his conjectures on the Baſilica, *ibid*. deduces the name Miliarenſis from a period in which it had no exiſtence, 184, 185. will not allow the Ceratium to have been a coin, 186. perverts a plain paſſage in Epiphanius, to ſupport an hypotheſis, 189. denies that the Romans had any ſuch money as Sicilicus, or piece of two Denarii, 196. and yet, though with as little reaſon, contends that Nummus in Plautus is always uſed for Didrachmus, 196. 236, 237. ill fixes the Conſular Denarius at VIII in the ounce, 248. miſtakes the ſenſe of Novell. Majorian. 250, *g*. erroneouſly maintains that there was but one ſpecies of Aurei; that they were in value XXV Denarii, and of one and the ſame weight till the time of Conſtantine, 253. 257. that the Franks coined Silver Solidi of XII pence,

pence, 334. follows Le Blanc when he is wrong, and leaves him when he is right, *ibid.* that there was only one ſort of Denarius, that of VIII in the ounce, 384. that the Talentum Magnum was a term given by the Romans to the Attic Talent in diſtinction to the Sicilian and others, 396, *note.*

Grotius, induced to derive the Goths and Saxons from Sweden, out of complaiſance to the Queen of that country, 100.

Grſepſius, miſtaken in making two Shekels originally different; but right in diſcovering that the firſt Shekel was only a Didrachm, 242. his book pirated a century after it was firſt publiſhed, and printed under another name, 243.

Guineas firſt coined under Charles II, to bear a proportion to a pound ſterling, 327.

Gutherius De offic. dom. Aug. his amazing error, 175, *m.*

H.

Half-pence coined probably by the Saxons, ſince we meet with them from K. John downwards, 425.

Harduin happily diſcovered the intention of Pliny, where he explains what the ſtate gained, when they firſt coined Gold, 385. his interpretation in other reſpects not juſtifiable, and the coins he produces in ſupport of it, probably not genuine, 387, 388.

Harold, his penny, 424.

Haſtings, the caſtle there long ſince overflowed by the ſea, 468, *p.*

Hellenes, a more recent appellation of the Grecians than that of Pelaſgi, and not known when the Greek colonies firſt ſettled in Italy, 73, *e.*

Henry III, his gold coin but lately diſcovered; his Half-pence and Farthings never, 201, 202.

Hermes and Hermean ſtatues, whence ſo called, 300.

Heriots, paying them one of the firſt ſteps to Feudal tenures, 357, *a.* how diſtinguiſhed from Mortuaries, 358, *note.* Heriot and Relief always equal to each other, 364.

Herodotus, l. v. 10. his pleaſant miſtake of the country beyond the Danube being poſſeſſed by bees only, accounted for, 54, *z.*

Hickes, Dr. ſuppoſes the ſame coins and ſtandard of money to have continued during the whole Saxon government, 9. makes the Saxon pound XV ounces, three ounces heavier than the Troy pound, 9, 10. points out the affinity of the Northern languages with the Greek, 34. 44. does not diſtinguiſh between the ordinal and cardinal numbers in both, 521. finding that the commercial Saxon pound contained XV ounces, falſely concluded the nummulary pound did ſo too, 84. inconſiſtently rates the Saxon pound at LX Shillings of five pence in the Shilling, at the ſame time that he ſuppoſes CCXL pence made a pound, 151. 156. whence he miſtook Siclus in the Saxon accounts for two pence, 226. his opinion of the Marc, Mancus, and Ora, 209. his obſervation, that the method of computing by Marcs and Ora's was not known in England till after the Daniſh ſettlements, of great importance, 310. for want of attending to the difference between a pound in tale and a pound in weight, reckons the Sceatta at 1 ¼ *d.* 431.

Homer, his deſcription of Neſtor's cup, miſunderſtood for XVI hundred years, explained, 218, *et ſeqq.*

Hooper, Bp. his account of the Saxon pound, 11, 12. from diſcovering an agreement of the Engliſh weights and meaſures with the Saracenic, falſely concluded they were borrowed from thence, 83. his explanation of Argyriſmus and Litriſmus, without foundation, 91, *note.* and his attempt to cure Epiphanius of his many errors, without ſucceſs, *ibid.* with Mr. Lowndes, imagined the Saxon was the Troy pound, 99, *g.*

Horace, Ar. Poet. explained againſt Dr. Bentley, 139, *w.*

Hoſtus's explanation of Pollux defended, 136, *c.*

Hume, Mr. concluded juſtly from the different language of the Scotch, that the ancient inhabitants were of different originals, 78, *p.* his eſtimate of the comparative value of money between the Saxon times and ours, ſet too high, 157, *o.*

Hurd, Mr. juſtly corrects Bp. Nicholſon's miſtake of Merchenelaga &c. for diſtricts, 352. follows Boulainvillers in deriving the Feudal ſyſtem from the Goths, and in ſuppoſing that the true principles of liberty were interwoven in its frame, 436.

Hypatia, pieces of money thrown among the populace by the Conſuls, and therefore ſo called, 160, *c.*

I.

Jerome, com. on Ezek. iv. 10. owns he had altered *Siclus* into *Stater:* whence, wherever it is ſo altered, we may conclude it is owing to the ſame hand, 243.

Jews, had no coined money till the time of the Maccabees, 244. their Shekel, Gera, Maneh, *ſee under each.*

Ina, council ſaid to be holden by him, A. D. 712, and cited as from Bede, entirely fictitious, 456.

Incrementum, an allowance of a XXIVth part in the Saxon pound by tale, 123, 124. 140. 429. this not carried lower than on Half a pound, 124. the making of ſuch allowance agreeable to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, 124—127. an hundred Denarii reckoned to the Roman pound when only XCVI were coined out of it; as fifty Shillings were reckoned to the Saxon pound when there were coined only XLVIII, 149. the *Incrementum* was ſunk in England ſoon after the Conqueſt, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of money, 142. but, under Henry I, was raiſed above the old proportion, *ibid.* under Conſtantine, the *Incrementum* was diſuſed, and payment in Bullion was introduced, 145. the want of the *Incrementum*, when VIII Denarii were coined out of the ounce inſtead of VII, occaſioned the payment of the Roman revenue in Gold, 195.

John, King, coined Engliſh money, though none of it has been diſcovered, 201.

Jornandes, the firſt who ſtarted the opinion that the Goths came from the Baltic, 202.

Journey at the mint, what, 33. that of Gold and of Silver of different weight, 33, *e.*

Judicia civitatis London, not the reſolutions of a great council, as Bp. Ellys repreſents, but a gild, 464, 465.

Junius,

Junius, Francis, reckoned his diſcovery of the affinity between the Greek and Northern languages, one of the greateſt felicities of his life, 51.
Jupiter Urius, his ſtatue for what purpoſe erected at the Boſporus, 57, 58.

K.

Knights-fees, no number of them made an Earl or Baron without a Royal creation, 447, *a*. Knights or Military tenants, after the Conqueſt, had a right to attend in the Great councils of the nation, 469.

L.

La Barre, his diſtinction of a Metrical pound for liquids, and a Scale pound for dry goods, 499. proved to be a project without foundation, 502—507.
La Croze, his opinion that the Saxons borrowed their Capital letters of the Romans, and invented the Small, rejected, 479, *t*.
Laga (uſed as a compound, in Merchenelaga, Danelaga, Weſtſaxenelaga) chiefly conſiſted in pecuniary compenſations, 352.
Lambarde, firſt diſcovered, though from wrong premiſes, that the Saxon pound contained XLVIII Solidi, 121. miſtaken in his eſtimate of the king's Weregild, 233, *b*. tranſlates a paſſage in Brihtric's will more accurately than the verſion of the Textus Roffenſis, 276.
Lampridius, vit. Alexandri, juſtly corrected by Salmaſius, 131. explained contrary to Salmaſius, Gronovius, and Graevius, 128.
Landmark, the law of the XII tables againſt removing it, much the ſame with Deut. xxvii. 17. p. 301.
Lapis tituli on the borders of Kent, not erected before the time of Trajan, 302.
Le Blanc, has ſhewn the weight of the Frank Solidus to have been originally the ſame with the Byzantine, 334. has miſtaken the legal Solidi of XII pence for the Triers d'Or, 345.
Laws, Saxon, explained, 31, *d*. 274, *d*. 446, *note*. in the uſe of the word Sceat, 429. the Spirit of them and of ours compared, 32, *note*. of Hen. I explained, 356, *z*. of Canute, concerning the different compenſation for Heriots, explained, 353—366. a true reading reſtored, 367. of Athelſtan explained, 430. a ſection of them under that king collected from the laws of different reigns, 235.
Learning, the ſtate of it in England in the VIIIth century as high at leaſt as in any part of Europe, 215, 216. a ſpecimen of it in Italy at the beginning of the IXth century, 336, 337.
Legends on coins deſignedly eraſed or altered when they did not ſuit the circumſtances of the reigning prince, 412. 414. Legend LETO, on a Saxon coin, explained by Mr. Pegge, 371. Legend PRISIN explained, 417.
Leuco, one of the kings of Thrace, grants great immunities to the Athenians, 59.
Libra, uſed like the *As*, for the whole of what is divided into XII parts, 13, *t*. always denoted a pound of XII ounces, though the Mina was of two different weights, 85. 88. *Libra eſterlingorum* diſtinguiſhed from *Libra occidua*, 80, 81. the latter uſed metaphorically for the number

number LXXII, 81. originally a balance, 390. Libra and Mina paſſed for many ages as equivocal terms; but, in later times, Libra ſignified the nummulary, and Mina the commercial pound, 485, 486.

Liberi homines, who meant by them under the Norman reigns, 471.

Litriſmus, the groſs mercantile hundred, in diſtinction to *argyriſmus* or the nummulary Talent, 91, *note*. applied not to money, but to merchandize only, *ibid.*

Livy, l. xxxviii. 11. corrected and explained, p. 252. and l. xxxviii. 38. p. 482, 483. and l. xxxiv. 52. p. 491.

Lords Lieutenants of counties, when and why firſt inſtituted, 362, *note*.

Lowndes, Mr. his enumeration of the ſeveral payments expreſſed in Domesday book imperfect, 140.

M.

Madox, Mr. miſtaken in ſuppoſing the payments into the Exchequer were made different ways, 146.

Majorinae, coins of different ſizes, from two to ten Denarii, under Conſtantine, 168. melted down under ſubſequent emperors, ſo that few are now remaining, 294.

Malmsbury, what his meaning of *pondere publico penſitavit*, 291. miſtaken in the ſenſe of the word *aeſtel*, ibid. *s.*

Mancus, a gold coin, ſo named from *manu cuſus*, 280. proved to have been an Anglo-Saxon coin from the teſtimony of Abp. Aelfric, 283. equal to two and a half Solidi then current, of XII pence each, conſequently in value XXX pence, 282. 292. 374. in weight about LV grains, one fourth leſs than the Byzantine or firſt Frank Solidus, 284. the oldeſt authentic teſtimony of its currency, in the 8th century, under Cenwulf, 285. another unqueſtionable evidence of it under Æthelwulf, 289, 290. and ſee 349. came originally from Italy, where it was firſt called Ducat, 292, 293. the ſame with the Drachma, or Miliarenſis, then current in the empire, *ibid.* under Canute, was the ſtandard by which moſt of the Heriots were rated, 292. 354. 367. hitherto miſtaken by all the antiquaries for a Marc, 306. continued, under different forms, from Athelſtan (who appointed *one* ſtandard of money) to the Conqueſt, 292. 348. 367.

Maneh, or *Mina*, Jewiſh, how it contained both L and LX Shekels, 33.

Marble, Sandwich, 61. Arundelian, 62, *d.*

Marc, from the Greek τέρμαρ, a *mark* or *limit*, 298. from being a boundary of lands, the word Marquiſate was derived, 303. *Marcha* and *Regnum* uſed as ſynonymous terms, *ibid.* applied to denote the fixt ſtandard to which nummulary computations were adjuſted, 304. the word at firſt peculiar to ſome of the German clans, *ibid.* though the opinions of the antiquaries have been very different concerning it, all agreed it was the ſame as the Mancus, 305, 306. a miſtake however which the Dean of Exeter has happily removed, 307. the Daniſh Silver Marc was XX Shillings, or an hundred Saxon pennies, 313. the Gold Marc, XII times as much, *ibid.* the French was XIII*s.* IV*d.* or CLX pence, 318.

318. the method of computing by the Silver Marc introduced later into France than England, 322. traces of it in England from the Daniſh kings till after the time of Henry II, 325. the gold coins, ſtruck from Edw. III, to Edw. IV, were diviſions of the Marc; as, Half-marc, Quarter-marc, &c. *ibid.* from Edw. IV, when our connexions with France ceaſed, the old way of computing by the pound came in faſhion again, 326. but as that by Marcs was jointly uſed, Angels and Angelets paſſed ſometimes as parts of them, 316. about XL years afterwards, a regard was had in coins to the parts of a pound only, not of the Marc, 326.

Marcellinus, whence ſaid to be depoſed by the Weſtern pound, 81.

Marches, counties on them favoured with ſome indulgence in making their payments into the Exchequer, 146.

Mark, St. xii. 42. the latter part of the verſe a gloſs, 434.

Market-towns, whence the riſe of them, 188, *c.*

Mars, the principal god of the Germans, or Teutones, 106.

Martial, l. iii. 62. explained, 256. miſunderſtands the form of Neſtor's cup in Homer, 219.

Matth. xvii. 24. explained, 167, *p.*

Men applied ſimply to denote ſervants from the Saxons, 475. not rightly underſtood by Dr. Brady, 477, *o.*

Merchants forbidden, under Richard II, to export the produce and manufactures of our own country, 97, *e.* under the Saxon and Norman times, after three voyages, were capable of being ſummoned up to the Great council of the nation, 450.

Mileſians, the firſt who made any conſiderable progreſs in the Euxine trade, 54. their name confounded by Herodotus with μέλισσαι, *bees*, 54, *z.* made the firſt map, and wrote the firſt book of geography, *ibid.*

Miliarenſes, under Conſtantine, XIV of them made a Solidus; at the end of the ſixth century, XX; 184, 185. that appellation for a coin never uſed before his reign, 185. the riſe and eſtimate of them examined, 158 *et ſeqq.* ſo called from being the thouſandth part of the gold pound, when XIV of them made a Solidus, 169, 170. when XX. of them made a Solidus, 187. 268. a new name for the Denarius, 171. 177. a new Miliarenſis an eighth leſs than the former, whence ill ſuppoſed to be derived from being the ſoldiers pay, 182.

Milles, Dr. Dean of Exeter, the firſt who diſcovered the difference between the Marc and the Mancus, 307.

Mina, *una et altera*, at the ſame time; not *antiqua et media*, as Bp. Hooper and Dr. Arbuthnot thought, 83. 86. *Mina Romana* different from *Libra Romana*, 88. that the *Mina Attica* was a quarter leſs than the Roman pound, aſſerted by Fannius or Priſcian, but upon miſtaken authorities, 491—494. conſiſted of LXXII Drachmae till Solon's time, who raiſed it to an hundred, 496.

Miſſilia, or pieces of money diſtributed among the populace, reſtrained in ſome meaſure by Theodoſius, and for a time ſuppreſſed by Marcian, 159, *s.* on what feſtivals the Conſular Miſſilia were diſtributed, *ibid.* under Theodoſius, not larger than five in the ounce, afterwards not much above ſix pence in value, 161.

161. 168, 169, *t.* the Imperial Miſſilia, in the ſeventh century, from Tetradrachms reduced to half that value, 162.

Mite, from the Latin *Minutum*, 433, *b.* denoted a Half-farthing, 434.

Monaſteries, Saxon, were colleges for Seculars, married or unmarried, and even of military profeſſion, 421.

Money, Roman, the value of it underſtood by the Germans as well as by the Romans themſelves, 5. anciently paid *ad penſum*, by weight, or *ad incrementum*, by an increaſe in tale to a certain number in the pound, 18. ſee *Coin.* the comparative value of it in the Saxon times and ours, 157, *o.* in what different ſenſes paid, *ad numerum, ad penſam, ad penſum*, or *ad pondus*, 140, 141. 148. in what paid *libra arſa, penſata, argento blanco examinato*, 144. at firſt paid by weight only, 391. in time, a ſpecific character applied to it by public authority, ſo that its value was known at firſt ſight, 393. none coined among the Greeks in Homer's time, 495. the ſcarcity of it under Charles the Bald, 442, *o.*

Money, Jewiſh, received a conſiderable alteration after the Babyloniſh captivity, 241. no coined money among them till about the time of Antiochus Sidetes, 244.

Money, no money of account, in any age or country, which did not take its origin from real weights or coins, 342.

Money-changers, the great uſe of them under the Lower empire, 265, 266.

Monteſquieu detracts from the character of Auguſtus, 192, *note.* derives Feuds from the Goths, 436.

Mortuaries, what, 358, *note.* continued in the Welſh dioceſes till the 12th of Q. Anne, *ibid.*

Myſteries, Eleuſinian, whence received at Athens, 67. of Ceres and Bacchus prevailed univerſally thro' Greece, and had a great affinity with the Jewiſh feſtivals, 68, 69.

N.

Nepos, uſed for the ſon of a couſin german, 417.

Nero, obliged by his profuſion to leſſen both the gold and ſilver coin, 138.

Neſtor's cup in Homer, the ornaments on it explained, 417.

Nicholſon, Bp. miſtook Merchenelaga. Danelaga, &c. for diſtricts only, inſtead of laws, 352.

Nobility, the degrees of it different alike among the Saxons and Normans, 356, *y.* the compenſations paid for the Heriots of each reſpective degree, 364. the Gothic titles of Nobility borrowed from the later Romans; the Saxon principal title, from the more ancient, 443, 444. under the Saxons no admiſſion to it without a royal appointment, 447.

Νόμισμα, uſed always for the *Aureus Solidus* by the Byzantine hiſtorians, and even by Horace, 180, *s.*

Noris, Cardinal, miſtaken in concluding that, becauſe the number of Solidi in the pound was altered, therefore the pound itſelf was altered, 81, *y.*

Norman Conqueſt, by dividing the eſtates in England into Military and Socage tenure, laid the foundation of the importance of the Commons, 467, 468. 471.

North, Mr. miſtaken in fixing the weight of the old Saxon Mancus at

at LXXV Troy grains, inſtead of LV, 370. and in ſuppoſing there was but one ſort of Mancus, *ibid.*

Northern nations diſpoſed to contract their words, 214, *b.*

Notitia, the *Comes largitionum* and *Scrinium ab argento*, mentioned in it explained, 176. and *aurum ad reſponſum*, 177, *p.* how *Notitia* differed from *Rationarium*, 191. drawn up under Theodoſius, *ibid.*

Nouvellae Majorianae explained, 250, *g.*

Nummus, uſed by Plautus, who lays his ſcenes in Greece, for the Drachma; but when gold is mentioned, for the Half-aureus, 196, *m.* the ſeveral inſtances interpreted by Gronovius to denote the Didrachm examined, 236, 237. expreſſed in each nation that particular coin, by which their reſpective payments were computed, as the Saxon Penny, the Roman Seſterce, and the Greek Drachma, 424, 425.

O.

Obolus, Alexandrine, probably of the ſame value with the old Roman As, or tenth part of a Denarius, 241. the Attic Obolus ſuppoſed by Polybius equal to two Aſſaria, of XVI to the Drachma, in which proportion it was the only Greek coin by which the Hebrew Gerah, or the tenth of a Greek Drachma, could be rendered, 241.

Obryza, the ſtandard of money, 411.

Obſervations on the Statutes, the Author of, judiciouſly tranſlates *hominum* by *bondmen*, 477, *o.* of opinion that the Commons did not make a part of the Saxon parliament, 454, *o.*

Odin, ſee *Woden*.

Ora, a term equivalent to an ounce, 150. the different opinions of the antiquaries concerning it, 307—310. the cuſtom of reckoning by them and by Marcs not known in England till after the Daniſh ſettlements, 310. the name derived from Aureus, 311. equal in value to the Frank Solidus of twelve pence, 313. 316. 349. and to the eighth part of a Daniſh Marc, XII Oras making a Marc and half, which Marc was no more than an hundred Saxon pennies, 313. from the accidental coincidence of the Frank Solidus or Aureus with the unite by which the Marc was divided, it was called the Ora, 315. when a weight, conſidered by the Danes as the Uncia or 8th part of their Marc, *ibid.* reckoned as an ounce, or the 12th part of the nummulary Saxon pound, and the 15th of the commercial, 316. another Ora of XVI pence aroſe probably from the Half-mancus, 317. the name diſtinguiſhes the gold coins of ſeveral parts of Europe to this day, as *Moidore*, *Louis d'ores*, &c. 319.

Ovid, by having learnt the Getic tongue, does honour to Gothic antiquities, 45—48.

Ounce, twelve ounces to the pound among the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, 12. and Saxons, 14. the ſeveral eſtimations of the Grecian ounce in Troy grains, 26—28.

P.

Pancirolus, his explanation of *aurum ad reſponſum* in the Notitia rejected, 177, *p.*

Parliament, the royal ſummons originally, as well as afterwards, neceſſary

ceſſary to conſtitute the members of it, 448, 449. Saxon Parliaments often provincial, as they are in France, 463, *c.* the authors of *A Diſcourſe of the riſe, &c. of Parliaments*, and of *Obſervations on the Statutes*, unable to diſcover any traces of the Commons being members of the Great council in the Saxon times, 454, *o.* 466, 467. after the Conqueſt military tenants in capite had a right to be preſent at it, 468. the firſt inſtance of repreſentatives in Parliament, under K. John, 469. the ancient practice of a general ſummons of the military tenants of the crown to Parliament, revived by K. John's Magna charta, 470. *Liberi homines* and the Demean lands of Cities and Boroughs taſſaged in Parliament only, while the Reliefs of Peers were at the will of the Prince, 471, 472. firſt formed into two houſes 49 Hen. III. p. 473.

Pegge, Mr. the firſt who publiſhed a Saxon or Daniſh gold coin, 368. 371. proved to be one of the later Mancuſes, or Daniſh Ora, 370. the controverſy between him and Mr. North on this ſubject examined, 369. his explanation of Wigmund's coin confirmed and further illuſtrated, 380.

Pelaſgi, the moſt ancient name of thoſe who were afterwards called Hellenes or Grecians, 73, *e.*

Pembroke, Lord, in his *Numiſmata*, has exemplified the ſeveral ſpecies of gold coins ſtruck in a regular proportion to the Stater, 135, *c.*

Penny, ſuppoſed to be the only coin enjoined to be uſed among the Saxons, from a law which proves the very contrary, 353. the word derived from *pendo*, to weigh, 390. ſtyled *nummus* in Latin by the Anglo-Norman hiſtorians, it being the name by which they adjuſted their accounts, 424. the legal weight of it xxii½ grains, but always ccxl in a pound, 425.

Petavius, juſtly explains καλὰ ἀναριθμὸν and καλὰ ἀριθμὸν; but miſtaken in ſuppoſing that *Litriſmus* meant the Jewiſh Talent of the ſanctuary, 91, *note*.

Petronius Arbiter, the old reading in him of *Sicel* defended and explained, 213.

Petyt, cites a council from Ina, of no authority, 456.

Phocas, introduced into the empire the Ducat; a fourth leſs than the Solidus, 297.

Phryxus, the Columbus of his age, 53, *y*.

Phyſicians preſcribed anciently by the Nummulary pound, 85.

Pitiſcus, miſtaken with others in the ſenſe of *Centenionalis*, 176, *note*.

Planets, ſeven, ſuppoſed to be the foundation of the ſeven muſical notes, 113. three different ſyſtems of them mentioned by Cicero, beſides the Egyptian and Pythagorean, 113, *t*.

Plautus, his uſe of the word Nummus explained againſt Gronovius, 236, 237. in Moſtell. explained, 296, *note*.

Pliny, N. H. l. xii. explained, 87, *m*. his account of the Roman money, l. xxxiii. explained, 133. 137. 385. corrected, 387. 395. wonders why the Republic never exacted their tributes in gold, which is accounted for, 394, *i*.

Plutarch, in Solon, corrected, 494. miſtaken in ſuppoſing money coined at Athens by Theſeus, 495.

Pollux,

Pollux, explained, 135, 136, *c.*
Pound Averdupois, of XVIII ounces, first mentioned in our Laws under Edw. III, 98. the ancient commercial pound of XVI ounces, by which the tradesmen sold their goods; as they bought by a pound of XVIII ounces, or CXII to the hundred, 89. 96. the first commercial pound was of XX ounces to the pound, or CXXV pounds to the hundred, 90. 95. a pound of XVIII ounces took place not before the fifth century, but under the Byzantine empire, 94, 95. only three species of pounds mentioned by the ancients, the nummulary of XII ounces, the commercial of XVI, and another of XX, which was reduced afterwards to XVIII, 395, *note*. the Averdupois pound of XVI ounces was the commercial pound of the lower empire, XII ounces of which were exactly the Roman pound, 516. a Table of the number of ounces contained in the several ancient pounds, 86.
Pound Grecian, nummulary and commercial, different at the same time, 82. 86. the Attic real pound of VI Drachmae to the ounce and LXXII to the pound, was changed by Solon into a nominal one of an hundred, 495. afterwards VII Drachmae were coined out of the ounce, and LXXXIV in the pound, 487. 496. still the pound in tale was an hundred, 496. Fannius or Priscian's distinction between the Grecian pound and the Attic Mna built on mistaken authorities, 490. 497.
Pound Rochelle, the same with the English pound, 16.
Pound Roman, was to the Athenian, according to Greaves, as XXIV to XXV, 26, 27. estimated by Eisenschmid at a quarter less than the Grecian, from the authority of Fannius, who, by a contrary error, makes the Attic a quarter less than the Grecian, 481. 485. no foundation for M. La Barre's distinction of a metrical and scale pound, 504. 506. the method by which Villalpandus, Greaves, &c. endeavoured to discover the weight of the Roman pound from coins, 507. from the Congius at Rome, 510. the nummulary pound, for at least DCC years, was of the same weight, tho' the number of coins struck out of it was various, 506. the nummulary pound was at first the same as the ponderal, 250. 391. afterwards contained LXXXIV Denarii at VII in the ounce, during the time of the republic and some of the first emperors, 125. 248. 384. 489. under succeeding emperors, contained XCVI Denarii at VIII in the ounce, 248, *note*. 384. 489. but always the nominal pound contained an hundred Denarii, 148, 149. 393. a nominal pound larger than the real pound was adopted by the Romans from the Athenians, 294. 393. for want of considering the difference between a real and a nominal pound, the several writers on it have not been able to reconcile a Roman pound of LXXXIV, XCVI, and C Denarii, tho' it is conformable to universal custom from Solon to the present times, 148, *y*. as the coins were lessened by degrees, the advantage accruing to the state from the nominal pound was almost lost, whence the old custom was revived, under the Byzantine emperors, of paying by weight, or

with an *Incrementum*, 397. ſee *Incrementum*. this *Incrementum* different according to the exigences of the ſtate, 125. limited at length by expreſs laws, 126. extended even to preſents at court, till Gratian reſtrained it, *ibid.*

Pound Saracenic, not, as Bp. Hooper thought, the original of the Saxon pound, 83. but the ſame with the Grecian, left in Egypt by the Ptolemies, whence the Saracenes received it, 86.

Pound Saxon, the weight of it according to Hickes, Lambard, Spelman, Camden, Fleetwood, Nicholſon, 10, 11. contained XII ounces, 14. diſcovered by Mr. Folkes to be the ſame with the Tower pound, and lighter than the Troy pound by three quarters of an ounce Troy, 15. the weight of the Tower pound determined by two verdicts, the one under Hen. VIII, the other under Edw. III, 15, 16. heavier than the higheſt eſtimate of the Roman pound, 23. found to be the ſame with the moſt ancient German, Cologn, and Straſburgh pounds, 23, 24. and all of them to correſpond with the Grecian, 26. called Pound *Sterling*, or *Eaſterling*, coming from the Eaſtern ſhore of the Euxine, in diſtinction to the *libra Occidua*, or Weſtern pound, 80, 81. the Saxon nummulary pound continued with us till 12 Hen. VII, when it was exchanged for Troy weight, 99. two ſorts of pounds among the Saxons, as among the Greeks and Romans, nummulary and commercial, 84. 95, 96. the Saxon commercial pound contained XV ounces, 84. 96. the difference between that and the Roman of XVI ounces, not above half an ounce, proves that the Saxon pound was heavier than the Roman, 96, 97. the commercial Saxon pound uſed in England till the beginning of Edw. III, 97, 98. their nummulary pound contained L ſhillings in tale, when only XLVIII were coined out of it, 123. 149. the nummulary pound divided at firſt into XLVIII ſhillings of five pence, 149, 150. afterwards into LX ſhillings of four pence, 152, 153. whatever was the variation of the ſhilling, the pound, as with us now, was uniformly CCXL pence, 149. eſtimated in Alfred's time by a ſhilling of five pence, and XLVIII to the pound, 345. under his ſon Athelſtan, by a ſhilling of four pence, and LX to the pound, 348, 349.

Pound Sterling, the ſame with the Saxon, 80. whence ſo called, 81. from Henry VII, gold and ſilver have been ſtruck in England, as parts of it, not in proportion to Marcs as before, 326.

Pound Weſtern, uſed metaphorically for the number LXXII. 81. Eaſtern and Weſtern differed from each other as the Roman and Grecian, 82.

Priſcian, the verſes aſcribed to Fannius diſtinguiſhing between the Grecian and Attic pounds, probably his, 489, 490. the meaning of them ſtrangely perverted by Eiſenſchmid, 483—485. thought by miſtake that the Grecian Mina was a quarter leſs than the Roman Libra, becauſe LXXII Drachmae only were coined out of it, 490. 494.

Proportional value of ancient Norman money to our own, 157, *o.*

Ratio-

R.

Rationarium Imperii, in four volumes by Auguſtus, the greateſt part of them loſt, 191.

Recaredus, the firſt Gothic Chriſtian king, a coin of his explained, 413.

Record, Dr. his Arithmetic gives us different tables of the Aſſize of bread, 21, *g.*

Reliefs in the time of Brompton univerſally eſtabliſhed, 354, *y.* by the Conqueror made wholly arbitrary, 360, *note.* a remarkable proof of it under William Rufus, *ibid.* under Henry I. made ſomewhat eaſier in favour of the Barons, 361, *note.* fixed to be certain by K. John's charter, though charged at a high rate, 362, *note.* under the Saxons, was a ſurrendry of the arms only, or a pecuniary compenſation for them, 363, 364.

Richard I. his coins but lately diſcovered, tho' we had before undoubted written evidence that there were ſuch, 201. whence the prodigious ſum paid for his ranſom is differently repreſented by the old hiſtorians, 325, *i.*

Romans, the Northern provinces learnt from them the model of their money, titles, offices, &c. 260, *s.* 269. 435. 443. fitted their youth by education for ſoldiers or magiſtrates, 439.

S.

Salic law of uncertain meaning and authority, 438.

Salmaſius, miſtaken in the ſenſe of Herodotus, 73, *f.* falls into the the ſame miſtakes with Gronovius in explaining the braſs coin of the Byzantine emperors, 173, *l.* and in ſuppoſing *nummus* in Plautus ſignifies a Didrachma, 238.

Sandwich, marble, the purport of it, 61.

Sarmatae, deſcendants of the Medes, as their name denotes, 47, *nate*.

Saxons, their money lying between two extremes, the Roman and Norman, muſt have ſome connexions with both, 5. when united in one kingdom formed connexions with thoſe parts of Europe which had been Roman provinces, and from thence adjuſted the ſtandard of their own money, 8. the ſeveral denominations of their money, 9. their pound heavier than the higheſt eſtimate of the Roman pound, 23. and borrowed, as the weights of ſeveral other Northern nations were, from the Grecians, 26. this confirmed from the ſimilarity in their meaſures of length, height, and capacity, 29, 30, 31. in the combination of their pounds and paying all their Fines by Sixty, the number of Minae in a Talent, 31. in placing their ſums under different denominations, as Pounds, Shillings, Pence; not under one, as Seſterces, or Livres, 33, 34. in their peculiar manner of expreſſing *two whole and a half* by the *third half*, 34. in the etymology of their language, 36. in the termination of their infinitive mood, 39. in the uſe of the article before nouns, 40. in the uſe of the double negative, *ibid.* 41. in having no family name, but one compound proper name, *ibid.* in compounding adjectives, and the variety of compound words, *ibid.* in the uſe of the Digamma Aeolicum, 42, 43. and of the expletive

Se,

&c, 43. imitated the Romans in paying an *Incrementum*, 123. ſee *Incrementum*. in paying bullion, 144. in the dreſs of the ladies, 276, *k*. in the uſe of the word *Marc*, 299. in rating the fines of their threefold nobility agreably to the ſubſidies paid by the three different claſſes of Senators under the Byzantine empire, 365, *b*. in the formation of their coins, 417. 422. 435. in their payments by Shillings and Sceatta's, as the Byzantines did by Solidi and Miliarenſes, 430. in the device of Feudal tenures, 436, &c. in deriving their principal title of nobility from the more ancient Romans, as the Gothic titles came from the later Romans, 443, 444. in dividing their lands into Hydes and Carucates, the ſame with the Roman *jugatio*, 473, 474. in their *coloni* being inſeparable from their lands, 475. in the ſurveys made of the kingdom by Alfred and the Conqueror, 478. in paying their rent in kind, *ibid*. in fairs, corporations, and bodies corporate, 188, *c*. 478. in the letters of their Alphabet, 48. 479, *f*. 480. in the *Folding ſtool*, a term ſtill preſerved in Coronations, 480, *w*.

Saxons, the name when firſt mentioned, and the meaning of it, 105. poſſeſſed of more wealth at their firſt ſettlements here than is uſually imagined, 156. one only of their coins remaining ſo old as the ſeventh century, 416.

Saxon laws, explained, 31, *d*. corrected, 153, *e*. 223. a reading in them defended againſt Bp. Fleetwood, 233, *b*. the oldeſt of them 62 years after their arrival in Britain, 416. ſee *Wilkins*.

Saxon verſion, tranſlates Scripture-terms into the terms in uſe when that verſion was made, as *Shilling* for *Shekel*, *full weight* for *current money*, &c. 118, *b*. 209, 210, 215. 227. made probably in part from ſome old Latin verſion which was tranſlated from the LXX. 216. inconſiſtent in rendering Ἀβεσάριον, 426. proves the Saxon Stycas not peculiar to the Northumbrians, 434.

Scaliger, Joſeph, defended againſt Gronovius, 13, *t*.

Scalping, in uſe anciently among the Alans and Huns, as it is now among the Indians, 415, *l*.

Sceatta, from σκέαλα, ſubſtance in general, or money in particular, 428. a braſs coin, xx of which made a Shilling, of five pence, and was conſequently a farthing, 429, 430. under Athelſtan ſignified a penny, 430.

Scheriff, ſignifying Princely or Noble, the ſame in Egypt with the Ducat, 293, *y*.

Sclavonian tongue from the Sarmatae, 46, *m*. whither it has ſpread, 47, *m*.

Scots, the Highland and Lowland of different original, 78, *p*.

Scott and *Lott*, whence applied in many places to denote the privilege of voting, 432.

Scrinium ab argento, and *Scrinium aureae maſſae* in the Notitia explained, 176, 177, *p*.

Scruples, XXIV in the ounce, ſix making a Didrachma, 198.

Scythians, two different clans, European and Aſiatic, 105. the former from the Northern parts of Europe, as the Celts from the Weſtern, 109.

Σεσάχθεια,

Σωσίχλεια of Solon, the meaning of the word, and what it effected, 495, 496.

Selden, miſtaken probably in the extent of Canute's law concerning Heriots, 339. aſcribes the original of Feuds to the Romans, 441. a remarkable Saxon law ill rendered by him, 445, *z.* and extended without reaſon to military ſervices, *ibid.*

Semiſſes aurei, falſely ſuppoſed to have been firſt coined by Severus Alexander, 128, 129, *u.*

Seneca, M. as cited in Priſcian, corrected, 493.

Servitude, remains of ſuch tenure even to Henry VIII, 478.

Seſtercii, Tables of them, 518. the Roman method of computing by them explained, 521.

Seventy, verſion in Gen. xiii. 1. explained, 77, *o.* ſupplies and corrects the Hebrew, Gen. xx. 16. 216. too little regard paid to it by our Engliſh tranſlators, 215. Homer explained from it, 218.

Shekel, ſignified a *weight*, 391. tranſlated by the Saxon verſion of the Scriptures, a *Shilling*, 209. by the Latin, not Solidus, but Siclus or Argenteus, 212. by the LXX, Didrachma, and was exactly of that weight, 210. 240, 241. without reaſon therefore ſuppoſed to have been originally a Stater, 241. to reconcile the LXX with Jerom and Joſephus, it is probable a new Shekel was introduced in the time of the Maccabees, of the weight of a Stater or Half-ounce, 241. 391. though all Shekels yet diſcovered weigh Half an ounce, it is no proof that the original Shekels weighed ſo, 242, 243.

Sheringham, ſome ſpecimens of his ſingular taſte and judgment, 101.

Shilling, from *Sicilicus*, 120. the forty eighth part of the Saxon pound, as Sicilicus was of the Roman, 121. L of them paid in tale, though only XLVIII were coined out of a pound, 123. 149. ſunk in weight to half the Roman Denarius of the later ages, 149. from containing five pence brought down to four pence and LX Shillings in the pound, under K. Athelſtan, a century at leaſt before the Conqueſt, 152. 156. 348. when the Shilling was diſuſed, payments to the Crown were made by the old value of it at five pence, 152, *d.* the common coin by which the Engliſh payments were adjuſted, 155. the French Solidus of XII pence, in uſe among the Normans, received the Engliſh name of a *Shilling* after the Conqueſt, and the old Saxon ſhilling of four pence was called a Groat, it being the largeſt Engliſh coin then known in England, 155. 299. called by the Normans *Solt Anglois*, 154, *l.* tho' ſuppoſed by the antiquaries in general not to have been a coin till A. D. 1504, 209. the negative argument that there were none before the Conqueſt, becauſe none have been diſcovered, of no validity, 201—205. ſome coins mentioned by Mr. Folkes under Edw. I, were probably Saxon Shillings new minted, 202, 203. Abp. Aelfric's teſtimony a deciſive proof of them, 205. the different value of the Shilling at different times, and its uniform proportion to the pound, a proof of its being a coin, 208. proved from the mention of them

them in the Saxon Goſpels, 209. 212. from its being rendered there in Latin *Siclus*, *ibid.* from Argenteus in the Vulgate being always tranſlated a Shilling, and *vice verſa*, 225, 226. Saxon Shilling never tranſlated *Solidus*, till after the Norman Conqueſt, 228. howſoever it altered was always conſidered as the twentieth part of the real or nominal pound, 377. ſoon after the Conqueſt the Shilling of XII pence, not a coin but a ſpecies of account, the twentieth part of a pound, till it appeared in a new form under Hen. VII. 372, 373. 376. 378. a Table of the value of the Norman Shilling from the Conqueſt till 43 Eliz. 380.

Sicilicus, or Double Denarius, proved againſt Gronovius to have been in uſe among the Romans, 196—198. a few only of them now remaining, many having been melted down, 199. the meaning of the word, 244.

Siclus, another term for *Sicilicus*, 214.

Sigebert, his foundations for promoting literature, 420.

Siliqua, the Latin name for the Κεράτιον under Conſtantine, about the value of the Half-denarius, and the fortieth part of the gold Solidus, 188.

Silius Italicus, guilty of a geographical miſtake, 70, *y*.

Silver, the proportion of it to Gold, ſee *Gold*. exceeding ſcarce in the middle ages, and would have been now ſo, if the mines of Braſil and Mexico had not been diſcovered, 333.

Smith, De re nummaria, miſtaken in his account of Lord Treaſurer Edyngdon's policy in raiſing the pound, 143. runs with Agricola into the exploded notion of the firſt Denarii being heavier than thoſe of ſubſequent ages, 384. his Tables of Seſterces enlarged, 518.

Soc, the meaning of the word, 356, *z*.

Solidus, denoted the whole Aureus in diſtinction to the lower diviſions of it, and the word not uſed till after Semiſſes were coined, 235, *l*. ſee *Aureus*. under Conſtantine, ſix Solidi were coined out of the ounce, and LXXII out of the pound, 81. 295. continued of the ſame weight under the Byzantine emperors, though its value with regard to ſilver was altered, 263—265. called from its weight *Exagium* or *Sextula*, 264, *a*. the revenues of the Roman empire ſaid to be computed by them under Auguſtus, ſome time probably before the elder Pliny, 194. certainly from the time that the Denarii ſunk from VII to VIII in the ounce, 195. continued to be the common eſtimate in all the countries, which had been provinces to the Roman empire, 307. when their value was not above 12*s*. 6*d*, in ſilver, went for 6000 and 7000 pieces of braſs coin, 266, *note*. ſpecimens of the Byzantine Solidi and Tremiſſes preſerved in the king of France's cabinet, from Chlovis downward, 269, 270. the firſt Frank Solidi, of XL pence, 521. current as late as Charlemagne, though a leſs Solidus of twelve pence was early introduced, 328, 329. the method of computing by Solidi of XII pence, and

xx to the pound commenced in France at the beginning of the ſeventh century, and continued till the introduction of their preſent Marc, 332. the ſame valuation of Solidi prevailed in England before the Conqueſt, 155. 346. probably introduced by Athelſtan in conformity to the French and Daniſh money, 349. after the Conqueſt bore, while it laſted, the name of the Engliſh Shilling, 155. ſee *Shilling*. proved to have been gold coins; contrary to the ſentiments of many of the French antiquaries, 333—345. *Solidi* and *Aurei* convertible terms, which are ſometimes ſtyled *Solidi aurei*, 335. *Solidi argentei* implied ſo many xii pence paid in ſilver Deniers, not that Solidus was itſelf a ſilver coin, 336, *n*, 337. the Frank Solidus of the ſame weight with the Byzantine, but the former contain'd xl Denarii each; the latter xx, 335, *k*. the Frank Solidus from vi in the ounce ſunk by degrees to xx, 338. gold Solidi exchanged for xx Denarii for ſome centuries after the middle of the fourth, 184. the Franks, Goths, and Burgundians, having made the Half-denarius their common ſilver coin, reckoned xl of them to the Solidus, 272. the Tremiſſis, being ſunk a little in its value, became at laſt the only Solidus in their accounts, 271. the emperor Phocas, from ſix in the ounce, as it was from the time of Conſtantine, leſſened it one fourth, 295, 296. the Frank Solidus from containing xl pence was exchanged for xii, 339. and under the lower empire for ſix thouſand of the ſmalleſt braſs coin, 339, *s*. the Solidus of xl pence muſt have been Gold; but that of xii pence, Silver, otherwiſe the exchange between Gold and Silver would be as xxx to one, which is higher than was ever known, 340. in Alfred's will xlviii Solidi to the pound, 122.

Solidus, Byzantine, paſſed for xx Miliarenſes, and the Frank Solidus of the ſame weight for xl Deniers, 399. the integer to which the Byzantine payments were reduced, 430.

Solon, introduced at Athens a nominal pound of an hundred Drachmae, inſtead of the real pound of lxxv, 496.

Spain, peopled by Celts, 109. ſome of their ancient coins ſhew a Phoenician original, ſeeming to be read from right to left, 111.

Sperlingius inclined to think the Miliarenſes uncoined money, 177, *p*.

Spheres, the muſic of them, a prevailing notion among the ancients, 113.

Statute, the firſt after cities and boroughs were repreſented in Parliament related to the Aſſize of bread, 21, *g*.

Standard-money, under the Byzantine empire, was *ad libitum* either Gold or Silver, 397, 398. not neceſſary, as hath been aſſerted, that one only of the two metals ſhould be the ſtandard in any country, 397, *k*.

Stanley advanced an opinion, that the Copernican ſyſtem was diſcovered by the Pythagoreans, but upon a miſtaken authority, 113, *t*.

Stater, denoting ſimply *weight*, was the name of the principal gold and ſilver coins of the Greeks, 391. under the Athenian republic de-

noted a gold coin of an ounce; under the Byzantine empire, one of the ſixth part of that value, 350.
Stele denotes a handle in ſeveral parts of England, 291.
Sterlingi, ſo called for *Eſterlingi*, coming from the Eaſtern parts of Europe, the Euxine ſhore, 80.
Sueton. Jul. Caeſ. c. XLIII. explained, 92, *t.*
Suidas, corrected, 170, *c.*
Sultani, the Ducat ſo called at Conſtantinople, 293.
Summons, royal, neceſſary under the Saxons, and afterwards, to entitle a perſon to be a member of the Great council of the nation, 445.
Sumptuary laws of the later emperors owing to neceſſity, though other reaſons were pretended for them, 161, 162, *u.*

T.

Table of the number of ounces in the different ancient pounds, 86. of the Engliſh Shilling, its number in the pound, and value, from the Conqueſt to 43 Elizabeth, 378. of the ſeveral ſpecies of Saxon gold, ſilver, and braſs coins, 434, 435. of Seſterces, ready caſt up, improved from Mr. Smith, 518.
Talent of ſixty Minae preſerved in the Saxon Weregild, 31. and in the Journeys of the mint to this day, 33. uſed not only in relation to money, but for the groſs mercantile hundred, 91. 210, *w.* the original meaning of the word, 390. was ſixty pounds, whatever ounces the pound conſiſted of, 395, *note*. *Talentum magnum* not five times twelve ounces, or LX pounds; but five times ſixteen ounces, or LXXX pounds, 395, *note*.
Team, the meaning of the word, 477.
Termini, or boundaries of land, the antiquity of them, 299.
Teutonic tongue, whence derived, and the progreſs of the ſeveral branches of it, 46, *m.* the appellation *Teutones* derived from the ancient name of Mars, 106.
Thane, the qualifications neceſſary for being one, 445. King's Thane, what it imported, 448. the ſame with Norman Baron, which title ſucceeded in the room of it, 448. 453.
Theodebert, a coin of his explained, 408, 409.
Theophanes, corrected and explained, 160, *t.*
Thrace, the kings of it had the command of the whole Weſtern coaſt of the Euxine, 58. its importance to Athens, *ibid.* the amount of its cuſtoms in the time of Demoſthenes, 59, *t.* its ancient extent, 66. laid claim even to Athens, *ibid.* religion and letters propagated from thence among the Grecians, 66—72. its Southern limits different at different times, 75.
Thrimſa, the ſeveral opinions of the antiquaries concerning its value, 229—231. was three fifths of the Saxon Shilling, while the Shilling was at five pence, and three fourths of a Shilling, when reduced to fourpence, 232. coined at firſt as the propereſt diviſion between the firſt Saxon Shilling and a penny; but when the Shilling was reduced, ſunk into diſuſe, 235. chiefly uſed in the more mercantile part of the kingdom, *ibid.*

Triſſis, a third of the Roman Aureus, ſuppoſed to have been firſt coined by Severus Alexander, 129, *note*. was at firſt the common gold coin under the Franks, Goths, and Burgundians; and, when afterwards ſunk in its value, was the only coin made uſe of as the baſis of their accounts, 272, 344, and called *Solidi* or *Aurei* reciprocally, 335. by modern French antiquaries, *Triers d' Or*, 344. ſee *Solidi*. in the Ripuarian laws about A. D. 630, the Tremiſſis no longer a gold coin, but a ſilver one at four pence, like the Saxon Shilling, but was ſtill the baſis of their accounts, 332. introduced into England probably by Athelſtan in conformity to the Frank Solidus, 349.

U.

U, with the Romans had the ſound of the Greek OT, 419.

Vandals, after overrunning the Weſtern empire ſettled in Africa, 401. one of their coins exhibits the prince exactly in a Roman dreſs, 402.

Villa's of Roman governours generally made *Villae regiae* by the Saxons, 421, *w*.

Villani, ſtrangely ſuppoſed by Bp. Ellys to have been members of a Saxon council, 464. were, under the Norman reigns, in a more ſervile ſtate than the Saxon Ceorls, though the latter are ſo rendered by the Normans, 464, *l*. what their ſtate under the Saxons ſhewn from the Welſh laws, 476.

Villalpandus, appeals to the authority of the vulgar Latin, while he miſrepreſents it, 243.

Virgil, Eclog. III. explained, 223.

Univerſal hiſtory, the authors of it, have clouded the German antiquities with much obſcurity, 76, *k*.

Vulgar Latin, uniformly render Shekel by Siclus, except in three places, which have been altered by Jerom, 243.

W.

Ward, Dr. his objection againſt the antiquity of the Chicheſter inſcription, anſwered, 487, *k*.

Ware, Sir James, miſtakes the meaning of Siclus in ſome Saxon accounts, 225.

Wedge of Gold, the meaning of the word, 383. uſed at Royal offerings, 383.

Weeks the diviſion of the year by them of the remoteſt antiquity, but the denomination of days from the planets, much later, 117.

Weight, the cuſtom of paying money by weight how it differed from paying it by tale, 140. 146, 147. 233. prevented under the Saxons, the inconvenience of the inequality of their own and the Daniſh pennies, 400. Paris and Provincial weights, their proportion to the Roman, 512, *c*.

Weregilds, among the Saxons fines for murder, whence, 234, *i*. much raiſed by Alfred, 290, *g*. the Daniſh Weregild a fifth leſs than the Saxon, 314.

Who and *which* differently uſed from what they originally ſignified, 44, *g*.

Wheeler, Sir George, totally ignorant of the doctrine of Seſterces, 517.

Wighter, the meaning of the word, and whence derived, 234.

William the Conqueror, by the plenitude of his power made the Reliefs

liefs of the Barons uncertain, 360, *note*.
Wilkins, Dr. his edition of the Saxon laws not so complete as might have been expected, 32, *d*. his version faulty, *ibid*. 274, *d*. 356, *z*. 446, *note*. corrected, 356, *y*.
Witenagemot, formed like the Roman Senate, 444-454. the qualifications necessary to be members of it, 445—452. the preambles and enacting clauses of the laws made there, prove the quality of the members of it, 465, 466.
Woden, the Mercury of the Gothis, whence Wednesday received its name, 104.

X.

Xenophon, in his Πόροι, explained, 497.

ERRATA *in the* TEXT.

Page	line	
34.	3.	*for* and, *read* as.
48.	11.	*for* his, *read* that.
56.	4.	*post* was, *deest* one.
236.	5.	*for* mina, *read* minae.
249.	17.	*post* nummum, *deest* in libras.
287.	1.	*for* subscriber, *read* subscribers.
312.	18.	*dele* to; *post* twelve, *deest* Oras.
430.	19.	*for* schilling, *read* scilling.
475.	14.	*for* Θεομμεν, *read* Θεομμεν.
ibid.	22.	*lege*, of veam, *divisim*.
477.	ult.	*post* have, *deest* seen.

In the NOTES.

Page	line	
58.	3.	[*m*] *post* l. ii. *deest* Od. XIII.
90.	10.	[*p*] *for* ounce, *read* ounces.
97.	1.	[*e*] *place* 9 Edw. III. *at the beginning of the line, or dele it.*
174.	20.	[*l*] *dele* and.
359.	antep.	[*c*] *dele* him.
404.	2.	[*n*] *for* praesentis, *read* in praesentiis.
406.	1.	[*x*] *for* ξύμπασιν, *read* ξύμπασιν.

In the INDEX

Reform the Article Δικέρατον *thus:*

Δικέρατον, the Miliarensis of the lower Empire, 188. succeeded the Roman Denarius, 351.